ओ३म्

आर्य्यमन्तव्यप्रकाश

द्वितीयभाग

जिसको

श्रीयुत पण्डित आर्य्यमुनि प्रोफ़ेसर
संस्कृत फ़िलासफ़ी डी. ए. वी. कालिज लाहौर

ने

निर्माण किया।

ऐंग्लोसंस्कृत यन्त्रालय लाहौर में
मुद्रित कराके प्रकाशित किया।

सम्वत् १९६० सन् १९०३ ई०

प्रथमवारम् १०००]

[मूल्य १)

॥ विषय सूचीपत्रम् ॥

ओ३म्

॥ भूमिका ॥

आर्य्यमन्तव्यप्रकाश द्वितीय भाग

ब्रह्मार्पणं ब्रह्म हविर्ब्रह्माग्नौब्रह्मणाहुतम् ।
ब्रह्मैव तेन गन्तव्यं ब्रह्मकर्म समाधिना ॥ अथर्व०
गी० ४।२४

इस मंत्रमें इस अर्थका प्रकाश कियागया है कि (अर्पणं) जिस से हवि अग्निमें अर्पण कियाजाता है वह स्रुगादि वस्तु ब्रह्म सम्बन्धि हों, और (हविः) हवनीय द्रव्य ब्रह्म सम्बन्धि हों, और अग्नि ब्रह्म सम्बन्धि हो, और ब्रह्म साधन द्वारा हवन कियाजाय, इस प्रकार ब्रह्म साधन द्वारा हवन करने से (ब्रह्मकर्मसमाधिना) नाम ब्रह्म सम्बन्धि कर्मों में निष्ठा रखने वाले पुरुष को परब्रह्म की प्राप्ति होती है ।

"ब्रह्मार्पणम्" इत्यादि वाक्यों में ब्रह्म शब्द वेद का वाचक है, यह अर्थ इसी अध्याय के श्लो० ३२ में सिद्ध है कि ब्रह्म नाम इस यज्ञ विषय में वेद का है। एवं वेद वाची ब्रह्म शब्द मानने से आशय यह निकलता है कि जो लोग वैदिक अर्पण से, वैदिक हवि से, वैदिक अग्निमें यज्ञ करते हैं उन्हीं को ब्रह्मप्राप्ति होती है ।

इस प्रकार यहां वेदों का महत्व वर्णन कियागया है ।

वस्तुतः निस्सन्देह बात भी यह है कि जबसे लोग वैदिक कर्म को भूलगए तबसे परब्रह्म प्राप्ति तो क्या? अपितु (अपरब्रह्म) वेद प्राप्ति भी उनको नाम मात्र ही रहगई। इसी कारण वेदार्थ में यहांतक विप्रतिपत्ति बढ़गई कि कोई नित्यशुद्धबुद्धिमुक्तस्वभाव सच्चिदानन्दादिलक्षणयुक्त ईश्वर के परापररूप से दो भेद करता है अर्थात् एक छोटा ईश्वर है दूसरा बड़ा ईश्वर है। जैसा कि शङ्करमत में हिरण्यभर्ग और परब्रह्म का भेद है, कोई सर्व ब्रह्मवादी बनकर चिदाचिद् कीट पतंग ईंट आदि वस्तुओं को भी ब्रह्म बना बैठता है, जैसा कि शङ्करमत में पूर्वोक्त गीता श्लोक के यह अर्थ कियेजाते हैं कि यह सब वस्तुएं ब्रह्म हैं। इस अभिप्राय से अर्पणादिकों को ब्रह्म कथन किया है, इस स्थल में स्वामी शङ्कर-चार्य्य "यथा सुक्तिकायांरजिताभावं पश्यति तद्वदुच्यते" अर्थ–जैसे सीपी में ज्ञानी चांदी के अभाव को देखता है इस प्रकार सब संसार के अभाव को ज्ञानी ब्रह्म में देखता है, अर्थात् ब्रह्महीं ब्रह्म देखता है अन्य कुछ नहीं, पर इस अर्थ का स्वीकार सना-तनियों के और आचार्य्य नहीं करते। रामानुजादि उक्त श्लोकके यह अर्थ करते हैं कि अर्पणादिकों में ब्रह्मबुद्धि करना, वास्तव में अर्पणादि ब्रह्म नहीं, यह अर्थ श्लोकके आशय से मिलता है कि यहां सब वस्तुओं का ब्रह्मविधान का तात्पर्य्य नहीं, क्योंकि यह यज्ञ का प्रकरण है, इस प्रकरण में ब्रह्म सम्बन्धि वस्तुओं का वर्णन है, इससे आगे के श्लोक में यह लिखा है कि "दैवमेवाप रेयज्ञंयोगिनः पर्युपासते" जिसके अर्थ यह है कि योगी लोग परमात्मा की उपासनारूपी यज्ञ को करते हैं. इस श्लोक में स्वामी

शङ्कराचार्य्य भी इस अर्थ को मानते हैं कि (योगी) कर्मी लोग उपासनारूपी यज्ञ को करते हैं। यदि पूर्व श्लोक का सब वस्तुओं को ब्रह्म बोधन का तात्पर्य्य होता तो फिर योगी कौन और किस की उपासना करते?

उक्त ब्रह्मार्पणं के अर्थ में जब शङ्कराचार्य्य और रामानुजादि औपनिषददर्शन के द्रष्टा विप्रतिपन्न हैं तो फिर आधुनिक सनातनियों की क्या कथा जो विचारे सहस्रशीर्षारूपी सागर में निराकार साकार की विप्रतिपत्तिरूप लहरों में गोते खारहे हैं।

एवंविधविप्रतिपत्तिग्रस्तवादियों को देखकर हमने वेदार्थ संग्रह करना आवश्यक समझा इसलिये "सहस्रशीर्षादि" मंत्रों को उपक्रम में रखकर इस ग्रन्थ का प्रारम्भ कियागया है, उक्त मंत्रों में यह दिखलाया है कि इन मंत्रों का तात्पर्य्य साकार बोधन में नहीं, और इसमें पूर्वोक्तवादियों के अभिमतअर्थों से भी सत्यार्थ की सिद्धि कीगई है। यह ग्रंथ श्री १०८ स्वामी दयनन्द सरस्वती जी के बावन मन्तव्यों पर क्रम से लिखा गया है।

इस क्रम के अवलम्बन करने का कारण यह है कि आजकल जो लोग श्रीस्वामीजी और स्वामीजी के लेखों पर आक्षेप करते हैं वह केवल स्वामीजी और स्वामीजी के लेखों को ही उद्देश्य रखते हैं, हम उनको स्मरण दिलाते हैं कि ऐसे आक्षेपों से आर्य्य धर्म की क्षति नहीं होती। आर्य्यधर्म वह है जो बावन मन्तव्यों में लिखा है, और स्वामीजी ने उक्त मन्तव्यों को उपसंहार में इसी अभिप्राय से लिखा है कि वैदिक मन्तव्य इतर पन्थों के

समान किसी मनुष्य की पूजासे पन्थ न बन जायं, इस अभिप्राय से अपने सम्पूर्ण लेखों को उपसंहार में बावन मन्तव्य लिखकर शोधन करदिया। हमने इस ग्रंथमें आक्षेपता वादियों को ललकार के लिखा है कि आओ उक्त आर्य्य मन्तव्यों पर आक्षेप करो हम समाधान करते हैं।

अपूर्वता के हेतु इस ग्रंथ में निम्नलिखित हैं-

(१)-पुरुषसूक्त पर जो भाष्य कियागया है उसमें वेद की सङ्गति द्वारा वेदार्थ का संग्रह कियागया है और वादी विरोध से वादियों के मत का खण्डन किया है।

(२)-उपनिषदों से, व्याससूत्रों से, और वादियों के मतों से, मुक्तिमें पुनरावृत्ति सिद्ध कीगई है।

(३)-श्राद्ध और नियोगादि विषयों में सब मंत्र लिखकर उनपर विस्तार पूर्वक पूर्वोत्तर पक्षद्वारा विचार कियागया है जिस से इन विषयों में कई एक स्थलों में लेख बहुत विस्तृत हैं।

(४)-सनातनधर्म के मण्डन कर्ताओं में से मुख्ययोद्धा पण्डित ज्वालाप्रसादमिश्र और पण्डित भीमसेन के लेखों की समीक्षाओं से यह ग्रंथ सज्जीकृत है तत्रापि पं० भीमसेन के आर्य्यसमाज छोड़ने के कारण और आर्य्यसमाज न छोड़ने की प्रतिज्ञाएं सङ्गति बांधकर अधिकतया सूचित कीगई हैं।

(५)-यमयमी की कथा जो वेदाशय न समझने से वैदिक लोगों को भयप्रदा प्रतीत होती है और इतर धर्मानुयायी ईसाई महम्मदी

आदि लोग जिसपर अनन्त आक्षेप करते हैं। उसका समाधान सम्यग् रीति से इस ग्रंथमें कियागया है ।

(६)—आर्य्यसमाज के आविर्भावकर्त्ता श्री १०८ स्वामी दयानन्द सरस्वती जी को इस ग्रंथ का समर्पण कियागया है जिनकी शास्त्रीय दिव्य दृष्टि से ग्रंथकर्त्ता का आविद्यक दोषदूरद्वारा इस ग्रंथ का निर्माण हुआ ।

उक्त स्वामीजीके यथावस्थित गुण वर्णन में महर्षिदयानन्दाष्टक लिखा है जो संस्कृतश्लोक और भाषा छन्दोग्रन्थन में है, इत्यादि अपूर्वता के हेतु अनेक हैं, जिनको पाठक लोग पढ़कर जान सक्ते हैं । अतएव हम उक्त षट्क परही समाप्ति करते हैं ।

अन्तिम विनय यह है कि दक्षिण हैदराबाद में एक मास तक रहने के कारण इस ग्रंथ के शोधन का भार प्रायः ऐसे पुरुषों पर रहा है जो इसके योग्य न थे, इस कारण कईएक स्थलों में मात्रा और वर्णों की अशुद्धियें पाई जाती हैं, उनको पाठकलोग क्षमा करें । और वह शुद्धि पत्र में सुधार दी गई हैं ॥ ओ३म् शमिति ॥

आर्य्यमुनिः

समर्पण

यह ग्रन्थ श्री १०८ स्वामीदयानन्दसरस्वती
जीको समर्पण कियागया।

उक्तमहर्षि के गुणानुवाद में यह अष्टक है

॥ महर्षिदयानन्दाष्टकम् ॥

वेदाऽभ्यासपरायणोमुनिवरोवेदैकमार्गेरतः।
नाम्नायस्यदयाविभातिनिखिलातत्रैवयोमोदते॥
ये नाम्नायपयोनिधेर्मथनतः सत्यंपरंदर्शितम्।
लब्धं तत्पदपद्मयुग्ममनघं पुण्यैरनन्तैर्मया॥

भाषाछन्द–सवैया

(१)–उत्तम पुरुष भये जग जो वह धर्मके हेतु धरें जग देहा। धन धाम सभी कुर्बान करें प्रमदा सुत मीतरु कांचन गेहा। सन्मार्ग से पग नाहि टरे उनकी गति है भव भीतर एहा। एक रहे दृढ़ता जगमें सब साज समाज यह होवत खेहा॥
(२)–इनके अवतार भये सगरे जगदीश नहीं जन्मा जगमाहीं। सुखराशी अनाशी सदा शिव जो वह मानव रूप धरे कबी नाहीं। मायिक होय

वही जन्मे यह अज्ञ अलीक कहैंभवमाहीं । यह मत है सब वेदनका वह भाष रहे निज बैननमाहीं ॥

(३)–धन्यभई उनकी जननी जिन भारत आरत के दुखटारे । रविज्ञान प्रकाश किया जगमें तब अंध निशाके मिटे सब तारे। दिनरात जगाय रहे हमको दुःखनाशक रूप पिता जो हमारे ।शोक यही हमकोअब है जब नींद खुली तबआप पधारे

(४)–वैदिक भाष्य किया जिनने जिनने सब भेदिक भेद मिटाए । वेद ध्वजा करमें करके जिनने सब वैर विरोध नसाए। वैदिक धर्म प्रसिद्ध किया मत वाद जिते सब दूर हटाए। डूबत हिन्द जहाज़ पिखा अब जासु कृपा कर पार कराए ॥

(५)–जाप दिया जगदीश जिन्हें इक और सभी जप धूर मिलाए । धूरतधर्म धरातलपै जिनने सब ज्ञान की आग जलाए। ज्ञान प्रदीप प्रकाश किया उन गप्प महातम मार उड़ाए ।डूबत हिन्द जहाज़ पिखा अब जासु कृपाकर पार कराए ॥

(६)—सो शुभ स्वामी दयानन्द जी जिनने यह आर्य्य धर्म प्रचारा। भारतखण्ड के भेदन का जिन पाठ किया सब तत्व बिचारा। वैदिक पंथ पै पांव धरा उन तीक्ष्णधर्म असी की जो धारा। ऐसे ऋषिवर को सज्जनों कर जोड़ दोऊ अब बंद हमारा॥

(७)—व्रत वेद धरा प्रथमे जिसने पुन भारतधर्म का कीन सुधारा। धन धाम तजे जिसने सगरे और तजे जिसने जगमें सुतदारा। दुःख आप सहे सिर पे उसने पर भारत आरत का दुःख टारा। ऐसे ऋषिवर को सज्जनों कर जोड़ दोऊ अब बंद हमारा॥

(८)—वेद उद्धार किया जिनने और गप्पमहात्म मार बिदारा। आप मरे न टरे सत पंथ से दीनन का जिन दुःख निवारा। उन आन उद्धार किया हमरा जो गिरें अब भी तो नहीं कोई चारा। ऐसे ऋषिवर को सज्जनों कर जोड़ दोऊ अब बंद हमारा॥

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आर्य्यमन्तव्यप्रकाश, वेदार्थसंग्रहोनाम सप्तमः समुल्लासः प्रारभ्यते ।

इस समुल्लास में जो २ मंत्र विवादास्पद हैं उन सबका भाषार्थ किया जायगा। इस वेदार्थ संग्रह से प्राचीनार्य्यों के मन्तव्य स्पष्ट रीति से ज्ञात होंगे कि क्या थे, और आज कल के आधुनिक सनातन नामधारी वेद मंत्रों का अनर्थ करके कैसे २ वेदार्थ को बिगाड़ रहे हैं यह भाव इस समुल्लास में दिखलाया जायगा। प्रथम—ईश्वर विषयक मन्तव्य में जो २ मंत्र सनातनी उद्धृत करते हैं उनका अर्थ यहां प्रकाश किया जाता है ॥

सहस्रशीर्षा पुरुषः, सहस्राक्षः सहस्रपात्। सभूमिᳲसर्वतस्पृत्वाऽत्यतिष्ठद्दशाङ्गुलम् ॥ यजु० अ० ३१ मं० १

पं० अम्बिकादत्त व्यास मूर्तिपूजा पृ० २० में अपने साकारेश्वरवाद के मन्तव्य को स्पष्ट करते हुए ईश्वर के सहस्रों शिर, आंखे पांव, कथन करते हैं। मूर्ति रहस्य में यह मंत्र ईश्वर की मूर्ति सिद्ध करने के लिये उद्धृत किया गया है, आज कल कौन सनातन धर्म्मी है जो उक्त मंत्र का ईश्वर के सहस्र शिर बनाने में नहीं उपयोग करता, अस्तु पर यहां हम ने यह दिखलाना है कि हमारे आधुनिक सनातन नामधारी भाई सनातन पथ से कहां तक गिरे हैं

सायण महीधर उब्बट यह सब भाष्यकार उक्त मंत्र से ईश्वर का सर्वान्तरात्मत्व और ईश्वर की महान् महिमा सिद्ध करते हैं ॥ "अत्र सर्वप्राणीनां शिरांसित देहान्तः पातित्वा त्तदीया न्यवेति सहस्रशीर्षत्वम्" ॥ यहां सब प्राणियों के शिरादि अवयव उस परमात्मा के भीतर होने से उसका नाम "सहस्र शीर्षा" है यह अर्थ सामवेद में सायणाचार्य्य ने इस मंत्र के किये हैं एवं उब्बट और महीधर ने भी, "सभूमिंसर्वतस्पृत्वाऽत्यतिष्ठ द्दशाङ्गुलम्" के अर्थ सर्व व्यापक के किये हैं, फिर जो लोग "सहस्रशीर्षा" के अर्थ सहस्र शिर वाले मूर्त्तिमान ब्रह्म के करते हैं उनके मत में वह सर्व व्यापक कैसे हो सकता है ? क्योंकि मूर्त्ति पदार्थ सर्व व्यापक कदापि नहीं हो सकता, और "एता-वानस्यमहिमातोऽयायांश्चपूरुषः" यह तीसरा मंत्र पौराणिकों के सहस्र शिरों वाले अर्थ को सर्वथा काट देता है, इसके अर्थ यह हैं कि यह जो कथन किया गया है यह ईश्वर की महिमा है और पुरुष इस से बड़ा है । इस से सार यह निकला कि सहस्र शिरादि अवयव ईश्वर की विभूति कहे जा सकते हैं स्वरूप नहीं। यदि यह कहें कि विभूति स्वरूप से भिन्न नहीं, यह सर्वथा असङ्गत है, अन्यथा गीतादि पुस्तकों में विभूति रूप से निरूपित पृथिव्यादि जड़ वस्तु समूह भी ईश्वर ही मानना पड़ेगा । इस प्रकार सहस्र शिरादि अवयव ईश्वर के मूर्तिरूप में उपयोग नहीं रखते, किन्तु सहस्र शिरादि अवयव धारी पुरुष ईश्वराधार में हैं इस अभिप्राय से "सहस्रशीर्षा" है। उक्त मंत्र के इसी अभिप्राय को वेद भाष्या

चार्य्य श्री स्वामी दयानन्द सरस्वती जी ने स्व निर्म्मित भाष्य में प्रकाश किया है जिससे सब आधुनिक सनातन धर्म्माभिमानी घवराते हैं । मंत्रार्थ यह है ॥

भाषार्थ–

(सहस्रशीर्षा) इस मंत्र में पुरुष शब्द विशेष्य और अन्य सब पद उसके विशेषण हैं, पुरुष उसको कहते हैं कि जो इस सब जगत् में पूर्ण हो रहा है अर्थात् जिसने अपनी व्यापकता से इस जगत् को पूर्ण कर रखा है, पुर कहते हैं ब्रह्माण्ड और शरीर को, उस में जो सर्वत्र व्याप्त और जो जीव के भीतर भी व्यापक अर्थात् अंतर्यामी है वह पुरुष है । इस अर्थ में निरुक्त आदि का प्रमाण संस्कृत भाष्य में लिखा है सो देख लेना । सहस्र नाम है सम्पूर्ण जगत् का, और असंख्यात का भी नाम है, सो जिसके बीच में सब जगत् के असंख्यात शिर आंख और पग ठहर रहे हैं उसको सहस्रशीर्षा, सहस्राक्ष और सहस्रपात् भी कहते हैं क्योंकि वह अनंत है, जैसे आकाश के बीच में सब पदार्थ रहते और आकाश सबसे अलग रहता है अर्थात् किसी के साथ बंधता नहीं है इसी प्रकार परमेश्वर को भी जानो। (सभूमिꣳसर्वतस्पृत्वा०) सो पुरुष सब जगह से पूर्ण होके पृथिवी को तथा सब लोकों को धारण कर रहा है (अत्यतिष्ठद्द०) दशांगुल शब्द ब्रह्माण्ड और हृदय का वाची है अंगुलि शब्द अंग का अवयव वाची है, पांच स्थूल भूत और पांच सूक्ष्म ये दोनों मिलके जगत् के दश अवयव होते हैं, तथा पांच प्राण और मन, बुद्धि, चित्त, अहंकार ये चार और दशवां जीव, और शरीर में जो हृदय देश है सो भी दश अंगुल

के प्रमाण से लिया जाता है जो इन तीनों में व्यापक होके इनके चारों ओर भी परिपूर्ण हो रहा है इससे वह पुरुष कहाता है, क्योंकि जो उस दशांगुल स्थान का भी उल्लंघन करके सर्वत्र स्थिर है वही सब जगत् का बनाने वाला है ॥

पुरुषएवेदᳬसर्वंयद्भूतंयच्चभाव्यम्। उतामृतत्वस्ये शानोयदन्नेनातिरोहति ॥ २ ॥

भाषार्थ—

(पुरुष एवे०) जो पूर्वोक्त विशेषण सहित पुरुष अर्थात् परमेश्वर है सो जो जगत् उत्पन्न हुआ था जो होगा और जो इस समय में है इस तीन प्रकार के जगत् को वही रचता है उससे भिन्न दूसरा कोई जगत् का रचने वाला नहीं है, क्योंकि वह (ईशान) अर्थात् सर्वशक्तिमान् है (अमृत) जो मोक्ष है उसका देने वाला एक वही है दूसरा कोई नहीं, सो परमेश्वर (अन्न) अर्थात् पृथिव्यादि जगत् के साथ व्यापक होके स्थित है और इससे अलग भी है क्योंकि उस में जन्म आदि व्यवहार नहीं हैं और अपनी सामर्थ्य से सब जगत् को उत्पन्न भी करता है और आप कभी जन्म नहीं लेता ॥

"एतावानस्यमहिमातोज्यायांश्चपूरुषः । पादोऽस्यविश्वाभूतानि त्रिपादस्यामृतंदिवि" ॥ ३ ॥

भाषार्थ—

(एतावानस्य०) तीनों काल में जितना संसार है सब इस पुरुष की ही महिमा है, प्र०—जब उसकी महिमा का परिमाण है तो अंत

भी होगा ? उ०-(अतोज्यायांश्च पूरुषः) उस पुरुष की अनंत महिमा है क्योंकि (पादोऽस्य विश्वाभूतानि) जो यह सम्पूर्ण जगत् प्रकाशित हो रहा है सो इस पुरुष के एक देश में वसता है (त्रिपादस्यामृतंदिवि) और जो प्रकाश गुण वाला जगत् है सो उससे तिगुना है, तथा मोक्ष सुख भी उसी ज्ञान स्वरूप प्रकाश में है, और वह पुरुष सब प्रकाश का भी प्रकाश करने वाला है ॥

इस प्रकार ईश्वर के सामर्थ्य का वर्णन उक्त मंत्रों में स्पष्ट है जिसको बिगाड़ कर मूर्त्तिरहस्य पृ० ९ में ज्वाला प्रसाद भार्गव यह लिखते हैं कि उस ब्रह्म का अमृत त्रिपाद स्वरूप गो लोक में विराजमान है वही ब्रह्मा नारायण का अवतार हुआ और इसी विषय में इस चतुर्थ मन्त्र को भी लगाते हैं ॥

त्रिपादूर्ध्वउदैत्पुरुषः पादोऽस्येहाभवत्पुनः। ततो विष्वङ्व्यक्रामत् साशनानशनेअभि ॥ ४ ॥

सायणाचार्य्य इस मंत्र के यह अर्थ करते हैं कि वही त्रिपात्पुरुष माया में आकर पुनः पुनः संसार रूप होते हैं और इसी अर्थ को गीता के इस श्लोक से मण्डन करते हैं कि अस्यसर्वस्य जगतः परमात्मलेशत्वं भगवताप्युक्तं । विष्टभ्याहमिदं कृत्स्नमेकांशेनास्थितोजगदिति ॥ अर्थ-इस जगत् को परमात्मा का अंश होना भगवान् कृष्ण ने भी कहा है कि मैं ही इस सबका सहारा होकर एक अंश से जगत् रूप हूं, यहां महीधर ने भी यही मायावाद वेदान्त का वेश पहनाया है कि सर्व वस्तु चराचररूप परमात्मा ही स्वयं हो गया । उव्वट ने उक्त मंत्र के

अथ, सायण महीधर दोनों से विरुद्ध किये हैं कि यह सब जगत् परमात्मा से ही उत्पन्न हुआ है इस प्रकार परमात्मा को जगत् का कारण कथन किया है, आधुनिक सनातन धर्म्मियों ने तीनो आचार्य्यों की मर्य्यादा को उल्लंघन करके उक्त मंत्र को अवतार विषय में लगाया है। मंत्रार्थ यह है कि वह परमात्मा अमृत रूप त्रिपाद् से ऊपर है अर्थात् त्रिपाद से उसकी इयत्ता नहीं कथन की गई, और जो चतुर्थांश रूप पाद था वह संसार रूप हुआ। (पादोऽस्येहाभवत्पुनः) "अस्य परमेश्वरस्य पादः इह संसारे अभवत्। तत्पश्चात्साशनाअनशने" सब जड़ चेतन की रचना में उद्देश से (व्याक्राम्यत्) व्याप्त हुआ, अर्थात् सब जगत् का कारण अंश रूप प्रकृति से जगत् को रचा और वह परमात्मा उक्त चार पादों से भी महान् है, चार पाद रूप उसकी सीमा नहीं, यह मंत्र का आशय है॥

अब प्रश्न यह उत्पन्न हुआ कि उस निराकारेश्वर से जो कूटस्थ नित्य है जिसकी यह शिरादि अवयव महिमा है उस से यह साकार जगत् कैसे हुआ, इसके उत्तर में यह कहा है, कि—

ततो विराडजायत विराजो अधिपूरुषः। सजातो अत्यरिच्यत पश्चाद्भूमिमथोपुरः॥ ५॥

अर्थ—उस निराकार सर्व व्यापक परमात्मा से विराट उत्पन्न हुआ। विविधा राजन्ते वस्तु नियंत्रेति विराट—जिस में नाना प्रकार का कार्य्य जगत् रहे उसका नाम विराट है, अर्थात् यह ब्रह्माण्ड उत्पन्न हुआ और यह ब्रह्माण्ड परमात्मा के उस अंश

रूप पाद से उत्पन्न हुआ, जो मृत्यु रूप चतुर्थ पाद अर्थात् परि-णामी नित्य प्रकृति रूप पाद है, इससे यह सिद्ध हुआ कि परमा-त्मा जगत् का निमित्त कारण है, और उपादान कारण प्रकृति है इस प्रकार परमात्मा से जड़ जगत् की उत्पत्ति उसको विकारी सिद्ध नहीं करती । उस विराट प्रकृति कार्य्य रूप ब्रह्माण्ड से, (अधिपूरुषः) पुरुष में होने वाली सूक्ष्म प्रकृति, अंशो का कार्य्य जीवों का देह, अर्थात् प्राण वायु जिससे मिलके परिछिन्न चेतन जीव संज्ञा को धारण करता है जीव प्राण धारणे—इस धातु से जीव शब्द की सिद्धि है इससे भी यही पाया गया कि अधि पुरुष से प्राण वायु का अभिप्राय है, अन्यथा भूमि आदिकों से प्रथम जीव देह का वर्णन असङ्गत होता, पौराणिक लोग "अधि पूरुषः" के अर्थ ब्रह्मा के करते हैं जो उनके मत में वेद और सृष्टि का कर्ता है । यह अर्थ इन दो युक्तियों से खण्डन हो जाते हैं । (१) विराट जड़ जगत् से ब्रह्मा की उत्पत्ति उनके स्वमत विरुद्ध है । (२) इसी सूक्त के छठे मंत्र में यज्ञरूप परमात्मा से वेदोत्पत्ति मानी है जिससे पौराणिक ब्रह्म से वेदोत्पत्ति मानना खण्डन हो जाती है । (सजातः) का अन्वय "अधिपूरुषः" के साथ है और जिस पुरुष से यह विराट और इस प्राणधारी जीव का आविर्भाव हुआ वह "अतिरिच्यते" जीव प्रकृतिभ्यां भेदेनवर्त्तत" इत्यर्थः फिर भूमि आदि पृथक २ पुर उत्पन्न हुए, इस भेद के कथन करने की आवश्यक्ता इस लिये पड़ी कि कोई पुरुष (ततोविराड ऽजायत) के अर्थ ईश्वर के अभिन्ननिमित्तोपादान के न समझ जाय । और इस बात को और भी स्पष्ट कर देने के लिये यह

छठा मंत्र है ॥

तस्माद्यज्ञात्सर्वहुतः संभृतं पृषदाज्यम्। पशूंस्तांश्चक्रे वायव्या नारण्या ग्राम्याश्चये ॥ ६ ॥
तस्माद्यज्ञात्सर्वहुत ऋचः सामानि जज्ञिरे । छन्दांसिजज्ञिरे तस्माद्यजुस्त स्मादजायत ॥७॥

अर्थ—उस परमात्मा से अन्न घृतादि सब पदार्थ उत्पन्न हुए और सब प्रकार के पशु आदि प्राणि, इस मंत्र से यह सिद्ध हुआ कि पुरुष सूक्त में इस प्रकरण से सृष्टि उत्पत्ति और सृष्टि विद्या संक्षेप से वर्णन की गई है । इसमें अवतार का कोई प्रकरण नहीं। इसी बात को यह सातवां मंत्र स्पष्ट सिद्ध करता है कि उस यज्ञ रूप परमात्मा से ऋग् यजु आदि वेद उत्पन्न हुए, जब उस निराकार ईश्वर से ऋगादि वेद उत्पन्न हो गए तो फिर सृष्टि उत्पन्न होने में क्या कठिनाई थी, इस मंत्र में वेदों की उत्पत्ति मानना सर्व सम्मत है । ज्वाला प्रसाद भार्गव इस मंत्र के अर्थ यह करते हैं कि उस यज्ञ महानारायण से जो ब्रह्म का प्रथम अवतार है और सनातन धर्म्म के चतुर्विंशति अवतारों से वहिष्कृत है, उससे वेद उत्पन्न हुए, यह अर्थ भी यह सिद्ध करते हैं कि ब्रह्मा जी से वेदों की उत्पत्ति मानना सनातन धर्म्मियों का वेद विरुद्ध है इसी न्यूनता के कारण पं: ज्वालाप्रसाद मिश्र ने उक्त मंत्र को वेदोत्पत्ति में नहीं लिखा, अस्तु प्रकृत यह है कि इस पुरुष सूक्त से जो सनातन धर्म्मी लोग अवतार सिद्ध करते हैं यह बात इस सूक्त से कदापि सिद्ध नहीं हो सकती ॥

और जो इस सूक्त से ब्रह्म की साकारता सिद्ध की जाती है वह भी सिद्ध नहीं हो सकती, क्योंकि यदि इस सूक्त का साकार वाद में अभिप्राय होता तो, "एतावानस्यमहिमा" इस मंत्र में प्रकृति रूप अंश को पादरूप कथन करके ब्रह्म का अमृत स्वरूप न कथन किया जाता, और नाही "त्रिपादूर्ध्वउदैत्पुरुषः" इस मंत्र में असीम स्वरूप परमात्मा का निरूपण किया जाता इत्यादि तर्कों से इस सूक्त का साकार वाद में तात्पर्य्य नहीं। और जो ज्वालाप्रसाद मिश्र यह लिखता है कि "यदि ब्रह्म निराकार था तो निराकार से निराकार ही होना चाहिये था, यह साकार सृष्टि क्या स्वामी जी के घर से आगई" (तिमिर भास्कर पृ० ८९) यह दिव्य दृष्टि का तर्क मिश्र जी को तभी तक सूझता है जब तक सनातन धर्म्म के बड़े २ आचार्य्यों के घर तक मिश्र जीकी दृष्टि नहीं पड़ी। यदि मिश्र जी तर्क पाद के सू० ११ के शङ्कर-भाष्य को देखते तो ऐसे तर्क से कदापि तृप्त न होते कि "निरा कार से तो निराकार ही होना चाहिये था" क्योंकि उस में काणाद मत निराकरण करते हुए स्वामी शङ्कराचार्य्य ने यह माना है कि चेतन ब्रह्म से भी अचेतन सृष्टि हो सकती है। मिश्र जी के मत में तो जड़ ब्रह्म से ही जड़ सृष्टि होनी चाहिये, इस लिये यह आधुनिक मिश्र, वेदान्त परिष्कार कर्ता वाचस्पति मिश्र के सम सनातन धर्म्म परिष्कार करते हुए ब्रह्म को जड़भी अवश्य मानेंगे॥

और जो यह लिखा है कि इस सूक्त में सृष्टि की उत्पत्ति का वर्णन है स्वामी जी गुण कर्म्म के गीत गाने लगे, यह तर्काभास

वादी को भी कलङ्कित करता है क्योंकि वादी भी सृष्टि की उत्पत्ति में जन्म से ब्राह्मणादि के गीत गाते हैं, यदि यह कहा जाय कि ब्राह्मणादि जाति की उत्पत्ति तो उत्पत्ति प्रकरण में है ? इसका उत्तर यह है कि एवं गुण कर्म्म से ब्राह्मणादि वर्णों की उत्पत्ति भी सृष्टि उत्पत्ति प्रकरण में ही श्री स्वामी दयानन्द जीने निरूपण की है फिर यह गीत कैसे ॥

पर सच है वादी को "ब्राह्मणोस्य मुखमासीत्" इस मंत्र के स्वामी कृत अर्थ गीत क्यों न मालूम हों क्योंकि उसको तो इस बात का कष्ट है कि "ब्राह्मणोस्य मुखमासीत्" के अर्थ मुखादि अवयवों को उपचारार्थ मानके क्यों किये गए, क्योंकि उपचार मानने से इनका ईश्वर साकार उड़ जाता है, और जो वादी प्रकरण का अनुसरण करके "मुखंकिमस्यासीत" का प्रश्न उठाकर मुखादि अवयवों के मुख्यार्थ को दृढ़ करता है, और स्वामी कृत अर्थ का उपहास करता है, वह यह नहीं देखता कि मैं "तस्मात् यज्ञात् सर्वहुत ऋचः" इस मंत्र को वेदोत्पत्ति प्रकरण से निकालकर सृष्टि उत्पत्ति में डाल क्यों चुप चाप रह जाता हूं। यों तो निराकार ईश्वर से वेदोत्पत्ति होने में आप नाना प्रकार के तर्क करते हैं पर इस मंत्र के अर्थ करने में वादी के मुख से एक भी अक्षर नहीं निकलता, केवल अपने वाग् व्यापार से इधर उधर के गीत गाकर ही मंत्रार्थ करने से सर्वथा शून्य रह जाता है और तर्क यह देता है कि (गाय, घोड़े, बकरी कहां से उत्पन्न हो गए क्या इनका भी किसी के हृदय में प्रकाश कर

दिया था) तिमिरभास्कर पृ० ८९ यहां तो मिश्रजी ने योग्यता की पूरी योग्यता प्रकट कर दी, जो गाय, घोड़े, बकरी आदि का प्रकाश वेदों के समय किसके हृदय में हुआ यह प्रश्न किया, पर यह नहीं सोचा कि यह दोष तो ब्रह्मा के हृदय में वेद प्रकाश मानने वालों के मत में भी तुल्य है, क्या जब आपके मत में ब्रह्मा को वेद दिये गये तो क्या गाय, घोड़े ब्रह्मा जी के हृदय में ही प्रकाश किये गये। कहीं निराकार ईश्वर सिद्ध न हो जाय इस भय से ब्रह्मा जी के हृदय में वेदों का प्रकाश आपने माना है तो क्या आपके साकार ईश्वर ने ब्रह्मा जी के हृदय में वेद पकड़ा दिये थे? अस्तु, पर यह बतलाएं क्या गाय घोड़े का रस्सा लगाम भी परमेश्वर ने ब्रह्मा जी के हाथ में पकड़ा दिया था? या गाय घोड़ों की उत्पत्ति के लिये आपके साकार ने कोई आकार प्रथम ही बना छोड़ा था? यदि पौराणिक मत की शरण लेकर इस प्रश्न से बचोगे तो मनुष्याकृति स्त्रियों से पशु आदिकों की उत्पत्ति माननी पड़ेगी जैसी कि भागवत में मानी है। यदि "तस्मादश्वाअजायन्त" उस परमात्मा की शक्ति से सब अश्वादि उत्पन्न हुए, इस वैदिक सिद्धान्त की शरण लें तो यह बतलावें कि आपके साकार ईश्वर ने तो मुखादि अवयवों से सृष्टि पैदा की, कहो पशु कौनसे अङ्ग से पैदा हुए? क्या इन की भी अपनी वर्ण व्यवस्था के सम गाय को ब्राह्मण की उत्पत्ति का स्थान देकर वृषभ को स्वकल्पित ब्राह्मण का सहोदर बनावेंगे, एवं क्षत्रियादिकों का किस पशु को सहोदर बनायेंगे॥

यहां स्वमत को तो स्पष्ट करना था, वा वर्षा के समय आपके

ईश्वर ने हाथी घोड़े ऊपर से फेंक दिये, या मेंड़कों के सम वर्षा-काल में उत्पन्न हो गए? हमारे वैदिक सिद्धान्त में तो पश्वादिकों की उत्पत्ति ईश्वर शक्ति से मानी है जिस में स्त्री पुरुष के जोड़े से उत्पत्ति का क्रम पश्वादिकों में कहीं भी नहीं। और जो ज्वाला प्रसाद मिश्र ने ब्रह्मा जी की उत्पत्ति का आक्षेप आर्य्य सिद्धान्तों पर करके यह लिखा है कि "तो आपने ईश्वर की भी लुगाई बनाई होगी, जिस से ब्रह्मा जी उत्पन्न हुए" तिमिर भा० पृ० ४२ यह अपनी घरों की पौराणिक बात का झूठ मूठ स्वामी जी के मन्तव्यों पर दोष लगाकर यह मिथ्या आक्षेप किया है। स्वामी जी ने पौराणिक लोगों के सम ब्रह्मा को सब से प्रथम कहीं नहीं माना, और न कहीं स्त्री पुरुष के जोड़े से प्रथम मनुष्यों की उत्पत्ति मानी है अतः ईश्वर की लुगाई मानने की आवश्यक्ता तो आधुनिक सनातन सिद्धान्त में है न कि आर्य्य सिद्धान्त में। रही यह बात कि आर्य्य सिद्धान्त में पश्वादिकों की उत्पत्ति बिना माता पिता पूर्व काल में कैसे हुई? इसका उत्तर यह है कि परमात्मा की शक्ति से पश्वादि, स्वेदज जन्तुओं के सम प्रथम ईश्वर नियम से उत्पन्न हुए इसी बात को यह अष्टम मंत्र कथन करता है॥

तस्मादश्वा अजायन्त येकेचोभयादतः। गावोह जज्ञिरे तस्मात्तस्माज्जाता अजावयः॥ ८॥

अर्थ—उस परमात्मा से गौ अश्वादि सब पशु उत्पन्न हुए। सनातन धर्म के उव्वट और महीधराचार्य्य इस मंत्र का यह आशय बतलाते हैं कि यह मंत्र यज्ञ के प्रकरण को चलाता है क्योंकि

यज्ञ पशुओं से बिना सिद्ध नहीं हो सकता, इस लिये इस मंत्र में पशुओं की उत्पत्ति कथन की गई है उव्वट और महीधर की प्रतीक यह है, "नहिपशुभिर्विना यज्ञः सिध्येत्" अर्थ—पशुओं से बिना यज्ञ सिद्ध नहीं होता। यहां पं० ज्वाला प्रसाद मिश्र यदि अपने उव्वट महीधराचार्य्य की शरण में रहते तो अपने बीसवें सिद्धान्त में यज्ञ की परिभाषा करते हुए यज्ञ में पशुवध से किनारा न करते ॥

दूसरी बात यह है कि यदि उक्त भाष्यों तक दृष्टि पहुंचती तो गुण कर्म के अर्थ को गीत न बतलाते, क्योंकि यहां तो सनातन धर्म्म के सब आचार्य्यों ने इस जगदुत्पत्ति प्रकरण में यज्ञ प्रकरण भी माना है, और इस नवम मंत्र से यज्ञ में पशुवध स्पष्ट सिद्ध किया है, इसी लिये आज कल के सनातनधर्म्मी इस मंत्रार्थ से किनारा करते हैं, ज्वालाप्रसाद भार्गवादि इसको स्व पुस्तक में लिखते ही नहीं, और प्रकरण के अनुसरण का बड़ा दम्भ भरने वाले पं० ज्वालाप्रसाद मिश्र भी "ब्राह्मणोस्य मुखमासीत्" इस मंत्र में श्री स्वामी दयानन्द जी के अर्थों को खण्डन करते हुए प्रकरण यों बतलाते हैं कि जिस परमेश्वर का यजन किया उसकी कितने प्रकारों से कल्पना हुई, उसका मुख भुजा उरु कौन हुए, और कौन पाद कहे जाते हैं ? इसके उत्तर में (ब्राह्मणोस्येति) यह मंत्र है ति० भा० पृ० ८३। यहां साफ ही उस बात पर पड़दा डाल गए जिसका यज्ञ किया जाना महीधर उव्वट मानते थे, उसको उलटा स्वामी दयानन्द सरस्वती जी के अर्थों को मानकर यह लिखते हैं कि जिस परमेश्वर का यजन किया यहां यह स्मरण

रहे कि परमेश्वर विषयक इस मंत्र को स्वामी दयानन्द जी ने ही लगाया है सन्देह हो तो देखो पुरुष सूक्त भाष्यभूमिका पृ० १२८

मंत्रार्थ स्पष्टतया यह है कि (तंयज्ञं) उस यज्ञ परमात्मा को यज्ञ यहां परमेश्वर का नाम है यह अर्थ "तस्मात् यज्ञात् सर्वहुत ऋच:" इस मंत्र से उभय पक्ष को सम्मत है (बर्हिषि) हृदय स्थान में स्मरणात्मक संस्कार से (पुरुषं जातमग्रतः) यह उस यज्ञ पुरुष का विशेषण है कि कैसे पुरुष को जो सृष्टि से प्रथम (जातं) जनि प्रादुर्भावे से जात शब्द निष्पन्न हुआ है जिस के अर्थ प्रकट के हैं अर्थात् सृष्टि से प्रथम जो सब जगह प्रगट था उसी से देव विद्वान् साध्याः साधन सम्पन्न ज्ञानी लोग "ऋषयो मंत्र द्रष्टारः" ऋषि मंत्रार्थों के परम ज्ञाता लोग उसी परमात्मा से पूर्व कल्पों में यज्ञ करते रहे यह मंत्र के अर्थ हैं। जिस में महीधर ने "यूप" यज्ञस्तम्भ में बांधे हुए पशु के किये हैं, इसी कारण इसमंत्र को गोप्र करके "यत्पुरुषं व्यदधुः कतिधा व्यकल्पयन्" इस मंत्र से तिमिर भास्कर में प्रकरण चलाया है अस्तु इस प्रकरण से भी उनका मत सिद्ध नहीं होता, इस मंत्र में (व्यकल्पयन्) कल्पयन् क्रिया इस अर्थ को सिद्ध करती है कि उस पुरुष के मुखादि अवयव कल्पना किये गए हैं वास्तव में उसके मुखादि नहीं। यही अर्थ "चन्द्रमा मनसोजातः" इस मंत्र के भाष्य में उव्वट ने किये हैं कि "चन्द्रमा मनसः चेतसः जातः अजायतेति कल्पना" चन्द्रमा मन से उत्पन्न हुआ यह कल्पना है और इसी बात को मंत्र १३ में स्पष्ट कर दिया है कि

यह जो परमात्मा के अवयवों की कल्पना की गई है यह कल्पित है वस्तुतः नहीं, इसी लिये उव्वट लिखता है कि "तथैव सर्वान् लोकान् पुरुषस्यावयव भूतान् अकल्पयन्निति" अर्थ-इसी प्रकार पुरुष के अवयव रूप सब लोकों की कल्पना की गई। यहां यह प्रश्न होगा कि यहां उव्वट के अर्थ क्यों प्रमाण किये जाते हैं, और जहां २ उव्वट भाष्यकार के अर्थ अपने से विपरीत आते हैं वहां क्यों छोड़ दिये जाते हैं ? इसका उत्तर यह है कि जब वादी के माने हुए सनातन भाष्यकारों में से एक भी उनके विपरीत हो तोभी हमारा पक्ष दृढ़ होता है क्योंकि उनके पक्ष का भाष्यकार जब ईश्वर की अवयव कल्पना कल्पित मानता है तो स्पष्ट सिद्ध होता है कि आज कलके सनातन धर्म्मी जो पुरुष सूक्त से ईश्वर को साकार सिद्ध करते हैं यह उनकी भूल है। पुरुष के अवयवों की कल्पना को न केवल उव्वट ही मानता है किन्तु अद्वैत विद्याचार्य्य श्री शङ्कराचार्य्य स्वामी रामानुजाचार्य्य प्रभृति सब परमार्थ विद्या के आचार्य्य लोग साकार निरूपण को उपचार ही मानते हैं इस बात को हम बहुधा स्पष्ट कर चुके हैं जैसे कि "द्यौ मूर्द्धानं यास्य विप्रा वदन्ति खंवै नाभी चन्द्र सूर्य्य चनेत्रे" इत्यादि प्रमाणों से पूर्वोक्त आचार्य्यों ने मूर्द्धादि अवयवों की कल्पना उपचार से मानी है जब यह सिद्ध हुआ कि मुखादि अवयव उस पुरुष के कल्पित हैं अर्थात् उपचारार्थ वाले हैं तो फिर उन मुखादि अवयवों से जो ब्राह्मणादि वर्णों की उत्पत्ति मानी है वह मुख्य कैसे समझी जाय ॥

यदि वादी स्वमत के दृढ़ आग्रह से यह कहे कि "ब्राह्मणोस्य मुखमासीत्" इत्यादि पुरुष सूक्त के मंत्रों में जो२ ईश्वर के अवयव कथन किये हैं वह सब मुख्यार्थ वाले ही हैं उपचारार्थ इस सूक्त में कहीं भी नहीं तो हम यह पूछेंगे कि १५वें मंत्र में जो "अवध्नन्न पुरुषं पशु" यह पाठ है इसके क्या अर्थ हैं, आपके भाष्यकार यहां पुरुष में पशु बुद्धि करते हैं कि वह यज्ञ पुरुष पशु रूप से यज्ञ में स्थित है वास्तव में पशु नहीं तो क्या आप यहां उस परमात्मा पुरुष को साक्षात् पशु बना देंगे? यह हम दृढ़ प्रतिज्ञा से बल पूर्वक कहते हैं कि सहस्रों सनातन नामावलम्बी पुरुष सूक्त को साकारवाद में लगाने वाले यदि एक तरफ होकर प्रवल वल लगाएं तब भी यहां पुरुष को पशु कहना मुख्य सिद्ध नहीं कर सक्ते किन्तु गौण ही सब मानेंगे, फिर मुखादि अवयव उसके मुख्य कैसे माने जाते हैं? परिणाम यह निकला कि जब मुखादि अवयव ही परमेश्वर के आरोप से कथन किये गए तो उनसे ब्राह्मणादि वर्णों की उत्पत्ति कैसे? और "ब्राह्मणोस्य मुखमासीत्" इत्याद मंत्रों से साकार ईश्वर की सिद्धि कैसे? परमात्मा के मुखादि अवयव मुख्य मानकर ब्राह्मणादि वर्णों को जन्म से सिद्ध करना वेदाशय से सर्वथा विरुद्ध है। उक्त दोनों मंत्रों का अर्थ यह है, कि (यत्) (यदा) जिस समय में (पुरुषं) परमात्मा के अङ्गों की (व्यदधुः) कल्पना की गई (कतिधा) (व्यकल्पयन्) कितने प्रकारों से कल्पना की गई (मुखं) मुख (किं) क्या (अस्य) परमात्मा का (आसीत्) था (किं) क्या

(बाहू) भुजाएं (किं) क्या (उरु) जंघा (पादा) पाव (उच्येते) कथन किये गए, मंत्रार्थ यह हुआ कि परमात्मा में जो अङ्गों की कल्पना की गई वह कितने प्रकारों से की गई मुख बाहू उरुपाद क्या २ कल्पना किये गए? इस प्रश्न के उत्तर में "ब्राह्मणोस्य मुखमासीत्" यह मंत्र है, इस सङ्गति को पंडित ज्वालाप्रसाद मिश्र भी स्वीकार करते हैं फिर कैसे कह सक्ते हैं कि ब्राह्मणादि वर्ण परमात्मा के मुखादि अवयवों से उत्पन्न हुए, क्योंकि प्रश्न में यह वात स्पष्ट है कि "मुखं किमस्यासीत्" परमात्मा का मुख क्या था प्रश्न यह नहीं, किन्तु मुख से क्या उत्पन्न हुआ? क्या यह अनर्थ हो सक्ता है कि परमात्मा ने यह प्रश्न करके कि मुख क्या था और मुख से उत्पन्न होने वाले का उत्तर दिया, यह प्रश्न विरुद्ध उत्तर ज्वालाप्रसाद मिश्र को ही शोभता है ईश्वर को नहीं ॥

और जो वादी ने यह कहा है कि मंत्र में कोई ब्राह्मण क्षत्रिय के लक्षण नहीं पूछता है किन्तु ईश्वर विषयक प्रश्न है. जब ब्राह्मण क्षत्रिय के लक्षण नहीं पूछे तो जन्म कहां पूछा है? हमारा सिद्धान्त तो प्रश्नोत्तर में स्पष्ट है जो मुखादि अवयवों का प्रश्न था उसके उत्तर में ब्राह्मणादि वर्ण मुखादि रूप प्रतिपादन किये गए, ब्राह्मणादि वर्ण उपचार से उसके मुखादि कहे गये हैं यह आशय "ब्राह्मणोस्य मुखमासीत्" इस मंत्र में स्पष्ट है. अर्थ यह है कि (ब्राह्मणः) ब्राह्मण शब्द से यहां आशय यह है कि ब्रह्म नाम वेद का है ब्रह्मविदस्तमधीते इति ब्राह्मणः- ऐसा ब्राह्मण उस परमात्मा का मुख है एवं क्षत्रियादि शब्दों के यौ-

गिक अर्थ से जो क्षत्रियादि वर्ण हैं उनमें से क्षत्रिय बाहू—वैश्य उरु—शूद्रपाद—उस पुरुष के कल्पना किये गए हैं। यद्यपि इस वेद मंत्र में गुण कर्म्म से ब्राह्मण वा जन्म से ब्राह्मण इसकी कोई व्याख्या नहीं तथापि गुण कर्म का पक्ष इस लिये दृढ़ पाया जाता है कि आदि सृष्टि में जन्म से जाति की प्रवृत्ति न थी और यह तर्क भी इस बात का बाधक है कि एक जन्म का ब्राह्मण माना हुआ और कर्म्म से रावणादिकों के सम राक्षस परमेश्वर का मुख कहलाने योग्य कैसे हो सक्ता, प्रत्युत अतिनीच समझा जाकर आधुनिक सनातन धर्म्मियों की सम्मति में भी ईश्वरावतार से बध किये जाने योग्य होता है तो परमेश्वर के मुख होने की कथा ही क्या ?

और जो "पद्भ्यां शूद्रोऽजायत" इस में पञ्चमी विभक्ति के उत्पन्न होने के अर्थ वादी अत्यन्त बल से कहता है इसका उत्तर उन्हीं के मत से यह है कि "नाभ्या आसी दन्तरिक्षं" यहां पञ्चमी के अर्थ उव्वट यह करता है कि "तस्यैवं विध पुरुषस्य या नाभिः तदेवान्तरिक्षं नभः" अर्थ—पूर्वोक्त पुरुष की जो नाभी है वही अन्तरिक्ष आकाश है अर्थात् नाभि स्थानी आकाश है, यहां आपके उव्वटाचार्य्य ने उत्पत्ति के अर्थ क्यों नहीं किये, करते ही कैसे जब कि इस साकार प्रकरण को ही आचार्य्य लोग उस परमात्मा की अङ्ग कल्पना समझते हैं, देखो इसी मंत्र का उव्वट भाष्य, "यद्यौतत् शीर्षं शिरः समवर्त्तते ति कल्पितम्" अर्थ—जो द्यौलोक है वह शिर कल्पना किया

गया और जो "चन्द्रमा मनसोजातः" इस मंत्र से उत्पत्ति का प्रकरण सिद्ध करते हुए महाडम्बर से साकार बाद का आकार बांधते हुए पं॰ज्वालाप्रसाद मिश्र ने स्वामीजी के उक्त मंत्र के मन के अर्थों पर रुष्ट होकर वर्णसंकर की रीति चलाने वाले इस प्रकार अनन्त गालियों की बोछाड़ झाड़ते हुए यह सिद्ध किया है कि मन के अर्थ मननशीला के नहीं किन्तु ईश्वर के मन के हैं। यहां भी अवयवार्थ से तो नहीं भाग सक्ते "मन्यते बुध्यते अनेनेति मनः" यह अर्थ तो मानना ही पड़ेगा, फिर इतना रोष क्यों जो श्री स्वामी दयानन्दजी का नाम लेकर गालियें दीं अस्तु हम इन की इस निन्दित प्रकृति की ओर ना जाकर इनके सम्प्रदायी मनके माने हुए अर्थों को खोलते हैं देखो गीता में कृष्ण जी कहते हैं "इन्द्रियाणां मनश्चास्मि भूतानामस्मि चेतना" यहां मनके अर्थ स्वामी शङ्कराचार्य्यादि भी यौगिक ही मानते हैं, वहुत क्या यहां तो आपके परमेश्वर स्वयं मन बन गए, फिर वह मन साकार कहां रहा जिससे चन्द्रमा उत्पन्न करेंगे। आपके मत में तो चन्द्रमा को मन का कार्य्य कहना एक ऐसा गोरख धंधा है जो आज तक किसी से भी नहीं सुलझा देखो "नक्षत्राणामहंशशी" इस गीता वाक्य से चन्द्रमा भी आपके भगवान ही वनगए, यदि चन्द्र रूप से कलङ्कित है तो भी आपके भगवान ही हैं, यदि गोतम की स्त्री पर आसक्त हैं तब भी आपके भगवान ही हैं, यदि ऐसे भगवान का ध्यान धरके आप इस पुरुष सूक्त का आशय समझते हैं तो तथास्तु पर इसकी व्यवस्था क्या करेंगे कि यहां तो "चक्षोः सूर्य्योऽजायत" इस

वाक्य में आपके मत में साकार परमेश्वर की आंखों से सूर्य्य उत्पन्न हुआ और गीता में "ज्योतिषां रविरंशुमान्" इस वाक्य में सूर्य्य परमेश्वर है इस दुर्घट घाटी में तो आप सव नाम रूप को मलियामेट करके विवर्त्तवाद का आश्रय लेकर सव को ब्रह्मात्मक सिद्ध करेंगे, यह क्या विचित्र चित्र है कि यहां इतनी उदारता कि सव ब्रह्म विवर्त्त होने से कल्पित है और एक कूटस्थ नित्य ब्रह्म ही सत्य है, वह सदा निराकार एक रस है, और इस पुरुष सूक्त के आशय वर्णन करने में इतनी कृपणता कि यहां ब्रह्म के मुखादि अवयवों का अलङ्कार रूप से वर्णन मानने में इतनी ननु नच करते हैं कि आपके मनके अवयवार्थ भी इतने चुभते हैं कि मनको भी साकार ही मानकर उससे चन्द्रमा द्रव्य की उत्पत्ति मानते हैं ॥

क्यों न हो यही तो न्याय और दार्शनिक विद्या का तत्व है एवं विध विचार करने से स्पष्ट हो जाता है कि यह प्रकरण ईश्वर को देह धारी कथन नहीं करता किन्तु रूप का उपन्यास करके ईश्वर की निराकारता सिद्ध करता है, अन्यथा "वेदाह मेतं पुरुष महान्तं" इत्यादि मंत्रों की सङ्गति इस पुरुष सूक्त में कैसे रहती? उक्त मंत्र में उस पुरुष के ज्ञान का महत्व वर्णन किया गया है और यह भी वतलाया गया है कि उक्त पुरुष के ज्ञान से भिन्न और कोई मुक्ति का मार्ग नहीं। इस मंत्र में जो महान् शब्द आया है उससे यह भी प्रकट हो गया कि यहां महान् शब्द का तात्पर्य्य असीम परमेश्वर का है फिर ससीम साकारादि रूप परमेश्वर का कैसे हो सक्ता है ॥

उव्वट भाष्यकार यह अर्थ करते हैं कि "महान्तं देशकालाद्यवच्छेदरहितं" अर्थ—महान्त का अर्थ देश काल बस्तु कृत परिच्छेद रहित का है उक्त त्रिविध परिच्छेद रहित नहीं। क्यों रह सक्ती है जो साकार न हो क्योंकि साकार वस्तु एक देश में होती है इस लिये देश कृत परिच्छेद वाली होती है एक काल में होने से काल परिच्छेद वाली होती है मूर्त्ति होने से वस्तु कृत भेदवाली होती है ॥

सच्चिदानन्दादि लक्षण युक्त ईश्वर उक्त दोषों से रहित है इस प्रकार मीमांसा करने से इस सूक्त में ईश्वर के साकार होने का गंध मात्र भी नहीं पाया जाता। पर एवं पूर्वोत्तर मंत्रों का विस्तार पूर्वक आशय वर्णन करने से ग्रंथ वढ़ता है अतएव हम मंत्रार्थ मात्र लिखते हैं। केवल संक्षेप से उन मंत्रों के पौराणिक अर्थ सूचित कर दिया करेंगे ॥

चन्द्रमामनसोजातश्चक्षोः सूर्य्योऽजायत। श्रोत्राद्वायुश्च प्राणश्च मुखादग्निरजायत ॥ १२ ॥

अर्थ—उस पूर्वोक्त परमात्मा जिससे विराट उत्पन्न हुआ और जिससे ऋगादि वेद चतुष्टय उत्पन्न हुए, उसके (मनसः) मनन रूप सामर्थ्य से चन्द्रमा उत्पन्न हुआ (चक्षुः) तेज रूप सामर्थ्य से सूर्य्य उत्पन्न हुआ, और (श्रोत्र) सूक्ष्म आकाश रूप सामर्थ्य से (वायुः) साधारण वायु और प्राण वायु उत्पन्न हुई (मुखादग्निरजायत) मुख्य ज्योति रूप सामर्थ्य से अग्नि उत्पन्न हुआ ॥

नाभ्या आसीदन्तरिक्षꣳशीर्ष्णोद्यौः समवर्त्तत।

पद्भ्यां भूमिर्दिशः श्रोत्रात्तथा लोका २ ॥
अकल्पयन् ॥ १३ ॥

अर्थ—उस परमात्मा की (नाभि)अवकाशरूप सामर्थ्य से अन्तरिक्ष उत्पन्न हुआ (शीर्ष्णो) शिरोरूप उत्तम सामर्थ्य से (द्यौ) सूर्य्यादि लोक, (पद्भ्यां,) पादरूप अर्थात् स्थूलरूप होने से वा गतिरूप होने से पादरूप पृथवी के कारण परमाणुरूप सामर्थ्य से भूमि उत्पन्न हुई और (श्रोत्रात्) अवकाशरूप सामर्थ्य से पूर्वोत्तरादि दिशाएं उत्पन्न हुई (तथालोकांअकल्पयन) तथा पूर्वोक्त प्रकार से लोक लोकान्तरों के कारणरूप सामर्थ्य से सब लोकान्तर उत्पन्न हुए ॥

"चन्द्रमा मनसोजातः" इससे और "नाभ्याऽसीत्" इससे सम्पूर्ण ब्रह्माण्डों की उत्पत्ति उस पूर्ण परमात्मा के सामर्थ्य से दिखलाई गई, अब यज्ञ का प्रकार परमात्मा दिखलाते हैं ॥

यत्पुरुषेण हविषा देवा यज्ञमतन्वत। वसन्तो ऽस्यासीदाज्यं ग्रीष्म इध्मः शरद्धविः ॥ १४ ॥

अर्थ—(यत्पुरुषेण हविषा) उस परमात्मा के दिये हुए हविः से देव लोग जो यज्ञ करते हैं उस यज्ञ में यह सामग्री हैं, वसन्त ऋतु उस यज्ञ का (आज्य) घृत है ग्रीष्म ऋतु (इध्म) समिधाएं और शरदृतु उस यज्ञ का (हविः)हवन की सामग्री, भाव यह है कि प्राकृत नियम से उक्त यज्ञ होता है जिसमें वसन्त काल में जो वनस्पति आदि फूलते हैं उनके रसादि ग्रीष्मकाल

रूपी अग्नि में घृत के समान हैं शरदृतु के पदार्थ हविः के समान हैं यह प्राकृत यज्ञ उस पुरुष परमात्मा के नियम से है और यह वक्ष्यमाण इस यज्ञ में परिधियें हैं एक विंशती समिधाएं हैं।

सप्तास्यासन्परिधयस्त्रिसप्त समिधःकृताः।देवा यद्यज्ञं तन्वाना अबध्नन्पुरुषं पशुम् ॥ १५ ॥

अर्थ— देवलोग जिस यज्ञ को करते हैं और (पुरुषं) परमात्म अविशेषेण, सर्वं पश्यतीतिपशुःदृशि प्रेक्षणे से यह शब्द उणादि प्रत्यय होने से बनता है दृशिको पश्यादेश होजाता है, एवं विध सर्व द्रष्टा जो परमात्मा है उसको देव उपासक लोग (अवध्नन्) ध्यान द्वारा अन्तः करण में स्थिर करते हैं इस यज्ञ की पृथ्वी के ऊपर जो सात प्रकार के तत्वों की रचना है अर्थात् वायु आदिकों के चक्र हैं वही परिधि रूप हैं जो यज्ञ साधन वेदी की शोभा रूप हैं। पांच महाभूत, पांच तन्मात्रा, पांच ज्ञानेन्द्रिय पांच कर्म्मेन्द्रिय, इक्कीसवां मन, यह इक्कीस समिधा हैं, पूर्वोक्त साधन सामग्री से ध्यानी लोग परमात्मा देव का ध्यान करते हैं॥

पौराणिक लोग इसका यह अर्थ करते हैं कि यह मंत्र पशु यज्ञ को सिद्ध करता है। "देवा इन्द्रादयः यथा यज्ञं पुरुष मेधाख्यं विस्तारयन्तः। पुरुषं पशुं अबध्नन् हतवन्तः" अर्थ—इन्द्रादि देव जिस प्रकार पुरुष मेध यज्ञ में पुरुष रूप पशु को हनन करते हैं एवं इस यज्ञ में उस परमात्मा रूप पशु को ध्यानी योगी लोग ध्यान द्वारा, दृष्टान्त दार्ष्टान्त का साम्य न होना पौराणिक मत का ही दोष है, हमें दर्शाना यह अपेक्षित

था कि पौराणिक लोग यज्ञ में पशुवध करना मानते हैं, जो पशु वध के दृष्टान्त से इस मंत्र में स्पष्ट कर दिया है ॥

वेद मंत्र का आशय हम ऊपर कथन कर आए हैं जिस में पुरुष का विशेषण पशु शब्द है जिसके अर्थ सर्व द्रष्टा के हैं अतएव वैदिक पथ पशुवध के कलङ्क से सर्वथा रहित है इसी बात को इस मंत्र से स्पष्ट करते हैं कि वैदिक लोग (यज्ञ) परमात्मा की उपासना से ही यज्ञ करते हैं नाकि पशु आदिकों से ॥

यज्ञेन यज्ञमयजन्त देवास्तानि धर्म्माणि प्रथमान्यासन् । तेहनाकंमहिमानः सचन्त यत्र पूर्वेसाध्याःसन्ति देवाः ॥ १६ ॥

अर्थ—(देवाः) विद्वान् लोग (यज्ञ) परमात्मा से (यज्ञं) यज्ञ का यजन करते हैं (तानि धर्म्माणि) वही धर्म्म (प्रथमाणि) सबधर्म्मों से मुख्य है, एवं विध यज्ञ करने वाले ही स्वर्ग को भोगते हैं। जिस स्वर्ग में (साध्या) साधन सम्पन्न लोग उक्त उपासना रूप यज्ञ करके पूर्व काल से सुखी हैं, स्वर्ग से यहां अवस्था विशेष का अभिप्राय है लोक विशेष का नहीं, अब इस यज्ञ प्रकरण के अनन्तर इस मंत्र में ईश्वर का जगत्कर्तृत्व का वर्णन करके परमात्मा के ज्ञान का महत्व कहते हैं ॥

अद्भ्यः संभृतः पृथिव्यै रसाच्च विश्वकर्म्मणः समवर्त्तताग्रे। तस्य त्वष्टा विदधद्रूपमेति तन्मर्त्यस्य देवत्वमाजा न मग्रे ॥ १७ ॥

अर्थ—विश्वकर्म कार्य्यं यस्य स विश्वकर्म्मा-उस परमात्मा रूप निमित्त कारण से (अद्भ्यः) जलरूप उपादान कारण से और (पृथिव्यैः) पृथिवीरूप उपादान कारण से,पृथिवीजल, यहां उपादान मात्र का उपलक्षण है (अग्रे) आदिकाल में जगत् (समवर्त्तत) कार्य्य दशा को प्राप्त हुआ, समवर्त्तत क्रिया से जगत् का अध्याहार हो जाता है (तस्य) (जगतः) उस जगत् के (त्वष्टा) परमात्मा (विविधरूपमेति) नाना प्रकार के रूपों को ज्ञान द्वारा प्राप्त हुआ (मर्त्यस्य) मरणधर्म्म वाले नाम रूपात्मक जगत् का यह रचना रूप (देवत्वं) दिव्यगुण युक्त को (आजानं) प्राप्त हुआ अर्थात् उक्त प्रकार की रचना से यह जगत् दिव्य सुंदर रूप वाला हो गया ॥

सनातन धर्म्म के महीधरादि आचार्य्य इस मंत्र को सूर्य्य पक्ष में लगाते हैं और यह कहते हैं कि (त्वष्टा) सूर्य्य पृथिवी जलादि पांच भूतों से प्रथम है, न केवल यही बात किन्तु (विश्वकर्म्मा) ब्रह्मा से भी सूर्य्य पहले था यह अर्थ वेदके आशय से सर्वथा विरुद्ध है क्योंकि "वेदाहमेतम्" इस मंत्र में ईश्वर का वर्णन है इस को सब भाष्य कार मानते हैं कि इस मंत्र में सर्व व्यापक परमेश्वर का वर्णन है यह सर्वसम्मत सिद्धान्त है और "आदित्यवर्णं" यह शब्द इस अर्थ को स्पष्ट सिद्धकरता है कि यहां सूर्य्य की स्वतः प्रकाश होने से ब्रह्म को उपमा दी गई है जब इस मंत्र में सूर्य्य उपमान है और ब्रह्म उपमेय है तो ब्रह्म भौतिक सूर्य्य कैसे होसक्ता है, इसलिये यह आशय स्पष्ट है कि "एतं पुरुषं" कथन करने से "अद्भ्यसंभृतः" इस मंत्र में

वर्णित (त्वष्टा) का "वेदाह मेतम्" इस मंत्र में ग्रहण है इस लिये "त्वष्टा" शब्द यहां ब्रह्म का वाचक है ॥

वेदाहमेतं पुरुषं महान्तमादित्यवर्णंतमसः परस्तात् । तमेव विदित्वाति मृत्युमेति नान्यः पन्था विद्यतेऽयनाय ॥ १८ ॥

अर्थ—(अहं) मैं (एतं) पूर्वोक्त पुरुषं (वेद) जानता हूं (महान्तं) जो देश कालादि से परिच्छिन्न नहीं अर्थात् सर्व व्यापक है (आदित्य वर्ण) आदित्य सूर्य्य के समान जिसका वर्ण है इससे स्व प्रकाश अभिप्रेत है और जो (तमसः) अविद्यारूप अन्धकार से परे है, उक्त विशेषणों वाले पुरुष को जानकर ही (अतिमृत्युं) मृत्यु से रहित जो मोक्ष रूप पद है उसको प्राप्त होता है (नान्यः पन्था) और कोई मार्ग उसके (अयनाय) जानने के लिये नहीं। इस मंत्र को भी महीधर सूर्य्य मण्डल में रहने वाले पुरुष में लगाता है, और "आदित्यवर्ण" का यह उत्तर देता है कि यहां अपने लिये अपनी ही उपमा है, यह अर्थ सर्वथा असङ्गत है ॥

इन पौराणिक भाष्यकारों की बुद्धि पर अत्यन्त शोक है जो पूर्वापर पर परदा डालकर लोगों की बुद्धि को व्यामोहित करना चाहते हैं देखो "चन्द्रमा मनसो जातश्चक्षो सूर्य्योऽजायत्" इस मंत्र के भाष्य में महीधर सूर्य्य की उत्पत्ति परमात्मा के चक्षुरूप सामर्थ्य से मान आया है। इससे सार यह निकला कि जब सूर्य्य स्वयं कार्य्य है तो वह "वेदाहमेतं" इस मंत्र का विषय कैसे हो सक्ता है ॥

यदि यह कहा जाय कि जिस पुरुष का ज्ञान इस मंत्र में निरूपण किया गया है वहतो सूर्य्य मण्डल में रहने वाला है तो उत्तर यह है कि जब उस परमात्मा के चक्षुरूप सामर्थ्य से सूर्य्य नहीं उत्पन्न हुआ था तव वह आपका सूर्य्य मंडलस्थ पुरुष किस में स्थिर था ॥

एवं अर्थों के अनर्थ करने वाले भाष्यकारों ने वेदार्थ को ऐसा विगाड़ा है कि जिसका सुधार अति दुर्घट दिखाई देता है ॥

देखो फिर महीधर ने इसके आगे के "प्रजापतिश्चरति" इस मंत्र को जीव के ब्रह्म वनने में लगा दिया है, यहां याद रखने योग्य यह वात है कि ईश्वर की कृपा से और महर्षि स्वामी दयानन्द जी के परिश्रम से यह वीज आधुनिक सनातन धर्म्म के भाष्यकारों के हृदय में वोया गया है जिससे अब वे सूर्य्यादि जड़ पदार्थों की शरण छोड़कर यथा शक्ति ईश्वर विषय के मंत्रों को ईश्वर विषय में ही लगाते हैं प्रमाण के लिये देखो मूर्त्तिरहस्य पंः ज्वालाप्रसाद भार्गव कृत पृ० ९ इसमें आपने "वेदाहमेतं पुरुषं" इस मंत्र के अर्थ ईश्वर विषयक किये हैं, केवल एक यही पण्डित नहीं किन्तु पंः ज्वालाप्रसाद मिश्र भी तिमिरभास्कर पृ० २१८ में उक्त मंत्र के अर्थ निम्नलिखित करते हैं अर्थ—मैं उस महान् पुरुष को जानता हूं जो प्रकाश स्वरूप अंधकार से परे है जिसको जानकर यह प्राणी मृत्यु को अति क्रमण करता है अर्थात् जन्म मरण से छूटता है परमपद प्राप्ति के निमित्त और कोई मार्ग नहीं है ॥

सच है सत्य वही जो सिर चढ़ बोले, अब बतलाओ यह अर्थ कहां से उड़ाए तुमतो सूर्य्य मण्डलस्थ पुरुष की उपासना करने वाले थे यहां क्यों महीधरादिकों की कार को काट गए और पौराणिक धर्म्म के सहस्र मुख को यहां तक मूक कर गए कि परमपद की प्राप्ति के निमित्त और कोई मार्ग नहीं है 'वेदाह मेतम्' के भाष्य में यह मान बैठे। यहां क्यों पौराणिकों के मुक्ति के सहस्र मार्गों को मेट गए, इतना ही नहीं गीता के इस श्लोक को भी धोकर पी गए।

यो यो यां यां तनुंभक्तः श्रद्धयार्च्चितु मिच्छति।
तस्य तस्याचलांश्रद्धां तामेव विदधाम्यहम्॥
भ० गी० अ० ७ श्लो० २१॥

जो जिस किसी मार्ग से पुरुष चाहे आए सब मार्गों से मुझे ही प्राप्त होता है। और सनातन धर्म्म के इस मुख्य सिद्धान्त पर भी चोट कर गए जिसको पं: अम्बिकादत्त व्यास ने इस प्रकार लिखा है हम किसकी पूजा नहीं करते? हमारी पूजा परिपाटी से क्या बच जाता है सूर्य्य चन्द्रादि ग्रह तथा तारों की पूजा हम करते हैं, वायु जल, अग्नि आदि तत्वों की पूजा हम करते हैं नदी तड़ाग समुद्र कूपादि की पूजा हम करते हैं इत्यादि सहस्रों मार्ग हैं। और आप परमपद की प्राप्ति के लिये एक ही मार्ग बतलाते हैं। सच यह है यहां तो स्वामी दयानन्द सरस्वती जी की छाया पड़ गई जो "नान्यः पन्था विद्यतेऽयनाय" के अर्थ यह किये कि अविद्यान्धकार रहित स्वतः प्रकाश निरा-

कार एक परमात्मा के ज्ञान से विना परमपद प्राप्ति के निमित्त और कोई मार्ग नहीं है ॥

ठीक है यही सत्य है पर "प्रजापतिश्चरति" इस मंत्र के अर्थों में इतनी फेर फार क्यों? जो महीधर का अहं ब्रह्मवाद और उव्वट का निराकार ईश्वरवाद उड़ा गए और निराकार के अवतार की ऐसी तार बांधी कि सब कुछ भूल गए, जो अजन्मा परमेश्वर को गर्भ वास कलङ्क लगाने से न टले, देखो उक्त मंत्र का उव्वट यह आशय वर्णन करता है "ये धीरा योगिनः ते तस्य योनिं परिपश्यन्ति, सर्वं त्यागेन परिहरन्ति" अर्थ-धीर योगी जन उस परमात्मा की कारणता को अनुसन्धान करके सब आविद्यक बातों का त्याग करते हैं। अवतार का आशय किसी भाष्यकार ने भी इस मंत्र में नहीं कथन किया, इस बात को हम अर्थाभास निदर्शन प्रकरण में दिखला चुके हैं उसी स्थल में उक्त मंत्र के अर्थ भी किये गए हैं ॥

यो देवेभ्य आतपति यो देवानां पुरोहितः। पूर्वो यो देवेभ्यो जातो नमो रुचाय ब्राह्मये ॥ २० ॥

अर्थ-जो परमात्मा देव लोगों को (आतपति) प्रकाश करता है अथवा सूर्य्यादि देवों को (प्रकाशयति) प्रकाश करता है और उन देवों से पूर्वकाल में कारणरूप होकर सब से प्रथम (जातः) विराजमान है अर्थात् प्रकट है, जनि धातु से जातः शब्द निष्पन्न हुआ है जिसके अर्थ प्रकट के हैं और वह परमात्मा देव विद्वान् तथा सूर्य्यादि भौतिक देव सबका पुरोहित "पुरः" आदि काल

से ही सबका हित करने वाला है, पुरः आदावेव हितं मङ्गलं यस्मात् स पुरोहितः–सूर्य्यादि पक्ष में नियमाधीन रखना ही हित है, ऐसा (रुचाय) रोचमानाय अत्यन्त प्रिय ब्राह्मये ब्रह्मभाव के लिये नमः नमस्कार है ॥

महीधरादिकों ने इस मंत्र को भी सूर्य्य पक्ष में लगाया है। पर ज्वालाप्रसाद भार्गव ने अपने मूर्त्ति रहस्य पृ० ९ में इस मंत्र को निराकार विषय में लगाया है और "रुचं ब्राह्मम्" इस मंत्र को भी निराकार विषय में ही लगाया है, महीधरादि इसको सूर्य्य विषय में लगाते हैं ॥

रुचं ब्राह्मं जनयन्तो देवा अग्रे तदब्रुवन्। यस्त्वैवं ब्राह्मणो विद्यात्तस्य देवा असन्वशे ॥ २१ ॥

अर्थ—(अग्रे) सृष्ट्यादौ सृष्टि के आदि में (ब्राह्मं) ब्रह्म के भाव सच्चिदानन्दादिकों को (रुचं) अति प्रिय रूप, जानते हुए देव लोग यह बोले कि हे परमात्मन् जो लोग आपको इस प्रकार के सच्चिदानन्दादि लक्षण युक्त मानते हैं, सब देव विद्वान् उस ब्रह्मवेत्ता के वश में हो जाते हैं जो ज्ञानी पुरुष आपको ज्योतिः स्वरूप मानता है अर्थात् यथावस्थित सच्चिदादि लक्षण युक्त मानता है ऐसे यथार्थ वेत्ता के वश में सब ज्ञानी लोग रहते हैं, प्रिय मानते हैं यह भाव है ॥

महीधरादिकों ने उक्त मंत्र को सूर्य्य के विषय में लगाया है इस बात का हमें किञ्चन्मात्र भी शोक नहीं, क्योंकि वह लोग ऐसा ही समझते थे, शोक इस बात का है कि ज्वालाप्रशाद भार्गव ने

उक्त मंत्रों के तत्व को समझकर भी "श्रीश्चतेलक्ष्मीश्च" इस मंत्र को महालक्ष्मी के निरूपण में लगा दिया है, इतना भी नहीं सोचा कि जब मैं उक्त मंत्र के अर्थ स्वप्रकाश परमात्मा के कर रहा हूं तो अब वह परमेश्वर कहां से निकल आएगा जिसकी दो स्त्रियें लक्ष्मी और श्री बनाता हूं। सोच कैसे सक्ते हैं जब मत का आग्रह आकर ग्रस लेता है तो सब सत्यार्थ भुला देता है। अवतारवाद के मद में आकर भार्गवजी ब्रह्म के सब भावोंको भूल गए, जिनको पहले अपनी लेखनी से भी लिख आए हैं। इस मंत्र में पुरुष सूक्त का उपसंहार है, "सहस्रशीर्षा" से जिस पुरुष का उपक्रम किया था उस पुरुष की श्री आदि महती शोभा वर्णन करके उक्त विषय का उपसंहार किया गया है, धर्मार्थ, काम, मोक्ष, मनुष्य जन्म के इन चार फलों का अधिकरण एक मात्र वही पुरुष है जिसमें यह सहस्रों लोक लोकान्तरों वाला विश्व एकपाद स्थानी है अर्थात् उस ब्रह्म की अनन्तता में अन्तवाला है केवल रूपकालङ्कार से उसपरब्रह्म की यह निखिल जगत् शोभारूप है, इस भाव को इस मंत्र में वर्णन किया गया है॥

श्रीश्चते लक्ष्मीश्च पत्न्या वहो रात्रे पार्श्वे नक्षत्राणि रूप मश्विनौ व्यात्तम्। इष्णान्निषाणामुंम इषाण सर्वलोकंम इषाण॥ २२॥ य० अ० ३१॥

अर्थ—इस मंत्र का वही सर्वोपरि अर्थ है जो श्रीस्वामीदयानन्द जी ने भूमिका में किये हैं। अर्थ—(श्रीश्चते) हे परमेश्वर आप की

अनंत शोभा रूप श्री और जो अनंत शुभ लक्षण युक्त लक्ष्मी है वे दोनों स्त्री के समान हैं अर्थात् जैसे स्त्री पति की सेवा करती है इसी प्रकार आपकी सेवा आपही को प्राप्त होती है क्योंकि आपने ही सब जगत् को शोभा और शुभ लक्षणों से युक्त कर रखा है परंतु ये सब शोभा और सत्य भाषणादि धर्म के लक्षणों से लाभ, ये दोनों आपकी ही सेवा के लिये हैं सब पदार्थ ईश्वर के आधीन होने से उसके विषय में यह पत्नी शब्द के रूपका लङ्कार से वर्णन किया है वैसे ही जो दिन और रात्रि ये दोनों बगल के समान हैं तथा सूर्य्य और चन्द्र भी दोनों आपके बगल के समान वा नेत्रस्थानी हैं और जितने ये विद्युत् अर्थात् बिजुली ये दोनों मुख स्थानी हैं तथा ओठके तुल्य, और जैसा खुला मुख होता है इसी प्रकार पृथिवी और सूर्य्य लोक के बीच में जो पोल हैं सो मुख के सदृश है (इष्णन्) हे परमेश्वर आपकी दया से (अमुं) परलोक जो मोक्ष सुख है उसको हम लोग प्राप्त होते हैं इस प्रकार की कृपा दृष्टि से हमारे लिये इच्छा करो तथा मैं सब संसार में सब गुणों से युक्त होके सब लोकों के सुखों का अधिकारी जैसे होऊं वैसी कृपा और इस जगत् में मुझ को सर्वोत्तम शोभा और लक्ष्मी से युक्त सदा कीजिये यह आप से हमारी प्रार्थना है सो आप कृपा से पूरी कीजिये ॥

इससे बढ़कर और सत्यार्थ का प्रमाण क्या हो सक्ता है कि मंत्रार्थ दीपिका के कर्त्ता महामोहोपाध्याय पं: शत्रुघ्नशर्म्मा ने भी श्रीस्वामीजी के ही अर्थ का आश्रय लिया है, उव्वट महीधर सायणादि भाष्यों के ज्ञाता पण्डित भी अब सचाई की शरण

लेने लगे हैं अन्यथा कब सम्भव था कि डाक्टर थीवो साहब की अनुमति से बने हुए ग्रंथ में श्री स्वामी दयानन्द जी के अर्थों का भाव झलके ॥

मंत्रार्थ दीपिका पृ० ७९ में "श्रीश्चतेलक्ष्मीश्च" इस मंत्र के यह अर्थ किये हैं, हे पुरुषोत्तम ते तव श्रीलक्ष्मीश्च पत्न्यौ सह चारिण्यौ त्वामालभत इत्यर्थः चकार द्वयं तुल्य प्राधान्य ज्ञापनार्थं श्रीरैश्वर्य्यं लक्ष्मीर्धनं, यद् वशात् पुरुषो लोकानामाश्रयणीयो भवति यद् वशात् पुरुषः लोकानां वा सर्व लोकस्य लक्ष्मीर्दर्शनीयो भवति, लक्ष दर्शनाङ्कनयोरित्यस्यरूपम् । अहो रात्रे पार्श्वे अहन रात्रीश्च पार्श्वद्वयं अहः शब्दः परब्रह्म परः तस्य विद्यात्मकत्वेन प्रकाश रूपत्वात् रात्री शब्दः संसार परः प्रकृतिपरः तस्याविद्यात्मकत्वेन प्रकाशकत्वात् एतेन धर्मार्थकामात्मकः संसारः मोक्षश्च श्री परमेश्वर पार्श्वद्वयमित्युक्तं भवति ॥

भाषार्थ—हे परमेश्वर श्री और लक्ष्मी यह दोनों आपकी पत्नी हैं अर्थात् आपके साथ सदा रहती हैं तुम्हीं को लाभ करती हैं यह अर्थ है, और दो चकार दोनों को बराबर बतलाने के लिये हैं श्री ऐश्वर्य्य का नाम है और लक्ष्मी धनका नाम है श्री से पुरुष सब लोगों के आश्रयण करने योग्य होता है, लक्ष्मी से सब लोगों के दर्शन योग्य हो जाता है अहः और रात्री यह दोनों उस परमेश्वर के पार्श्व हैं । अह शब्द परब्रह्म का वाचक है अर्थात् प्रकाशरूप होने से विद्यारूप है अप्रकाशरूप होने से रात्रि शब्द संसार का बाचक है इससे यह सार निकला कि धर्म्म और अर्थरूप यह संसार और मोक्ष यह दोनों पदार्थ परमे-

श्वर के पास हैं यह बात कही गई ॥

क्या कोई कह सक्ता है कि यह उत्तम अर्थ स्वामी दयानन्द जी की कृपा से नहीं निकले, उब्वट महीधर तो उक्त मंत्र को सूर्य्य पक्ष में लगाते हैं और उस सूर्य्य की श्री और लक्ष्मी यह दो स्त्रियें बनाते हैं इस अनर्थ को उल्लङ्घन करने का बल महामोह पाध्याय शत्रुघ्न शर्म्मा को सामाजिक प्रकाश से मिला है जिसको इस शतक में महर्षि स्वामीदयानन्द ने प्रकाशित किया है ॥

वास्तव में इस मंत्र में पुरुष सूक्त के भाव को कैसी उत्तमता के साथ उपसंहार किया है कि हे परमात्मन् संसार के सर्व ऐश्वर्य्य आपकी शोभा हैं सब सौन्दर्य्य आपके सौन्दर्य्य हैं यह दिन और रात आपके शुक्ल कृष्ण पक्ष की शोभा दे रहे हैं, एवं विध अनन्त शोभायुक्त आप हमारी एहिक पारलौकिक बासनाओं को पूर्ण करें, इस प्रार्थना से यह सूक्त समाप्त हुआ ॥

इतिपुरुषसूक्त व्याख्या समाप्तः ॥

"सहस्रशीर्षा" के समान साकारवाद में यह मंत्र भी असाधारण समझा जाता है प्रायः साकारवादी इसे स्व स्व ग्रंथों में उद्धृत करते हैं । स्वामी बालराम ने इसे अबोध ध्वान्त में लिख कर साकार का साधन किया है, मंत्र यहहै :—

त्र्यम्बकं यजामहे सुगन्धिम्पुष्टि वर्द्धनम् ।
उर्व्वारुक मिव वन्धनान्मृत्योर्मुक्षीयमामृतात् ॥
ऋ० अष्ट०५ अ०४ वर्ग० ३० ग्रन्थाङ्क २३ ।

(त्र्यम्बक) के अर्थ आधुनिक सनातन धर्म्माभिमानी यह करते हैं कि "त्र्यम्बक" तीन नेत्रों वाले शिव का नाम है उस त्रि नेत्र का पूजन इस मंत्र में लिखा है त्रि नेत्र होने से ईश्वर साकार सिद्ध हुआ ॥

संपूर्ण मंत्रार्थ से प्रथम हम "त्र्यम्बक" शब्द पर ही विचार करते हैं कि इसके क्या अर्थ हैं, सायणाचार्य्य इसके यह अर्थ करते हैं कि "त्रयाणां ब्रह्मा विष्णु रुद्राणां अम्बकं पितरं यजामहे" अर्थ–ब्रह्मा बिष्णु रुद्र इन तीनों का पिता जो त्र्यम्बक है हम उसकी पूजा करते हैं। इसप्रकार त्र्यम्बक के अर्थ जो तीन नेत्रों वाले के किये थे यह बात सायणाचार्य्य ने ही काट दी। रही यह बात कि(अम्बक) शब्द के क्या अर्थ हैं, अम्ब गतौ धातु से यह शब्द ण्वुल प्रत्यय से बना है, "अम्बति सर्वं चिद चिदात्मक वस्तु जातमिति ब्रह्म:" जो सब वस्तुओं में प्राप्त हो उसे "अम्बक" कहते हैं, एवं अर्थ यह निकला कि ब्रह्मा, विष्णु रुद्र, इन तीनों का अम्बक परमेश्वर है उसे "अम्बक" कहते हैं ॥

यदि (अम्बक) के अर्थ यहां नेत्र के भी माने जायें तब भी त्र्यम्बक शब्द से साकार तीन नयन वाला रुद्र सिद्ध नहीं होता। शब्दकल्पद्रुम में इसके यह अर्थ किये हैं, "त्रिणि अम्बकानि यस्यतत् त्र्यम्बकं ब्रह्म:" जिसके सूर्य्य चांद नक्षत्रादि यह तीन नेत्र हैं वह "त्र्यम्बक" है। इस प्रकार भी विराट का अधिकरण ब्रह्म ही त्र्यम्बक शब्द का वाच्यार्थ होता है ॥

अर्थ इस मंत्र के यह हैं कि हम "त्र्यम्बक" शिव की पूजा करते

हैं जो शिव परमात्मा "सुगन्धि" जिसकी सुष्टुर्गन्धि अर्थात् यश सम्पूर्ण लोक लोकान्तरों में परिपूर्ण है और शारीरक आत्मिक सामाजिक तीनों प्रकार की (पुष्टि) उन्नति के बढ़ाने वाला है, एवं विध शिव रूप परमात्मा से प्रार्थना है कि हे परमात्मन् आप हमको मृत्युरूप बन्धन से छुड़ायें जिस प्रकार उर्व्वारुक फल स्वयं परिपक्व होकर लता से वियुक्त हो जाता है एवं हम आपकी कृपा से मृत्युरूप बन्धन से वियुक्त हों और अमृतरूप आपके स्वरूप से हम कदापि वियुक्त न हों ॥

इससे पूर्व मंत्र में भी ईश्वर से सब जीवों के कल्याण की प्रार्थना है। भेषजमसि भेषजंगवे ऽश्वाय पुरुषाय भेषजम्। सुखं मेषाय मेष्यै ॥ यजु० ३ । ५९ ॥

अर्थ—हे परमेश्वर आप (भेषज) औषध रूप हैं, अश्व, पुरुष, और इनसे भी अल्पजीव मेष मेषी के लिये भी आप औषधरूप हैं अश्व पुरुषादि यहां प्राणी मात्र के उपलक्षण हैं अर्थात् आप प्राणीमात्र की पालना करने वाले हैं इससे यह सिद्ध है कि इस मंत्र में ईश्वर की उपासना की गई है और किसी मूर्त्त पदार्थ की नहीं। उव्वट महीधर ने भी इस मंत्र में कोई ननु नच नहीं की पशुमात्र के कल्याण की ही प्रार्थना है। अति गूढ़ार्थ इस मंत्र का वेदतत्व ज्ञाता कर्म्म काण्ड के आचार्य्य पं: भीमसेन जी को ही सूझा है जिन्होंने इसी मंत्र की शरण से आटे के मेष मेषी बनाकर यज्ञ में डाले, और इतना भी विचार न किया कि पशुमेध यज्ञके असन्त श्रद्धालु यह लिखते हैं कि "अनेन मंत्रेण गृह पशूनां क्षेम प्राप्तिर्भवति" अर्थ—इस मंत्र से गृहके सब पशुओं की रक्षा

होती है, तो हम क्यों नकली पशुवध से असली पशुवध की ओर लोगों की रुचि बढ़ाते हैं। अस्तु प्रकृत यह है कि उक्त मंत्र त्र्यम्बक के साकार सिद्ध करने में कोई उपयोग नहीं रखता प्रत्युत निराकार ईश्वर की सिद्धि करता है। प्रायः साकार वादियों का यह भी कथन है कि यह मंत्र रुद्रका वर्णन करता है और रुद्र को यजुर्वेद के रुद्राध्याय में साकाररूप से वर्णन किया है इस लिये "त्र्यम्बकं यजामहे" यह मंत्र तीन नेत्रों वाले साकार शिवरूप ईश्वर को वर्णन करता है ? इसका उत्तर यह है कि प्रथम तो यह प्रतिज्ञा ही वेदार्थ विरुद्ध है कि रुद्राध्याय जिसको दूसरे शब्दों में नमस्ते अध्याय भी कह सक्ते हैं वहां रुद्र शब्द से सर्व स्थान में परमात्मा का ही ग्रहण है जैसा कि ज्वाला प्रसाद भार्गव ने निम्न लिखित गीता के श्लोक का आश्रयण करके लिखा है, "सर्वस्य चाहं हृदि सन्निविष्टोमत्तः स्मृति र्ज्ञानमपोहनञ्चवेदैश्च सर्वैरहमेववेद्यो वेदान्त कृत वेद विदेव चाहम्"। गीता० ॥

अर्थ—मैं सबके हृदय में हूं मेरे से स्मृति होती है और मैं ही ज्ञान को ढ़ाप लेता हूं सब वेदों का "विद्य" जानने योग्य मैं ही हूं मैं ही वेदान्त का कर्ता हूं और वेदों का वेत्ता हूं। इस विषय की तो हम प्रथम ही मीमांसा कर आए हैं कि ऐसे श्लोकों को जहां कृष्ण जी सबका हर्त्ता कर्त्ता अपने को मानते हैं वहां मैं शब्द से अभिप्राय ईश्वर का है, अस्तु यहां यह बात प्रकरण में अपेक्षित नहीं, अपेक्षितांश तो यह है कि क्या वेदों का विषय

ईश्वर ही है जैसा कि इस श्लोक से भार्गव जी लेते हैं वा अन्य वस्तुएं भी वेदों का विषय है ? पहले तो यह प्रतिज्ञा मुण्डकोपनिषद् के पांचवे श्लोक से ही विरुद्ध है कि वेदों में एक ईश्वर का ही वर्णन है अपराविद्या वेदों में नहीं ॥

दूसरी वात यह है जिसके विषय में सामान्य रीति से हम प्रथम भी लिख आए हैं कि रुद्राध्याय में रुद्रशब्द से सब जगह ईश्वर का ग्रहण नहीं, जहां तस्करों को नमस्कार है उसको "रुद्र" ईश्वर पक्ष में कोई भी नहीं कह सक्ता, उव्वट महीधरादि भी उन स्थलों में मौन वृत्ति से ही निर्वाह करते हैं। और जो श्री स्वामी दयानन्द जी पर यह आक्षेप किया गया है कि वह रुद्र के अर्थ राजा के मानते हैं जिस प्रकार से इस बात को कथन किया गया है यह ठीक नहीं, क्योंकि श्री स्वामीजी महाराज रुद्रशब्द के अर्थ ईश्वर के भी मानते हैं देखो सत्यार्थप्रकाश, पृ० १० तृतिया बृत्ति ॥

अव रही यह वात कि रुद्राध्याय में रुद्र शब्द के अर्थ स्वामी जी सब जगह ईश्वर के क्यों नहीं मानते ? इसका उत्तर यह है कि जहां रुद्र शब्द से ईश्वर का ग्रहण नहीं वहां स्वामी जी रुद्र शब्द को ईश्वर वाचक कैसे माने ? जैसे कि "ये भूतानामधिपतय" यजु० १६ ।५९। उव्वट महीधर भी इस मंत्र में रुद्रशब्द को ईश्वर पक्ष में नहीं लगाते किन्तु भूतों के रक्षक पक्ष में लगाते हैं जिससे क्षत्रिय राजों का आशय भी निकल सक्ता है इतना ही नहीं देखो "येतीर्थानि प्रचरन्तिसृकाहस्तानिषङ्गिणः" यजु० ।१६।६१।

इसके भाष्य में उव्वट यह लिखते हैं कि "ये रुद्रा तीर्थानि प्रयाग प्रभृति प्रचरन्ति सृका हस्ता सृका इत्यायुधनाम। आयुध हस्तानिषङ्गिणः तेषामित्युक्तम्" अर्थ—जो रुद्र प्रयागादि तीर्थों में शस्त्र हाथों में लेकर विचरते हैं (निषङ्गिणः) खड्ग धारण किये हुए हैं उनके विषय में यह कहा है और यही अर्थ महीधर ने किये हैं, इन अर्थों से यह सिद्ध होता है कि आपके भाष्यकार भी रुद्र शब्द के अर्थ सब स्थानों में ईश्वर के नहीं मानते, इन भाष्यकारों के मत में रुद्र शब्द क्षत्रिय विशेष वा देव विशेष का ही वाचक नहीं अपितु कहीं २ चोर डाकू का वाचक भी रुद्र शब्द है देखो इसी अध्याय के मंत्र ६० में उव्वट लिखते हैं "चोरादयोरुद्रावा" अर्थ—अथवा रुद्र शब्द के अर्थ चौरादि हैं, अब कहिये रोदयतीति, रुदः—इस व्युत्पत्ति लभ्यार्थ से घबराने का क्या काम है॥

इस रुद्र शब्दार्थ विवेचन का सारांश यह निकला कि जहां साकार का वाचक रुद्र शब्द है वहां ईश्वर का वाचक नहीं, जैसे कि नमस्तेरुद्र मन्यव उतते इषवे नमः। बाहुभ्यामुतते नमः। यजु० १६। १। अर्थ—हे रुद्र पापीजनों के दुःख देने वाले तुम्हारे क्रोध के लिये नमः हो और तुम्हारे धनुष के लिये नमः हो, और तुम्हारी भुजाओं को नमः हो, इस मंत्र में रुद्र शब्द से ईश्वर का ग्रहण नहीं किन्तु राज पुरुष का है॥ याते रुद्र शिवा तनू रघोरा पाप काशिनी। तया नस्तन्वा शान्त मया गिरिशन्ताऽभिचाकशीहि।य०२।

अर्थ–हे रुद्र जो तेरी कल्याण करने वाली तनू है (अघोरा) जो भयानक नहीं है और पापों के दूर करने वाली है उससे आप हमको देखें "गिरिशन्त गिरिवाची स्थितः शं सुखं तनोती ति गिरिशन्त" हे गिरिशन्त हे प्रिय वाणी बोलने वाले धर्मोपदेशक हमें कृपा दृष्टि से देखें ॥

इन मंत्रो को साकारवादी कैलाशवासी शिव में लगाते हैं (गिरिशन्त) के अर्थ "गिरिकैलाशे स्थितः शं सुखं तनोतीति गिरिशन्त" गिरि कैलाश में ठहरकर जो सुखका विस्तार करे उसे "गिरिशन्त" कहते हैं यह अर्थ करते हैं (गिरिशन्त) के अर्थ उव्वटादि आचार्य्यों ने तीन किये हैं एकतो जो (गिरि) वाणी में सुख विस्तार करे दूसरे जो (गिरि) मेघ द्वारा वृष्टि से सुख विस्तार करे, तीसरे जो (गिरि) कैलाश में स्थिर होकर सुख का विस्तार करे। क्या कारण जो हमारे सनातन भाई तीनों अर्थों में कैलाशवासी के अर्थ से ही प्यार करते हैं ? हमें तो इसका कारण यही मालूम होता है कि इनका पौराणिक शिव वेद से तभी सिद्ध हो सक्ता है कि जब (गिरि) के अर्थ कैलाश के ही माने जायें, इसी कारण से दूसरे दोनों अर्थों से अरुचि की जाती है ॥

हमारे मत में तो उक्त तीनों अर्थों से कैलाशवासी ईश्वरावतार इन मंत्रों से कदापि सिद्ध नहीं होता क्योंकि "गिरि" शब्द के अर्थ पर्वतमात्र के हैं उसमें रहकर सुख विस्तार करने से यह आशय है कि जो राज पुरुष हिमालय के उच्च शिखरों पर रहते हैं वह "गिरिशन्त" शब्द के वाच्य हैं (गिरि) शब्द के अर्थ कैलाश ही

होने में कोई प्रमाण नहीं, वाणी द्वारा सुख विस्तार करने से सत्योपदेशक और राज पुरुष ही पाए जाते हैं, एवं मेघ द्वारा से आशय यह है कि जो मेघ की वृष्टि के सम अनवरत सत्योपदेश करता है वह "गिरिशन्त" कहलाता है ॥

इस बात को स्पष्ट कर देने के लिये कि इस अध्याय में साकार ईश्वर का वर्णन नहीं, प्रत्युत शस्त्रधारी क्षात्र धर्म्म के यहां योद्धाओं का और कई एक सत्काराई जन्तुओं का वर्णन है इसलिये इस अध्याय के विशेष विवादस्पद मंत्रों पर विचार करते हैं, और उन मंत्रों को यहां सभाष्य लिखकर यह सिद्ध करते हैं कि कैलाशवासी पौराणिक शिव इस अध्याय का विषय नहीं।

यामिषु गिरिशन्त हस्ते विभर्ष्यस्तवे । शिवा ङ्गरित्र ताङ्कुरु माहिंसीः पुरुषंजगत्॥ यजु०१६।३

अर्थ—हे (गिरिशन्त) जिस वाण को शत्रु के ऊपर फेंकने के लिये आप हाथ में धारण किये हुए हैं हे (गिरित्र) "गिरौवेद वाण्यां स्थितः स्त्रायते वैदिकानिति गिरित्र" वैदिक मर्य्यादा पुरुषोत्तम क्षत्रिय जो (गिरि) वेदवाणी की मर्य्यादा में स्थिर होकर वैदिक लोगों की रक्षा करता है वह "गिरित्र" कहलाता है। इससे वैदिक धर्म्म की मर्य्यादा में स्थिर क्षत्रिय पाया गया, एवं विध क्षत्रिय से प्रार्थना है कि हे "गिरित्र" उस बाण को आप मंगल मय करें ताकि वह बाण धर्म्मार्थ काम मोक्ष इस फल चतुष्टय वाले जगत् की हिंसा न करे ॥

शिवेन वचसात्वा गिरि शाच्छावदामसि । यथा नः सर्व मिज्जगद यक्ष्मं सुमना असत् ॥ यजु० १६ । ४ ॥

अर्थ—हे राज वैद्य आप (सर्वं इत् जगत्) इस सब जगत् को (अयक्ष्मं) यक्ष्मारोग रहित और (सुमना) शोभन मन वाला करें हे (गिरिश) आपसे यह प्रार्थना करता हूं आप हमारा मंगल करें, इस मंत्र में केवल एक गिरिश शब्द है जिसके अर्थ गिरि कैलाश में सोने वाला करके पौराणिक लोग कैलाश बासी शिव सिद्ध करते हैं वास्तव में इसके यह अर्थ हैं कि गिरौपर्वते औषधार्थं शेते रमते, इति "गिरिश"ः। जो पर्वतों में औषधों के ढूंढ़ने के लिये, शेते के अर्थ अत्यन्त दत्तचित्त होकर रम जाने के हैं और बात यहां यह भी स्मरण रखने योग्य है कि शिव यहां बाणी का विशेषण है और मङ्गल वाचक है जहां केवल शिवं भवतु, कहा जाता है वहां अर्थ यही होता है कि मङ्गल हो, इस प्रकार केवल शिव शब्द आजाने से भी ईश्वर का ग्रहण नहीं पाया जाता, आगे के इस पञ्चम मंत्र में भिषक शब्द स्पष्ट पड़ा है जिससे इस मंत्र में भी वैद्य का अभिप्राय है ॥

अध्यवोचदधिवक्ता प्रथमो दैव्योभिषक् । अहींश्चसर्वाञ्जम्भयन्त्सर्वाश्चयातुधान्योऽधराचीः परासुव ॥ यजु० १६ । ५ ॥

अर्थ—वैद्यक शास्त्रवेत्ता वैद्य मुझको (अध्यवोचत्) अधिवदतु

उपदेश करें, कैसा वैद्य वैद्यक विषय उपदेश करने योग्य होता है इस बात को खोलते हैं (अधिवक्ता) जो सर्वोपरि योग्यता रखता हो, मुख्य हो, (दैव्यः) विद्वान लोगों से हित करने वाला हो (भिषक्) इस प्रकार का वैद्य निम्न लिखित उपदेश करे कि तुम लोग सांप के सदृश विष फैलाने वाले सब रोगों की निवृत्ति करो और रोग करने वाली स्त्रियों को राक्षसी के समान समझ के उनसे दूर रहो ॥

उव्वट और महीधर इसके अर्थों में और कोई विशेष भेद नहीं करते अपने मनोर्थ मात्र के माने हुए रुद्र को वैद्य मानकर इस मंत्र को लगाते हैं, मंत्र के विषय से जो वैद्य का उपदेश पाया जाता है उसको नहीं छोड़ सक्के, इतना भेद अवश्य करते हैं कि (यातुधान्यः) के अर्थ राक्षसियों के करते हैं, अमरकोष की रीति से यातुधान नाम राक्षस का है इसी कारण इस वेदार्थ में भूत प्रेतादि के सन्देह डालरहे हैं वास्तव में "यातुनि दुखानि प्राणिषु धारयन्तीति यातुधान्यः" जो प्राणियों में दुःख उत्पन्न करें उन्हें यातुधान्यः कहते हैं। इस अर्थ से दुखोत्पादिका दुराचारिणी स्त्रियेंपाई जाती हैं। इस मुख्यार्थ को छोड़कर भूत चुड़ैल का सामान वेद में ऐसे टीकाकारों ने उत्पन्न कर दिया है ॥

असौ यस्ताम्म्रोऽअरुणऽउतबभ्रुः सुमङ्गलः । येचैनंरुद्राअभितो दिक्षु श्रितास्सहस्र शोवैषां हेडऽईमहे ॥ यजु० १६ ॥ ६ ॥

अर्थ—जो वह पूर्वोक्त राजा जिसका (नमस्ते रुद्र मन्यवे) आदि

मंत्रों में वर्णन आचुका है (ताम्रः) तांबे जैसे रङ्ग वाला अर्थात् राजस गुणों से रक्त वर्णवाला, अथवा कपिल वर्ण वाला, फिर वह कैसा है शोभारूप है मङ्गल जिसके, ऐसे राजा के चारों ओर रुद्ररूप वाले जो सहस्रों सैनिक पुरुष हैं उनके क्रोध को हम निवृत्त करें अर्थात् ऐसे राजा की आज्ञा से विरुद्ध कोई काम न करें जिस से वह रुष्ट हो ॥

उव्वट महीधर इन मन्त्रों को सूर्य्य पक्ष में लगाते हैं और यह अर्थ करते हैं कि इस रुद्ररूप सूर्य्य के चारो ओर जो सहस्रों किरणें हैं इनको हम भक्ति से प्रसन्न करें ॥

समीक्षक—क्या उत्तम भक्ति है, इन्हीं महात्माओं की कृपा से वेद जड़सूर्य्यादि उपासनाओं की झलक दे रहा है ॥

हमारे आधुनिक सनातनधर्म्मी भाई तो ऐसे मन्त्रों पर दृष्टि नहीं देते उदासीन दृष्टि से ही पार हो जाते हैं हां ऐसे मन्त्रों को बड़े प्रेम से स्व स्व पुस्तकों में उद्धृत करते हैं जैसा कि यह सातवां मन्त्र है इस में "नीलग्रीव" शब्द आया है इनको तो ईश्वर को साकार बनाने की लगन है और सूर्य्य चांद की उपासना से कोई प्रयोजन नहीं ॥

असौ यो ऽवसर्पति नीलग्रीवो विलोहितः । उतैनं गोपा अदृश्रन्न दृश्रन्नुदहार्य्यः सदृष्टो मृडयातिनः ॥ १६ । ७

अर्थ—वह राजपुरुष नीलमणियों युक्त कण्ठवाला और जो दुष्ट लोगों के सदैव विरुद्ध रहता है ऐसे राजपुरुष को उसके

रक्षक भृत्य सदैव दृष्टिगोचर रखें और स्त्रियें भी उसे पूज्यभाव से देखें, (सदृष्टो) इस प्रकार देखा हुआ वह सबका सुख जनक होता है अर्थात् प्रजा जब उस राज्याधिकारी पुरुष को पूज्य-भाव से देखती है तभी प्रजा सुखी रहती है यह इस मन्त्र का भाव है ॥

आधुनिक सनातन धर्म्मी इसी नीलकण्ठ शब्द के सहारे समुद्र मथन और शिवजी के विषभक्षण की कहानी का बीज वेद में बतलाते हैं, अस्तु इनके सनातनत्व खण्डन के लिये उब्वटाचार्य्य का यही लेख बहुत है (नीलग्रीवा) "नीलग्रीव इवास्तं गच्छन् लक्ष्यते" अर्थ—सूर्य्य अस्त होते समय नीली ग्रीवा वाले के समान प्रतीत होता है, समुद्र मथन के समय शिव ने जो विष भक्षण किया उससे वह नीलकण्ठ कहलाया, इस गप्प में यदि कोई तत्व होता तो उब्वट सूर्य्य को नीलग्रीव क्यों कहता। इनको कोई पुराना आचार्य्य सहायता दे अथवा न दे पौराणिक धर्म्म का तत्व यही है कि कोई साकार विधायक शब्द मिलना चाहिये फिर क्या फिर तो पूरा २ पौराणिक भाव वेद में झलका दिया जाता है ॥

उदाहरण के लिये देखो अगले आठवें मन्त्र में "नीलग्रीव" का विशेषण "सहस्राक्ष" शब्द पड़ा है पौराणिकधर्म्मानुकूल जिसके अर्थ इन्द्र के हैं अमरकोष में सहस्राक्ष इन्द्र का नाम है और "नमुचिघ्ने नमस्तेऽस्तु सहस्राक्ष शचीपते" इत्यादि महाभारत के प्रमाणों से भी सहस्राक्ष इन्द्र का नाम है "सहस्रशीर्षा"

इस मन्त्र से सहस्राक्ष परमात्मा का भी नाम है कोई बहुतही खैंच करे तो परमात्मा के भाव से पौराणिक विष्णु का भी सहस्राक्ष नाम हो सक्ता है पर रुद्र का सहस्राक्ष नाम कैसे? क्योंकि इनके पौराणिक रुद्र के तो तीन ही नेत्र कथन किये गए हैं केवल यहां नीलग्रीव का विशेषण होने से सहस्राक्ष को भी रुद्र की ओर ही खेंचा है ॥

नमोऽस्तु नीलग्रीवाय सहस्राक्षाय मीढुषे ।
अथो ये अस्य सत्वानोऽहं तेभ्यऽकरन्नमः।१६।८

अर्थ—हे सेनापते, नीलग्रीव शब्द से कहा गया है, सहस्र मनुष्यों में है अक्षि जिसकी, सर्व कार्य्य द्रष्टा होने से उसी को "सहस्राक्ष" कहा गया है (मढ़ुिष) वीर्य्य वाला, ऐसे सेनापति के लिये मैं (नमः) सत्कार करता हूं अर्थात् उसके योग्य अन्नादि पदार्थों से सत्कार करता हूं। और जो उसके भृत्य हैं उनका भी अन्नादि से सत्कार करता हूं ॥

महीधर भी इसके यही अर्थ करता है कि उस रुद्र के (भृत्य) नोकरों को नमस्कार करता हूं। इससे स्पष्ट सिद्ध होता है कि यह राजधर्म्म प्रकरण के मंत्र हैं अन्यथा नोकरों को (नमः) से क्या तात्पर्य्य, हमारे पक्ष में तो यह कोई दोष नहीं, क्योंकि सेना पति के नौकर भी अन्नदानादिकों के योग्य हैं, पर सनातनधर्म्म पक्ष में उस रुद्र के नौकर सभी जातियों के होंगे, जिनको ब्राह्मण उनके मतके अनुसार नमस्कार नहीं कर सक्ता, इस लिये इस मंत्र में ब्राह्मण का अधिकार न रहेगा इसको कोई कहां तक

छिपा सकता है यह अध्याय साफ २ राजधर्म्म को वर्णन करता है। धन्य है श्री स्वामी दयानन्द सरस्वती जी जिन्हों ने वेद को धर्म्मार्थ काम मोक्ष में लगाकर हमारे हिन्दू भाइयों को सरल मार्ग वतलाया, वरन सारे वेद को हमारे हिन्दू भाई तो रुद्रादि देवताओं के वर्णन विषय में ही लगाया करते थे, जैसा कि इन मंत्रों से प्रकट हो रहा है, देखो मंत्र ९ ॥

प्रमुञ्च धन्वनस्त्वमुभयोरार्त्न्योर्ज्याम्। याश्चते हस्तऽ इषवः पराता भगवोवप ॥ १६ ॥ ९ ॥

इस मंत्र के उब्बट महीधर और आजकल के पौराणिक मतानुयायी लोग सब यही भाष्य करते हैं कि (भगवः) हे भगवन् ऐश्वर्य्यादि षड्भग सम्पन्न आप धनुष के दोनों कोनों में स्थिर जो (ज्या) मौर्वी है उसको छोड़दें, और जो तुम्हारे हाथों में (इषु) वाण हैं उनको भी फैंकदें, यहां इस अर्थ को कोई भी नहीं खोलता कि बाणों के फैंकने वाला कौन है, पौराणिक रुद्र परमात्मा है वा कोई और ही भगवान् है। यहां तो ऐसे मितभाषी बनकर इस मंत्र का भाष्य करते हैं कि कुछ भी पता नहीं लगने देते, क्या यहां बाणों के हाथों से फैंकने का उपदेश इस अभिप्राय से किया गया है कि आपका रुद्र परमात्मा किसी को न मारे? अथवा किसी शत्रु पर फेंकदे? यदि पहली बात मानी जाय कि रुद्र अपने हाथों से वाण फेंककर शान्तरूप हो जाय, इस भाव का उपदेश इस मंत्र में किया गया है तो आपके रुद्र में रुद्रत्व ही क्या रहा? और यदि किसी शत्रुपर फैंकने का उपदेश किया

गया है तो उस शत्रुका नाम भी तो लेना था आपके परमात्मा का ऐसा प्रबल शत्रु कौन है जिसके वधके लिये यह सम्मति रुद्र का उपासक देरहा है? इत्यादि विकल्पों से इस मंत्रार्थ में सनातन धर्मियों के पक्ष में कोई भी सार नहीं प्रतीत होता॥

सार हो ही कैसे जब परा अपराविद्याओं के भण्डार वेद को स्वार्थ सिद्धि के लिये रुद्रपक्ष में ही लगाया जाता है। सार यह है कि स्वामी दयानन्द सिंह के सम गर्जके इस मंत्र को क्षात्रधर्म्म में लगाता है सत्य है किसी ने सत्य कहा है सांच को आंच क्या? यथावस्थित भाव को कौन छिपा सक्ता था, देखो किस उत्तमता के भाव के साथ इस मंत्र में बीर रस भरा है॥

अर्थ-(भगवः) हे ऐश्वर्य्य युक्त सेनापते तेरे हाथों में जो बाण हैं उनको धनुष के (ज्यां) मौर्वी में लगाकर शत्रुओं पर फैंक, और जो उनके परिहार किये हुए हैं उनको (परावप) दूरकर, भाव इस मंत्र का यह है कि जो सद्धर्म्म विरुद्ध और राजधर्म्म विरुद्ध शत्रु हैं उनको क्षात्र धर्म्मधारी योद्धा दण्ड धर्म्म से ठीक करें॥

परमात्मा पक्ष में और रुद्र पक्ष में यह मंत्र इस लिये नहीं लग सक्ता कि परमात्मा का कोई शत्रु ही नहीं है और न उनके माने हुए रुद्र देवता का कोई शत्रु हो सक्ता है इस लिये यह प्रकरण राजधर्म्म का ही है॥

विज्यं धनुकपर्दिनो विशल्ल्यो वाणवांउत। अनेशन्नस्य याऽइषव आभुरस्य निषङ्गधिः।१६।१०।

अर्थ-पौराणिक रुद्र पक्ष में इसके यह अर्थ हैं कि रुद्रका धनुष

बिना इज्या के हो अर्थात् उसमें बाण चलाने का साधन जो एक प्रकार की रस्सी होती है वह ना रहे और वाण उसके विशल्य हों विना फलके हों, और उसके शर नष्ट हो जायं (निषङ्गधिः) उसके खड्ग का जो कोष है वह खाली हो जाय अर्थात् उस रुद्र के सब शस्त्र नष्ट हो जायें। समीक्षक—क्या उत्तम प्रार्थना है भक्त होंतो ऐसे ही हों जो स्व स्वामी के प्रभुत्व के नाश की प्रार्थना करें क्यों न करें और क्या करें, जब इस अध्याय को क्षात्रधर्म्म में न लगाने की सौगन्द खा रखी है तो और उच्चार्थ कहां से लावें॥

उब्बट और महीधर भी इस पौराणिक रुद्र के भय से भयभीत होकर यही प्रार्थना करते हैं कि "रुद्र अस्मान् प्रतिन्यस्तसर्वशस्त्रोऽस्त्वित्यर्थः" रुद्र हमारे लिये सब शस्त्रों से रहित हो। और रुद्र के लिये सव शस्त्रों से रहित होने की प्रार्थना मंत्र ११ के आशय से सर्वथा विरुद्ध है क्योंकि ११वें मंत्र में शस्त्रधारी रुद्रसे पालना की प्रार्थना की गई है इस लिये इस मंत्र का अर्थ शस्त्रनाशकी प्रार्थना का कदापि ठीक नहीं हो सक्ता। मंत्रका सत्यार्थ यह है कि (कपर्दी) जटाजूट सेनापति के (उत) यदि (अनेशन्) शस्त्रनाश हो गए हों (धनुः) धनुष इज्या से रहित हो गया हो (वाण) विशल्य फलों से रहित हो गए हों, खड्ग कोषं खड्ग से रहित होगया हो, ऐसी अवस्था में उसे सहायता देनी चाहिये यह अध्याहारार्थ है, यह अर्थ आगे के मंत्र के साथ सङ्गति रखता है॥

याते हेति मीढुष्टमहस्ते वभूव ते धनुः । तया

स्मान् विश्वतस्त्वभयक्ष्मया परिभुज ॥ १६ । ११

हे अतिशय वीर्य्य वाले सेनापते जो तुम्हारा (हेति) बज्र है और जो तुम्हारे हाथ में धनुष है इनसे (अयक्ष्मया) पराजयादिकों की पीड़ा निबृत्त करने वाली जो रक्षा है उससे हमारी पालनाकर॥

अब निम्न लिखित चार मंत्रों में राज और प्रजा का सम्बन्ध भले प्रकार दिखलाया गया है कि राजा प्रजा शासन शस्त्र से न करें किन्तु न्यायरूप राज्य शासन से करें ॥

परिते धन्वनो हेतिरस्मान् वृणक्तु विश्वतः ।
अथोयऽइषुधिस्तवारेऽअस्मन्निधेहितम् १६।१२

अर्थ—हे सेनापते आपका जो धनुप सम्बन्धी आयुध है (विश्वतः) सर्वतः सब ओर से (अस्मान्) हमको (परिबृणक्तु) त्यजतु, अर्थात् न मारे और जो तुम्हारा बाण है उसको भी तुम हमारे से दूर रखो अर्थात् उससे हमारा हनन कदापि न करो ॥

अवतत्य धनुष्ट्व ँ सहस्राक्षशतेयुधे । निशीर्य्य शल्यानां मुखाशिवोनः सुमना भव ॥१६।१३

अर्थ—हे सहस्रों मनुष्यों को अक्षिगोचर रखने वाले सहस्राक्ष, हे शतेयुधे, सैकड़ों धनुषों वाले सेनापते, तुम हमारे प्रति शिव कल्याणकारी (सुमना) सुष्टु मन वाले हो, इस प्रकार सुमना और कल्याणकारी आप बनें कि धनुष की (ज्या) गुणको उतार दें और बाणों के जो (मुख) फल हैं उनको भी हिंसा रहित करदें। भाव इस मंत्र का यह है कि जब प्रजा के साथ

राजा का स्व स्वामी भाव सम्बन्ध हो जाता है उस समय राजा उस प्रजा पर शस्त्रों से काम न ले, किन्तु न्याय से शासन करे। और वह प्रजा भी निम्न लिखित मंत्र के आशय के अनुकूल उस राजा से वर्त्ते ॥

नमस्ते आयुधायानातताय धृष्णवे। उभाभ्यामु ततेनमो वाहुभ्यान्तवधन्वने ॥ १६ । १४

हे राजन् तुम्हारे आयुध को (नमः) सत्कार है, कैसा वह आयुध है जो शत्रुओं के धर्षण करने के स्वभाव वाला है और तुम्हारी दोनों भुजाओं के लिये (नमः) सत्कार है तुम्हारे अनारोपित ना तने हुए धनुष को (नमः) है अर्थात् तुम आज्ञाशील प्रजा के लिये अपने धनुष को नहीं चढ़ाते किन्तु राज धर्म्म विरोधी लोगों के लिये ही स्त्र शस्त्रों का उपयोग करते हो, इस प्रकार के आप और आप के शस्त्रों को पुनः पुनः (नमः) हो। आदर का अतिशय द्योतक यहां नमः शब्द है, अर्थात् बारंबार (नमः) हो ॥

मानो महान्तमुतमानोऽर्भकमान उक्षन्त मुतमा नऽउक्षितम्। मानोवधीः पितरम्भोत मातरम्मा नः प्रियास्तन्वो रुद्र रीरिषः ॥ १६ । १५

अर्थ—हे शत्रुवर्ग के रुलाने वाले (रुद्र) सेनापते, आप हमारी जाति के महापुरुषों को मत मारो, और अर्भक जो बच्चे हैं उनको भी मत मारो, जो तरुण पुरुष हैं जिनके अभी सन्तति नहीं हुई

और जो गर्भस्थ बालक हैं उनको तथा माता और पिता को मत मारो, स्त्री पवि के शरीर को न नाश करें, जो आगामी पुत्र पौत्रादि सन्तति का हेतु है, हे (रुद्र) उक्त पुरुषों के (त्वं) (मारीरिष) मत मारो, इस मंत्र में क्षात्रधर्म्म के लिये हनन का भी एक नियम बांध दिया है कि अमुक २ पुरुषों को हनन नहीं करना, जैसाकि यूरपादि सभ्य जातियों के राजा अब भी इन नियमों को मानतें हैं। ऐसी २ उत्तम शिक्षाएं यह सिद्ध करती हैं कि यह क्षात्र धर्म्म शिक्षा का प्रकरण है, पौराणिक, रुद्र का इस में गन्धमात्र भी नहीं पाया जाता। क्योंकि यहां नाना प्रकार के शस्त्रों का वर्णन और सेना सेनापतियों का वर्णन पाया जाता है और पौराणिक रुद्र को सेना शस्त्रादिकों की क्या आवश्यकता है जबकि वह स्वयं ईश्वर है तो उसको शस्त्र सेनादि से क्या?

यदि यह कहा जाय कि साकारवादियों के मत में ईश्वर के शस्त्रधारी होने में कोई दोष नहीं, जैसे कि रामचन्द्रादि धनुषधारी हुए हैं? इस का उत्तर यह है कि जो रामचन्द्रादि के समान साकार रुद्र माना गया है वह तो पौराणिकों के मत में ब्रह्मा का पुत्र हुआ है उत्पन्न होते ही रोने के कारण ब्रह्माजी ने उस का नाम रुद्र रखा था॥

तदा प्राणमयो रुद्रः प्रादुरासीत् प्रभोर्मुखात्। सहस्रादित्य सङ्काशो युगान्त दहनोपमः॥ रुरोदसस्वरं घोरं देवदेवः स्वयंशिवः। रोदमानं तदा ब्रह्मा मारोदीरित्य

भाषत। रोदनाद्रुद्र इत्येवं लोके ख्यातिं गमिष्यसि॥ कू० पु० अ० १०॥

फिर कूर्म्म पुराण अध्याय १३ में रुद्र की उत्पत्ति इस प्रकार है, भ्रुवोर्मध्यादथोद्भूत: कुमारो नील लोहित:। जातमात्र: कुमारो ऽसौ रुरोद भगवान् भव:। ब्रह्मोवाच कथं पुत्र रोदिषित्वं महावल तन्मेकथन कामन्ते सद्य: सम्पादयाम्यहम्॥ अर्थ—पूर्व प्रकरण यह था कि ब्रह्मा ने सृष्टि उत्पत्ति करने के लिये बहुत तप किया, और कुछ भी उत्पन्न न हुआ, तब ब्रह्मा जी की आंखों से जो आंसू निकले उनसे भूत प्रेत सब उत्पन्न हुए, ब्रह्मा जी ने सृष्टि रचने में जब सफलता लब्ध की, (तदा) उस समय ब्रह्मा जी के मुख से प्राणमय रुद्र उत्पन्न हुआ, जिसकी सहस्रों सूर्य्यों के समान शोभा थी युगों के अन्त में सर्व वस्तुओं के दाह करने के लिये जो पौराणिकधर्म्म में अग्नि मानी गई है उसके समान दाह करने वाला वह रुद्र था। फिर वह रुद्र स्वर के साथ एक बड़ा भारी भयानक रोना रोने लगा, वह देवों का देव जो सदा से शिव था, उस समय उस रोने वाले रुद्र को ब्रह्मा ने कहा कि तू मत रो, रोने के कारण तेरा नाम लोक में रुद्र विख्यात होगा॥

फिर उसी कूर्म्म पुराण अध्याय १३ में यह वर्णन है कि ब्रह्मा जीकी भ्रुवों के मध्य से एक कुमार जिसका वर्ण कुछ काला और लाल था उत्पन्न हुआ, वह कुमार उत्पन्न होते ही रोने लगा, तब ब्रह्माजी ने कहा कि पुत्र तू क्यों रोता है जो तेरी इच्छा हो

सो तू कह मैं तत्क्षण सब सम्पादन करदूंगा। हमारा यहां पुराणों की परस्पर विरुद्ध वातों के दर्शाने में तात्पर्य्य नहीं कि कहीं ब्रह्मा जी के मुख से रुद्र उत्पन्न हुए और फिर उसी पुराण में ब्रह्मा जी के भ्रुकुटी मध्य से रुद्र उप्पन्न हुए, इस प्रकार के विरोध पुराणों में सर्वत्र स्पष्ट हैं, फिर पुनः पुनः उनका पिष्ट पेषण क्या। हमारा तात्पर्य्य तो यहां इस वात के दिखलाने में है कि साकार रुद्र ब्रह्मा का पुत्र माना गया है उसका वर्णन यजुर्वेद के षोड़-शाध्याय में मन्द से मन्द मति भी नहीं मान सक्ता, क्योंकि इन पौराणिक धर्म्मावलम्बियों के मत में वेद ब्रह्मा जीके प्रकाश किये हुए हैं और वह ब्रह्मा ही सव से प्रथम पौराणिक धर्म्म में माना गया है फिर उसके पुत्र रुद्र का वर्णन वेद में कैसे सम्भव था॥

और इस स्वयं रोने वाले रुद्र को वेद भगवान् वर्णन करता तो इससे सिद्ध भी क्या होता। और सव सनातन धर्म्मी इस बात को स्वीकार भी नहीं करते कि वेदोपनिषदों में इस ब्रह्मा के पुत्र स्वयं रोने वाले रुद्र का वर्णन है किन्तु यह स्वीकार करते हैं कि जो परमात्मा रुद्र रूप होकर दुष्टों को कर्म्म फल भुगाकर रुलाता है वह रुद्र है। पं॰ज्वालाप्रसादमिश्र ने तिमिर भास्कर पृ० ३ "स ब्रह्मा स विष्णु सरुद्रः" इस उपनिषद् के अर्थ करने में रुलाने वाले का नाम ही रुद्र माना है जव यह माना गया कि दुष्टों को कर्म्मफल भुगाकर रुलाने वाले परमात्मा का नाम रुद्र है तो स्वयं रोने वाला ब्रह्मा जीके मुख वा भ्रुकुटी से उत्पन्न होने वाला साकार रुद्र वेदोपनिषदों का विषय न रहा, और जो यह कहा जाता है कि वह परमात्मा रूप रुद्र जो लोगों को कर्म्म

फल भुगाकर रुलाता है उसी का नमस्ते अध्याय में वर्णन है यह विचार सर्वथा निर्मूल है, इस वात का हम उव्वटादि आचार्य्यों की सम्मति से पहले भी समाधान कर आए हैं कि ऐसे अर्थों में भी इस रुद्र शब्द का वर्ताव इस अध्याय में आया है कि जिसको कोई भी ईश्वर के अर्थ में नहीं लगा सक्ता, फिर जो साकाररूप रुद्रों का अनेक रूपों से वर्णन इस अध्याय में पाया जाता है इससे क्षात्र धर्म्म के योद्धाओं का वा उनके साधन भूत अन्य जन्तुओं का वर्णन इस अध्याय में है, जैसा कि "नमोहिरण्य बाह्व" इत्यादि मंत्रों में हिरण्य के आभूषण युक्त बाहु वाले क्षत्रियों का वर्णन स्पष्ट है ॥

"याते रुद्र शिवा तनूः" इस मंत्र से रुद्र का शरीर सिद्ध करने के लालच से जो इस अध्याय के रुद्र शब्द को ईश्वर पक्ष में लगाते हैं उनके लिये यह मंत्र वहुत कठिन हो जाता है "नमः श्वभ्यः श्वपतिभ्यश्च" इस मंत्र के उव्वटादि आचार्य्यों ने यह अर्थ किये हैं कि जो कूकरादि रूप रुद्र है उसको भी नमस्कार है, और जो उनके पति नीच जाति के निषादादि हैं उनको भी नमस्कार है, अस्तु ऐसे साकार वाद से हमको क्या हानि है इससे तो यही सारांश निकला कि इस अध्याय का रुद्र शब्द ईश्वर का वाचक नहीं, फिर ऐसे रुद्र की शरीर सिद्धि से ईश्वर के शरीर की सिद्धि कैसे ? ॥

यह हम आगे भी अनेक वार लिख आए हैं कि साकारवाद के रसिकों को थोड़ा वहुत साकार का रास्ता मिलना चाहिये

फिर तो उसको किसी न किसी प्रकार के परिष्कार से विस्तार अपने आप यह कर लेते हैं जैसे कि

एह्यस्मानमातिष्ठअश्माभवतुतेतनूः । कृणवन्तु विश्वेदेवा आयुष्टे शरदः शतम् ॥ अथर्व का० २ अ० ३ सू० १३

अर्थ—हे माणवक एहि आगच्छ। अश्मानम् आतिष्ठ दक्षिणेन पादेन आक्रम । तेतव तनूः शरीरम् अश्माभवतु । अश्मवद् । रोगादि विनिर्मुक्तंदृढं भवतु । विश्वे देवाश्च ते तव शत संवत्सर परिमितम् आयुः कृण्वन्तु कुर्वन्तु "युष्मत्तत तक्षुष्वन्तः पादम्" इति सकारस्य षत्वम् ॥

इस सायण भाष्य का आशय यह है कि हे ब्रह्मचारिन् तुम यहां आओ और अपना दक्षिण पैर इस पत्थर के ऊपर रखो तुमारा शरीर इस पत्थर की तरह रोग रहित और दृढ़ हो ॥

"और आधुनिक सनातन धर्म्मी इसके यह अर्थ करते हैं कि हे इष्टदेव पाषाण मूर्त्ति में विराजमान हूजिये, पाषाण मूर्त्ति आपका शरीर हो, सब देवता इस आपके शरीर की आयु अनन्त वर्षों की करें"। तिमिर भास्कर पृ० ३६७ वास्तव में यह मंत्र समावर्त्तन अर्थात् जब ब्रह्मचारी गुरुकुल से लौटकर स्वगृह में आता था उस समय का है, इसमें यह उपदेश है कि हे ब्रह्मचारिन् आप इस पाषाण पर पैर रखें और आपका शरीर इस पाषाण के समान कठिन हो। इस प्रकरण की किञ्चन्मात्र भी अपेक्षा न

करके प्राण प्रतिष्ठा में लगाकर इस मंत्र के अनर्थ कर दिये हैं ॥

एवं अथर्ववेद में जहां राजयक्ष्मा रोग की निवृत्ति का प्रकरण है और रोगी के अंगों का वर्णन है उन मंत्रों के अनर्थ करके आधुनिक सनातन धर्मियों ने ईश्वर के अंग वर्णन में लगा दिये जैसेकि–

अङ्गे अङ्गे लोम्नि लोम्नि यस्ते पर्वणि पर्वणि । यक्ष्मंत्वचस्यं तेवयं कश्यपस्य वीबर्हेण विष्वञ्चं विवृहामसि ॥ ७ ॥ अथर्व कां० २ अ० ६ सू० ३४

सायण भाष्य इसका यह है । इत्थं प्रसिद्धा वयवेभ्यो रोगस्यापनोदनं (प्रतिपाद्य अप्रसिद्धा वयवेभ्योपि अपनोदनं) प्रतिपाद्यते हे रुग्ण ते तव अङ्गे अङ्गे अनुक्तेषु सर्वेष्व वयवेषु लोम्नि लोम्नि सर्वेषु रोमकूपेषु पर्वणि पर्वणि सर्वेषु संधिषु यो यक्ष्मोजातः । "नित्यवीप्सयोः" इति सर्वत्र द्विर्वचनम् । तं यक्ष्मं विवृहामसीत्युत्तरत्र संबन्धः । अर्थ–इस प्रकार प्रसिद्ध अवयवों से रोग की निवृत्ति कथन करके अप्रसिद्ध अवयवों से भी रोग की निवृत्ति प्रतिपादन की जाती है, हे रुग्ण तेरे सब अंगों में और रोम२ में और संधि२ में जो यह यक्ष्मा रोग है उसको हम कश्यप परमात्मा का सूक्त पढ़के उस रोग की निवृत्ति की प्रार्थना करें ॥

यह आशय इस मंत्र का था जिसके अनर्थ करके परमात्मा को रोगी बनाकर साकार वर्णन किया जाता है । इस प्रकार साकार बाद की धुन में लगकर आधुनिक लोगों ने वेदों के अनर्थ

कर दिये हैं कहांतक लिखें देखो—

**दृते दृꣳहमा मित्रस्य मा चक्षुषा सर्वाणि भूता-
नि समीक्षन्ताम् । मित्रस्याहञ्चक्षुषा सर्वाणि
भूतानि समीक्षे मित्रस्य चक्षुषा समीक्षामहे ॥
यजु० अ० ३६ मं० १८ ॥**

इस मंत्र के अनर्थ करके पं० ज्वालाप्रसाद मिश्र ने मूर्तिपूजा में लगाया है तिमिर भास्कर पृ० ३६७ ॥

जहां ऐसे स्पष्ट मंत्रों का आशय वदल दिया जाता है वहां सत्यार्थ की क्या आशा हो सक्ती है उक्त मंत्र "द्यौ शांतिरन्तरिक्षꣳ शान्तिः" इस मंत्र से आगे है, इस मंत्र में शान्ति की प्रार्थना करने के अनन्तर "दृते दृꣳहमा मित्रस्य मा चक्षुषा सर्वाणि भूतानि समीक्षन्ताम्" इस में सब से मित्रभाव की प्रार्थना की गई है, और उब्बट महीधर ने भी इस मंत्र को मित्रभाव की प्रार्थना में लगाया है इसमें ईश्वर के मूर्त्ति होने का गंधमात्र भी नहीं पाया जाता, श्री स्वामी दयानन्द सरस्वती इसके यह अर्थ करते हैं, "दृते दृꣳह" इस मंत्र का अभिप्राय यह है कि सब लोग आपस में सब प्रकार के प्रेमभाव से सब दिन बर्त्तें, और सब मनुष्यों को उचित है कि जो वेदों में ईश्वरोक्त धर्म्म है उसी को ग्रहण करें और वेदरीति से ही ईश्वर की उपासना करें कि जिससे मनुष्यों की धर्म में ही प्रवृत्ति हो, "दृते०" हे सब दुखों के नाश करने वाले परमेश्वर आप हम पर ऐसी कृपा कीजिये

कि जिससे हम लोग आपस में वैर को छोड़के एक दूसरे के साथ प्रेमभाव से वर्त्तें, (मित्रस्य मा०) और सब प्राणी मुझको अपना मित्र जानके बंधु के समान वर्त्तें ऐसी इच्छा से युक्त हम लोगों को "दृंह" सत्य सुख और शुभ गुणों से सदा बढ़ाइये "मित्रस्या हं०" इसी प्रकार से मैं भी सब मनुष्यादि प्राणियों को अपने मित्र जानूं और हानि लाभ सुख और दुःख में अपने आत्मा के सम ही सब जीवों को मानूं "मित्रस्य च०" हम सब लोग आपस में मिलके सदा मित्रभाव रखें और सत्य धर्म्म के आचरण से सत्य सुखों को नित्य बढ़ावें, जो ईश्वर का कहा धर्म है। यही एक सब मनुष्यों को मानने के योग्य है॥ ९॥

जिस परमेश्वर की साकारता की सिद्धि के लिये वेदों का अनर्थ करके वादियों ने स्वमन्तव्य सिद्ध किया है वास्तव में उस जगदीश्वर को वेद भगवान् इस प्रकार वर्णन करता है कि–

यस्ये मे हिमवन्तो महित्वा यस्य समुद्रं रसया सहाहुः। यस्ये मांप्रदिशो यस्य बाहू कस्मै देवाय हविषा विधेम॥ यजु० अ० १२ मं: ५॥

अर्थ–पूर्व प्रकरण से यह प्राप्त है कि मैं किस देव के लिये हविष दान करूं अर्थात् हवन यज्ञ से किसकी उपासना करूं, इसके उत्तर में यह है कि जिस परमात्मा के महत्व को हिमालय आदि पर्वत कथन करते हैं और नदियों के साथ समुद्र जिसकी महिमा को गायन करते हैं और जिस परमात्मा के यश को

पूर्वोत्तरादि दिशाएं कथन करती हैं जगत् की रक्षारूप ही जिस की भुजा हैं यह सब जगत जिस परमात्मा की विभूति है उसकी हम हवन यज्ञ से उपासना करें ॥

येनद्यौरुग्रा पृथिवी च दृढ़ायेन स्वस्तभितं येनना कः। योऽन्तरिक्षे रजसो विमानः कस्मै देवाय हविषा विधेम ॥ यजु० अ० ६ मं० ३२ ॥

जिस परमात्मा ने "द्यौ" लोक को दृष्टि देने वाला बनाया है और जिसने अपनी नियम रूप शक्ति से पृथिवी को दृढ़ बनाया है जिस परमात्मा ने सूर्य्य मण्डलादि सब थाम रखे हैं, जिसने अन्तरिक्ष में "रजस" जलमय बिमान रच रखे हैं ऐसे देव की हम हवन यज्ञ से उपासना करें। इत्यादि मंत्रों से निराकार ईश्वर की महिमा सर्ववादी सम्मत है, हमारे सनातन भाइयों के उव्वट महीधरादि आचार्य्य भी उक्त मंत्रों को निराकार विषय में ही लगाते हैं ॥

एषोह देवः प्रदिशोनु सर्वः पूर्वोहजातः स उ गर्भे अन्तः। स एवजातः स जनिष्यमाणः प्रत्यङ्‌ जनास्तिष्ठति विश्वतो मुखः ॥ यजु० ३२। ४

इस मंत्र के अर्थों में महीधर यह लिखता है (सर्वतोमुखः) "सर्वतो मुखाद्यवयव यस्य अचिन्त्य शक्तिरित्यर्थः" "सर्वतो मुखः" के अर्थ यह हैं कि सब ओर मुखादि अवयव

हों जिसके अर्थात् वह परमात्मा अचिन्त्य शक्ति वाला है, यह (सर्वतोमुखः) के अर्थ किये हैं । तत्व यह निकला कि यहां सब ओर मुखादि अवयवों को वास्तव नहीं माना किन्तु अचिन्त्य शक्ति वाला होने के अभिप्राय से माना है ॥

कई एक लोग उक्त मंत्र के "स उ गर्भेअन्तः" आदि शब्दों से यह भाव निकालते हैं कि वही परमात्मा माता के गर्भ में प्रविष्ट होकर उत्पन्न होता है । ऐसे अर्थ करना पं० ज्वालाप्रसाद मिश्र के "येनद्यौ रुग्रा पृथिवी च दृढ़ा" के अर्थों का अनुकरण करना है । आप लिखते हैं कि स्वामी जी तो पृथिवी का भ्रमण मानते हैं और इस मंत्र में "पृथिवी च दृढ़ा" इससे यह पाया जाता है कि वेद में पृथिवी का दृढ़ होना अर्थात् ना घूमना पाया जाता है, इसी प्रकार "सउ गर्भे अन्तः" का अर्थ माता के गर्भ में उत्पन्न होने का किया गया है ॥

यह लोग वेदों के अनर्थ करते समय इतना भी नहीं सोचते कि दृढ़ा के अर्थ तो यह है कि पृथिवी बिना किसी स्थूल आधार के स्थिर बनाई है इस अभिप्राय से पृथिवी के लिये दृढ़ा शब्द आया है, एवं (गर्भेअन्तः) का अभिप्राय यह है कि वह परमात्मा पृथिव्यादि लोक लोकान्तरों के (गर्भे) मध्य में (अन्तः) अन्तर्गत है अर्थात् प्रविष्ट है, यह अभिप्राय इस शब्द का था जो मंत्र के आशय से सर्वथा अन्यथा वर्णन किया गया है ॥

यदि यह कहा जाय कि इस मंत्र में "स एव जातः" और "जनिष्यमाणः" यह दो पद पड़े हैं जो उत्पन्न हुए और उत्पन्न

होने वालों का सिद्ध करते हैं, तो इस का उत्तर यह है कि यह पद भूत भविष्यत काल में उस पुरुष की सत्ता का बोधन करते हैं न कि उत्पत्ति को, यदि उक्त पद परमात्मा के गर्भवास को बोधन करते तो "यस्मान्नजात:" इस अग्रिम मंत्र में परमात्मा की उत्पत्ति का निषेध न किया जाता ॥

जिन लोगों को स्व मन्तव्यरूपी आग्रह का मद है, वा अहं ब्रह्म वाद का मद है, उन लोगों की दृष्टि में उक्त विरोध नहीं आता जैसे कि उव्वट ने "सर्वं खल्विदं ब्रह्म तज्जलानि तिशान्त उपासीत्" यह कह कर इस पूर्वोक्त विरोध का ध्यान न धरकर "स उ गर्भे अन्त:" के अर्थ माता के गर्भ में आने के कर दिये हैं, जिन लोगों के मत में यह सब दृश्य ब्रह्म ही है उनके मत में परमात्मा का गर्भवास पाना क्या दोप की बात है ? पर यहां यह स्मरण रहे कि इन मंत्रों का तात्पर्य्य सर्व ब्रह्मवाद में कदापि नहीं, यदि नवीन वेदान्तियों के अद्वैतवाद में उक्त मंत्रों का तात्पर्य्य होता तो "प्रत्यङ्जनास्तिष्ठति सर्वतोमुख:" यह न कहा जाता, इसके अर्थ यह हैं कि हे जना हे पुरुषो वह परमात्मा "प्रत्यङ्" प्रति पदार्थमञ्चतीति प्रत्यङ्, परमात्मा प्रत्येक पदार्थ में व्यापक है एवं व्याप्य व्यापक का भेद उक्त मंत्र बोधन करता है ॥

और तर्क यह है कि इस मंत्र से पूर्व "नतस्य प्रतिमास्ति" यह मंत्र है यदि सब कुछ ब्रह्म था तो इस मंत्र में परमात्मा की प्रतिमा का निषेध क्यों किया जाता । कई एक लोग इस मंत्र के

यह अर्थ करते हैं कि उस परमात्मा के तुल्य कोई नहीं, इस अभिप्राय से यहां प्रतिमा का निषेध किया गया है, एवं परमात्मा के उपमान का निषेध है उसकी मूर्त्ति का निषेध नहीं, इस अनर्थ की निवृत्ति के लिये हम इस प्रकरण के मंत्रों को लिखकर उक्त मंत्र का अर्थ करते हैं। प्रकरण यह है यजुर्वेद अध्याय ३२ मं १॥

तदेवाग्निस्तदादित्यस्तद् वायुस्तद् चन्द्रमा। तदेव शुक्रं तद् ब्रह्मताआपःस प्रजापति। यजु० अ० ३२ मं०१

अर्थ—सर्व वस्तुओं में अग्रणी होने से उस परमात्मा का नाम अग्नि है, आदित्यवत् तेजस्वी होने से परमात्मा का नाम आदित्य है, सर्व में गतिशील होने से वह परमात्मा वायु नाम से कहा जाता है, सबके मनका आह्लादक होने से वह चन्द्रमा है बलरूप होने से परमात्मा शुक्र है, सब वस्तु मात्र से बृहत् होने से परमात्मा ब्रह्म है, उक्त विशेषण विशिष्ट परमात्मा अग्न्यादि नामों से इस मंत्र में वर्णन किया गया है। पं० ज्वालाप्रसाद मिश्र तिमिर भास्कर पृ० ३२४ में इस मंत्र के यह अर्थ करते हैं कि वही ईश्वर अग्नि है और वोही आदित्य रूप है वायु चन्द्र संसार का बीज प्रसिद्ध जल प्रजापति आदिरूप उसी का है, अब निराकार को वेद ही कहता है कि वही ईश्वर अग्न्यादि रूप वाला है और आदित्य का आकार भी दीखता है इत्यादि अर्थों से स्पष्ट सिद्ध है कि पं० ज्वालाप्रसाद मिश्र ने भौतिक अग्नि सूर्य्यादि पदार्थों को ईश्वर माना है। हम यहां और क्या कहें यही कहना पड़ता है कि उक्त पं० साहब को ईश्वर के साकारवाद के लालच ने

सनातन पथ से भुला दिया अन्यथा सनातन सम्प्रदाय के विरुद्ध जड़ सूर्य्यादिकों को ईश्वर कदापि न मानते ॥

देखो शंकर दिग्विजय प्रकरण १.३ इसमें "भीषास्मात् वातः पवते भीषादेतिसूर्य्यः। भीषास्मादग्निश्चन्द्रश्च मृत्युर्धावति पञ्चमः" इस उपनिषद के वाक्य से सूर्य्यादिकों की गति परामात्मा की भयरूप आज्ञा से कथन की गई है, अर्थ यह है कि उस परमात्मा के भय से अग्नि वायु सूर्य्य इन्द्र और मृत्यु यह सब दौड़ते हैं फिर ऐसा औपनिषद् परमात्मा जड़ सूर्य्यादि रूप कैसे हो सक्ता है ॥

इतना ही नहीं फिर दिग्विजय के इसी प्रकरण में यह प्रमाण है "न तत्र सूर्य्यो भाति न चन्द्र तारकं नेमा विद्युतो भान्ति कुतोऽयमग्निः। तमेव भान्तमनुभाति सर्वं तस्य भासा सर्व मिदं विभाति" अर्थ–न वहां सूर्य्य प्रकाश कर सक्ता है न चन्द्र और तारे और न यह विद्युत बिजली प्रकाश करती है "कुतोऽयमग्नि" वहां अग्नि का तो कथन ही क्या? उसी परमात्मा के प्रकाश से यह सब पूर्वोक्त पदार्थ प्रकाशित होते हैं औपनिषद् दर्शन इस प्रकार अतिबल पूर्वक उस परमात्मा को इस जड़ जगत् का प्रेरक सिद्ध करता है और ऐसा व्यतिरेक दिखलाता है कि बालक तक भी उस परमात्मा के भेद को समझ जाय, फिर न जाने यह नाम के सनातनी साकार ईश्वर के साथी क्यों इस भेद को नहीं समझते ॥

इतना बलप्रद उपदेश केवल औपनिषद् दर्शन में ही नहीं

किन्तु वेद संहिता में इससे भी अधिक बल से यह उपदेश किया गया है कि परमात्मा सूर्य्यादि जड़ जगत् का जनक है

चन्द्रमा मनसो जातः चक्षोः सूर्य्यो अजायत ।
श्रोत्रात् वायुश्च प्राणश्च मुखादग्निरजायत ॥
य० अ० ३१ । १२

इस मंत्र में चन्द्रमा सूर्य्य वायु और अग्नि की उत्पत्ति परमात्मा से मानी है जब यह सूर्य्यादि उस परमात्मा के कार्य्य हैं तो पं: ज्वालाप्रसाद मिश्र किस अधिकार से "तदेवाग्नि" इस मंत्र के आशय को विगाड़कर यह लिखता है कि यह अग्नि सूर्य्यादि परमेश्वर हैं यह अर्थ करके वेद भगवान् को कलङ्कित करता है ॥

और बहुत क्या कहें यदि वेद के भेद की इस वादी को आंख होती तो "सर्वे निमेषा जज्ञिरे" इस अगले मंत्र पर दृष्टि डालता, इस मंत्र में इस बात को स्पष्ट कर दिया है कि परमात्मा निराकार होने के कारण से स्थूल इन्द्रियों से ग्रहण होने योग्य नहीं, इसी आशय को लेकर उव्वट महीधरादि आचार्य्य इस मंत्र पर यह लिखते हैं कि "नह्यसौ प्रत्यक्षादीनां विषयः" वह परमात्मा प्रत्यक्षादि से नहीं विषय किया जा सक्ता किन्तु केवल शब्द प्रमाण गम्य है। यह आशय इस भाष्य की प्रतीक का है, इसी का उपबृंहण उव्वटादिकों ने इस उपनिषद् वचन से किया है कि "एषः नेति नेत्यात्मा" अर्थ–यह है कि वह परमेश्वर नहीं जिसको तुम स्थूल आंखो से देख रहे हो। यह अर्थ उपनिषदों

के सहस्त्र प्रमाणों से स्पष्ट है फिर किस मुख से कल्पित कल्पतरुकार यह कहता है कि आदित्य का आकार भी दीखता है फिर निराकार कैसे ?

इस आशय को हम और भी दृढ़ता से निम्नलिखित मंत्र से खण्डन करते हैं ।

सर्वेनिमेषा जज्ञिरे विद्युतः पुरुषादधि । नैनं मूर्ध्वन्न तिर्यञ्च न मध्ये परि जग्रभत् ॥ य० अ० ३२ मं० २ ॥

अर्थ—जो परमात्मा अग्न्यादि नामों से वर्णन किया गया है उस परमात्मा से सब (निमेष) काल के अल्प भेद का नाम निमेष है अल्पकालादिभेद, और उसी परमात्मा पुरुष के प्रकाश से (विद्युतः) विजलियें उत्पन्न हुई, एवं विध सब वस्तुओं के कारण रूप परमात्मा को कोई पुरुष ऊपर नीचे और मध्य में पकड़ नहीं सक्ता, "न मध्ये परिजग्रभत्" इस कथन से वेद भगवान् ने इस वात को स्पष्ट करदिया कि परमात्मा देव निराकार है इसलिये वह अग्राह्य हस्तादि इन्द्रियों से ग्रहण नहीं किया जा सक्ता, इस मंत्र के अर्थ उव्वट महीधर भी यही करते हैं और स्वामी शङ्कराचार्य्य भी इस मंत्र के यही अर्थ करते हैं कि वह परमात्मा अमूर्त्त होने से अग्राह्य है ॥

परमात्मा के इस मंत्र में इस प्रकार अग्राह्य होने को कट्टर साकार वादी जो साकार के साथ सनातन धर्म्म का एक मात्र श्वासवत् जीवन मानते हैं वह भी इस मंत्र के अग्राह्य भाव को

छोड़ नहीं सकते, देखो तिमर भास्कर पृष्ट ३३९ में पं० ज्वाला प्रसाद मिश्र इस मंत्र का अर्थ करते हुए यों डगमगाते हैं। "स्वयं ज्योति स्वरूप पुरुष में सब ही निमेषादिरूप खण्ड काल उत्पन्न होता भया और इस पूर्ण पुरुष को (उर्ध्व वा तिर्य्यञ्च) चारों दिशाओं वा मध्य में कोई ग्रहण नहीं कर सक्ता, सर्व का कारण होने से आशय यह है कि पूर्व मंत्र में अग्नि आदि भाव कहने से ग्राह्यता प्रसक्ति का निवारण कर दिया, अवास्तव स्व शक्ति निर्मित अग्नि आदि भाव से वास्तव ग्राह्यत्व कारणात्मा में नहीं हो सक्ता ॥

यों तो यह भाषा रचना में ऐसी रम्य है कि स्यात्, गहरा गोता लगाने पर भी किसी २ पुरुष को ही स्व अर्थ रूपी अब्धि से पार होने देती हो, पर हमें क्या हमने तो यह स्पष्ट दिखला देना है कि इस अर्थ में सनातन कल्पतरुकार कितने लटपटाए हैं, फिर भी स्व सङ्कल्प पूर्ण नहीं हुआ। आप लिखते हैं कि (उस पुरुष को कोई चारों दिशाओं में ग्रहण नहीं कर सक्ता सर्व कारण होने से) यहां हम पूछते हैं कि सर्व कारण होना जो आपने अग्राह्य होने का हेतु लिखा है तो प्रकृति भी तो सर्व कारण है वह अग्राह्य क्यों नहीं? यदि सर्व कारण से आप का तात्पर्य्य निमित्त कारण से है तो आप का साकार ईश्वर आप के मत में सब वस्तु का निमित्त कारण होने पर भी इन्द्रिय ग्राह्य नहीं। पर यह बात ही क्या कि सर्व कारण होने से इन्द्रियग्राह्य नहीं, अग्राह्यता का हेतु तो अमूर्त्तत्व है नाकि कारणत्व, पर आपको क्या आपने तो इस हेतु हेतु मद्भाव की प्रणाली से दूर

रहने का प्रण ही बांध छोड़ा है फिर इस के बन्धन में आप को कौन डाले ॥

और जो आपने इस मंत्र का यह आशय कथन किया है कि "**तदेवाग्निस्तदादित्यः**" इस पूर्व मंत्र से अग्न्यादिरूप कथन किये जाने से जैसे भौतिक अग्नि आदिकों का ग्रहण किया जा सक्ता है, अर्थात् सब स्थानों में पकड़े जा सक्ते हैं, परमात्मा अग्न्यादि रूप कहे जाने से यह आशङ्का परमात्मा में प्रसक्त हुई। इस आशङ्का का अवास्तव अग्न्यादि भावों से परमात्मा में वास्तव ग्राह्यत्व नहीं होता यह उत्तर दिया, क्यों कृपानिधे यह क्या? यहां नाक को उलटाकर हाथ लगाने का अनुकरण आप क्यों कर गए, इतनी क्या आपत्ति पड़ी थी जो सनातनी लोगों के सारे साकार बाद को अवास्तव कहकर मिटागए, पर और क्या करते इस मंत्र का तो और अर्थ होही नहीं सक्ता, यहां अन्तर्ध्यान होकर सोचने का स्थान है कि जब यह मंत्र यह कहता है कि परमात्मा देव अग्राह्य अर्थात् चक्षु आदि इन्द्रियों का विषय नहीं तो इससे आगे (**नतस्यप्रतिमास्ति**) इस मंत्र के क्या अर्थ हो सक्ते हैं। यों तो आज कल की कलयुगी बुद्धियें इस मंत्र के कई प्रकार के अर्थ करती हैं कोई नतस्यप्रतिमास्ति के अर्थ यह करता है कि "नतस्य" नम्रस्य अर्थात् सबको झुकने वाला जो परमेश्वर है उसकी प्रतिमा है। कोई यह कहते हैं कि यह ध्वनि है जैसे कोई कहता है कि (अयन्नब्राह्मणः) यहां न के अर्थ निषेध के नहीं होते किन्तु यह होते हैं कि क्या यह ब्राह्मण नहीं अर्थात् है इस प्रकार नतस्य के अर्थ यह हैं कि तस्य परमेश्वरस्य उस

परमेश्वर की न प्रतिमास्ति? क्या उस परमेश्वर की प्रतिमा नहीं, अर्थात् है, एवं अनन्त अनर्थ किये जाते हैं, जो (यस्मान्नजातः) इस वाक्य शेष से कट जाते हैं ॥

उत्तर देने योग्य इस मंत्र के पौराणिक अर्थों में दो बातें हैं (१) कि इस मंत्र में प्रतिमा शब्द के अर्थ मूर्त्ति के नहीं (२) इस मंत्र में हिरण्यगर्भादि तीन मंत्रों की प्रतीकें हैं उन्हीं मंत्रों के अर्थों के अनुसार इस मंत्र के अर्थ होने चाहिये ॥

प्रथम बात का उत्तर यह है कि "कासीत् प्रतिमाकिं निदानम्" अ० ८ अ० ७ व० १८ इत्यादि मंत्रों में जब वादी लोग प्रतिमा शब्द के अर्थ मूर्त्ति के मानते हैं तो फिर इस मंत्र में प्रतिमा शब्द के मूर्त्ति वाचक होने से क्यों भागते हैं। वास्तव में बात यह है कि ऋग्वेद के उक्त मंत्र में प्रतिमा शब्द के अर्थ मूर्त्ति के नहीं हैं किन्तु प्रतिमीयतेऽनयेति "प्रतिमा" जिस से किसी वस्तु का सादृश्य किया जाय उसे प्रतिमा कहते हैं, इसी अर्थ में प्रतिमा शब्द अयोध्यापुरी की उपमा में भट्टि-काव्य अ० ९ श्लो० ५ में आया है "महेन्द्र लोक प्रतिमां समृद्ध्या" जो अयोध्या सम्पत्ति में महेन्द्र लोक, इन्द्र की पुरी की प्रतिमा थी अर्थात् इन्द्रपुरी को यदि किसी और वस्तु से तुलना करें तो अयोध्या ही उसकी तुलना के योग्य थी इस प्रकार प्रतिमा शब्द यहां उपमान के अर्थ में है ॥

यदि प्रतिमा शब्द यहां (प्रतिकृति) मूर्त्ति किसी वस्तु की नकल में भी माना जाय तब भी वादी का इस वाद से कुछ

नहीं बनता क्योंकि यह मंत्र तो यज्ञ का प्रतिपादन करता है, आशय इस मंत्र का यह है कि जिस यज्ञ से देवता विद्वान् लोग यजन करते हैं उसकी प्रतिमा क्या है? और उसका निदान कारण क्या है? "आज्य" उसके लिये घृतादि सामग्री क्या है? उस यज्ञ की वेदी की "परिधि" चारों ओर से मापा क्या है? इस प्रकार घृत, वेदी का मापा आदि वर्णन किये जाने से इस मंत्र का आशय स्पष्ट है कि यह मंत्र यज्ञ विषय का है इस में आप की प्रतिमा पूजन का प्रयोजन क्या? यदि इससे प्रतिमा सिद्ध हो भी तो यज्ञ कुण्डादिकों की होगी उससे आपकी क्या सिद्धि और हमारी क्या हानि ॥

इस मंत्र के अनर्थ करके पं: ज्वालाप्रसाद मिश्र ने जो ईश्वर की मूर्त्ति में लगा दिया है इस अनृत की निवृत्ति के लिये हम सायण भाष्य नीचे लिखते हैं। "तदानीं तस्य यज्ञस्य प्रमा प्रमाणं इयत्ता का कथं भूतासीत् तथा प्रतिमा हविः प्रतियोगित्वेन मीयते निर्मीयते इति प्रतिमा, देवता तस्य यज्ञस्य कासीत् तथा निदानमादि कारण योगे प्रवृत्तस्य प्रवर्त्तकं फलं किमासीत् तथा आज्यं घृतं एतदु-पलक्षितं हविष् वा इत्यादि" अर्थ—उस यज्ञ का परिमाण क्या था और उस यज्ञ के हविष को भक्षण करने वाला प्रतिमा देवता क्या था? तथा निदान यज्ञ में प्रवृत्ति का कारण फल क्या था? और घृत क्या था? अर्थात् सामग्री क्या थी भला इसमें ईश्वर की प्रतिमा का क्या प्रकरण है? और दोष यह है कि जब वादी

इस मंत्र में प्रतिमा शब्द के अर्थ मूर्त्ति के स्वीकार करता है तो "नतस्यप्रतिमास्ति" इस मंत्र में क्यों अस्वीकार करता है ॥

वादी इसके उत्तर में यह तर्क देता है कि प्रतिमा शब्द के अर्थ दोनों हैं प्रतिमा के अर्थ सादृश्य के भी हैं और मूर्त्ति के भी-हैं जिस मंत्र में जिस भाव से प्रतिमा शब्द पाया जाता है वही आशय लिया जाता है "न तस्य प्रतिमास्ति" इस मंत्र में परमात्मा के सादृश्य निषेध के अभिप्राय से प्रतिमा शब्द आया है कि उस परमेश्वर के "सादृश्य" तुलना में अर्थात् उपमा देने में उसके बराबर और कोई वस्तु नहीं। इस लिये यहां प्रतिमाशब्द सादृश्य का वाचक है। हम वादी के इस कथन को इस अंश में तो ठीक मानते हैं कि वास्तव में प्रति शब्द दोनों भावों मे वेद में आया है, किसी स्थान में मूर्त्ति के भाव से और कहीं सादृश्य के भाव से पर इस बात से प्रकृत में क्या? प्रकरण में अपेक्षित तो यह बात है कि "न तस्य प्रतिमा" इस मंत्र में प्रतिमा शब्द सादृश्य का निषेध करने वाला कैसे माना जाय, जब हम प्रकरण से यह दिखला चुके हैं कि यह निराकार का प्रकरण है इस लिये यहां "प्रतिमा" मूर्त्ति का निषेध ही प्रकरणानुकूल है सादृश्य का नहीं। और जो पं: ज्वालाप्रसाद मिश्र ने इस मंत्र के प्रतिमा शब्द सादृश्य वाचक होने में यह तर्क किया है कि (द्वितिय जो प्रतिमा शब्द है प्रतिमा शब्दार्थ है अर्थात् सादृश्य का वाचक जो सो स्वयं मंत्र अङ्गीकार करता है) इसका प्रकार यह बतलाया है कि इस मंत्र में "हिरण्यगर्भः समवर्त्तताग्रे" "मामाहिंसी

ञ्जनिताय:" "यस्मान्न जात इत्येष:" इन तीन मंत्रों की प्रतीकें हैं इन मंत्रों में ईश्वर मूर्त्तिमान् माना है इससे वादी यह सिद्ध करता है कि "न तस्य प्रतिमास्ति" यह मंत्र सादृश्य का निषेधक है क्योंकि उक्त तीनों मंत्रों के आशय से इसी मंत्र ने साकार को सिद्ध किया है । इस तर्क का उत्तर हम यह देते हैं कि प्रथम तो यह कथन ही सर्वथा असत्य है कि "नतस्य प्रतिमास्ति" इस में हिरण्य गर्भादि मंत्रों की प्रतीकें हैं, क्योंकि यह नियम वेद में और किसी स्थान में नहीं पाया गया, जो एक मंत्र अन्य मंत्रों की प्रतीकों का समुच्चय हो। और द्वितिय दुर्ज्जन तोष न्याय से हम इस वात को मान भी लेते हैं कि यह मंत्र तीनों मंत्रों की प्रतीकों का समुचय ही सही फिर भी तो वादी की मूर्त्ति पूजा (नतस्य प्रतिमा) से सिद्ध नहीं होती, कारण यह कि बादी की यह प्रतिज्ञा सर्वथा निर्मूल है कि "हिरण्यगर्भ" में जो स्वामी जी ने निराकार के अर्थ लिये हैं सो प्रसङ्ग विरुद्ध हैं तिमिर भास्कर पृ० ३५० प्रसङ्ग यहां निराकार का है इन चार मंत्रों में निराकार ईश्वर का ही प्रकरण है इन चार मंत्रों का वादी एक अनुवाक मानता है इस अनुवाक का चौथा मंत्र "य आत्मदा वलदा" यह है हम और इससे बढ़के प्रमाण क्या दिखलावें कि वादी के मतके भाष्यकार भी उक्त मंत्र में निराकार का वर्णन मानते हैं। देखो उब्बटाचार्य्य इसका यह अर्थ करता है कि "आत्मानं ददाति, आत्मप्रदा उपासकानां सायुज्य प्रद: वलं सामर्थ्यं ददाति वलदा मुक्ति प्रद इत्यर्थ:"

इत्यादि अर्थ उपासक लोगों को सायुज्य मुक्ति देने वाला होने से उसको "आत्मदाः" कहा है, और जो "बल" मुक्ति रूपी बलदे, उसका नाम बलदा है इससे यह स्पष्ट सिद्ध हुआ कि उव्वटादि इन मंत्रों को निराकार प्रतिपादक मानते हैं क्योंकि साकार पदार्थ मुक्ति के देने वाला कोई नहीं हो सक्ता यह सर्व तंत्र सिद्ध है। इतना ही नहीं "यस्यच्छायामृतं" मंत्र के इस वाक्य का अर्थ उव्वट महीधर सायण सब यही करते हैं कि "यस्यच्छाया आश्रयो, ज्ञान पूर्वकमुपासनं अमृतंमुक्तिरितु" अर्थ–जिस परमात्मा की छाया अर्थात् आश्रय ज्ञान पूर्वक उपासना मुक्ति का हेतु है। यहां तो आपके सब आचार्य्य एक मत होकर यह भी मानगए हैं कि उस परमात्मा की ज्ञान पूर्वक उपासना ही मुक्ति का हेतु है अन्यथा नहीं, और आपके सिद्धान्त में मूर्त्तिपूजन अर्थात् साकार पूजन ज्ञान पूर्वक उपासना करना नहीं कहला सक्ता, फिर यहां ज्ञान पूर्वक उपासना करना उक्त आचार्यों ने किस की मानी है ॥

बहुत क्या हम इन चारों मंत्रों के अर्थ यहां कर देते हैं जिससे स्पष्ट प्रतीत हो जायगा कि "हिरण्य गर्भ" से लेकर चारों मंत्रों में निराकार की उपासना का प्रकरण है वा साकार की ?

हिरण्य गर्भः समवर्त्तताग्रे भूतस्यजातः पतिरेक आसीत् । सदाधार पृथिवीं द्यामुतेमां कस्मै देवाय हविषा विधेम ॥ यजु अ० २५ । १० ॥

अर्थ—हिरण्य नाम ज्योति का है हिरण्य—सूर्य्य चन्द्रमादि ज्योति है मध्य जिसके सो कहिये हिरण्यगर्भ । ऐसा परमात्मा "सं अवर्त्तत अग्रे" सृष्टि से प्रथम वर्त्तमान था और वह सब भूतों की उत्पत्ति का एक ही कारण था, और जो पृथिवी से लेकर द्यौ पर्य्यन्त सब लोक लोकान्तरों को धारण कर रहा है उसको छोड़कर और हम किसकी उपासना करें अर्थात् ऐसे पूर्ण परमात्मा को छोड़कर और हम किसी की उपासना न करें, एक अद्वितीय परमेश्वर की उपासना का विधायक यह मंत्र है ॥

सायणाचार्य्य भी इनमंत्रों को निराकार प्रतिपादन मेंही लगाताहै "हिरण्यमयः अण्डा गर्भवदस्य उदरे वर्त्तते सोऽसौ सूत्रात्मा हिरण्यगर्भ इत्युच्यते" अर्थ—(हिरण्यमय) प्रकाश वाले सूर्य्य चन्द्रादि लोक जिसके उदर में हों उस सूत्रात्मा का नाम हिरण्य गर्भ है । इस प्रकार सायणादि आचार्य्य इन मंत्रों के अर्थ निराकार सर्वाधार सूत्रात्मा के करते हैं । मालूम होता है कि अमरकोष के अर्थों का ध्यान धरके मूर्त्ति पूजकों ने हिरण्यगर्भादि मंत्रों को साकारवाद में समझा है ॥

यः प्राणतो निमिषितो महित्वैक इद्राजा जगतो बभूव। य ईशे अस्य द्विपदश्चतुष्पदः कस्मै देवाय हविषा विधेम ॥ यजु० २ ॥

अर्थ—जो प्राण चेष्टा करने वाले सर्व जगत् का अर्थात् स्वेदज उद्भिदादि भूत चतुष्टय का एक ही राजा है और जो द्विपद

चतुष्पदादि गति वाला संसार वर्ग है उसका भी एक ही ईश्वर है यह प्राणधारी तथा द्विपदादि कथन वस्तु मात्र का उपलक्षण है अर्थात् जो वस्तु मात्र का ईश्वर है उसको छोड़कर हम और किसी वस्तु मात्र की उपासना न करें ॥

यस्ये मे हिमवन्तो यस्य समुद्रं रसया सहाहुः । यस्ये मा प्रदिशो यस्य वाहू कस्मै देवाय हविषा विधेम ॥ यजु० ३ ॥

इस मंत्र के अर्थ प्रथम किये गए हैं यहां केवल प्रसङ्ग सङ्गति दिखलाने के लिये आशय वर्णन किया जाता है । पूर्व मंत्रों से प्रकरण यहां यह चला आता है कि हम किस देव की उपासना करें इस पूर्व पक्ष का उत्तर यह है कि समुद्र के साथ सब नदियें, और हिमालय की चोटियें, इस प्रकार के विचित्र भावों वाले पदार्थ जिस परमात्मा के महत्व को कथन करते हैं और जिसकी पूर्वादि दिशाएं वाहू हैं अर्थात् निराकार होने से यदि वाहू आदि कों के रूपका उपन्यास करके कहें तो पूर्वादि दिशायें ही उसके बाहू हैं और नहीं । कौन कह सक्ता है कि यह मंत्र साकार का प्रतिपादक है महीधर सायण उव्वटादि सब आचार्य्य इसके निराकार के अर्थ करते हैं और अधिक क्या कहें ज्वालाप्रसाद भार्गव ईश्वर के साकारवाद का परम प्रेमी जो साकारवाद की छान बीन में वेद का पत्र २ छान मारता है वह विचारा भी इस मंत्र के अर्थ करते समय निराकार के सहारे से ही अपने

साहस को समाप्त करता है। देखो मूर्त्ति रहस्य पृ०८३ ये हिमवा-नादि पर्वत जिसके महत्व से कहे, नदी समूह सहित समुद्र को जिसका ऐश्वर्य्य कहा, इत्यादि कहकर स्पष्ट यह मानता है कि यह ईश्वर का वर्णन है जिसकी भुजादि अवयव दिशा रूप ही हैं ॥

य आत्मदा बलदा यस्य विश्व उपासते प्रशिषं यस्य देवाः। यस्य च्छायामृतं यस्य मृत्युः कस्मै देवाय हविषा विधेम ॥ ४ ॥

इस मंत्र में तो किसी ने भी अद्यावधि यह नहीं कहा कि यह मंत्र साकार का प्रचार करता है क्योंकि आत्मिक भाव देने वाला परमात्मा और शारीरिक बलादि देने वाला परमात्मा और (यस्य विश्व उपासते) सारा विश्व जिस की उपासना करता है ऐसा तो अजन्मादि विशेषण विशिष्ट और प्राकृत गुण न होने से निर्वि-शेष परमात्मा ही है और कोई साकार वस्तु नहीं। सायण इस पर स्पष्ट यह भाष्य करता है कि "य प्रजापती आत्मदा आत्मा नां दाता आत्मानोहि सर्वे तस्मात् परमात्मन उत्पद्यन्ते"

अर्थ—जो प्रजापति आत्मा जीवात्माओं का उत्पत्ति स्थान है, अथवा जीवात्माओं का संशोधन करने वाला है यह 'आत्मदा' के अर्थ हैं क्योंकि दैप शोधने धातुसे दा बनता है यह सायणा चार्य्य लिखता है। कुछ हो यह तो प्रकरणान्तर है प्रकृत यह है कि सायणाचार्य्य भी इन मंत्रों में उस देव को परमात्मा मानता है जिसके विषय में प्रश्न था कि हम लोग किसकी उपासना करें।

और इस बात से सायणाचार्य्य ने इन मंत्रों में निराकारवाद को और भी स्पष्ट कर दिया कि उस परमात्मा का यहां वर्णन है जिससे सब सृष्टि उत्पन्न होती है, यह आर्य्य शास्त्र का सर्व तंत्र सिद्धान्त है कि सृष्टि निराकार ईश्वर से उत्पन्न होती है। हमारे सनातनी भाइयों का शेषशाई साकार तो पीछे बनता है, यह सिद्धान्त "ततोविराडजायत" इत्यादि मंत्रों से सिद्ध है ॥

"यतो वा इमानि भूतानि जायन्ते येन जातानि जीवन्ति" इत्यादि उपनिषद् वचन इसी सिद्धान्त को दृढ़ करते हैं। फिर "य आत्मदा बलदा" इत्यादि मंत्रों में जिस सृष्टि कर्त्ता का कथन किया गया है उसमें साकारवाद की कथा ही क्या? रहा यह प्रश्न कि सायणाचार्य्य ने उक्त मंत्र में जो निराकार से जीवों की उत्पत्ति मानी है जैसे कि "आत्मानो हि सर्वे तस्मात्परमात्मन उत्पद्यन्ते" एवं सब जीवात्माओं की उत्पत्ति परमात्मा से मानी है और आर्य्य मन्तव्यों में जीवात्मा अनादि अनन्त माने गए हैं? इसका उत्तर यह है कि "तस्माद् वा एतस्मादात्मन आकाशः संभूतः" इत्यादि मंत्र सिद्ध आविर्भाव को ही उत्पत्ति शब्द से कहा गया है अन्यथा "उत्पत्त्यसम्भवात्" इत्यादि शास्त्र से उत्पत्त्यसम्भवाधिकरण में जो जीवात्माओं को अनादि माना है उसके साथ विरोध आता। और जो सायणाचार्य्य ने "हिरण्यगर्भादि" मंत्रों में परमात्मा की कारणता सिद्ध करते हुए यह लिखा है कि "यथाग्नेः सकाशात् विस्फुलिङ्गाजायन्ते" इस अग्नि के दृष्टान्त से साकार ईश्वर सिद्ध

होता है? इसका उत्तर यह है कि इससे सायणाचार्य्य का अभिन्न निमित्तोपादान कारण में तात्पर्य्य है, साकार ईश्वर में तात्पर्य्य नहीं। बृहदारण्यक के भाष्य में स्वामी शङ्कराचार्य्य ने इस बात को स्पष्ट कर दिया है कि अग्नि विस्फुलिङ्गादिवाद उपनिषदों में ब्रह्म की एकता सिद्ध करने के अभिप्राय से है साकार के अभिप्राय से नहीं, अन्यथा निराकार वादिनी श्रुतियों के साथ विरोध आता। प्रकृत यह है कि उक्त हिरण्यगर्भादि चार मंत्रों में निराकार ईश्वर का प्रतिपादन है। "नतस्य प्रतिमास्ति" इस मंत्र में हिरण्यगर्भ की प्रतीक से जो पं: ज्वालाप्रसाद मिश्र उक्त मंत्र को साकार विधायक कहता था यह बात सिद्ध नहीं हुई। "प्रधानमल्ल निवर्हणन्याय" से इस बात का भी उत्तर आ गया जो "यस्मान्न जातः" "मामां हिंसीज्जनितायः" इन प्रतीकों में साकार का वर्णन पं: ज्वालाप्रसाद मिश्र ने माना है॥

जब हमने इस बात को काट दिया जो पं: ज्वालाप्रसाद मिश्र ने यह लिखा था कि स्वामी जी ने 'हिरण्यगर्भः समवर्त्तताग्रे' के अर्थ प्रकरण विरुद्ध किये हैं तो "यस्मान्नजात" इत्यादि प्रतीकों का उत्तर बीच में ही आगया, जैसे प्रधान मुख्य मल्ल के गिराने से उसके चेले चाटे बीच में ही आजाते हैं एवं "हिरण्यगर्भः समवर्त्तताग्रे" को निराकार वस्तु प्रतिपादक सिद्ध करने से पं ज्वालाप्रसाद मिश्र की यह प्रधान प्रतिज्ञा टूट गई कि "नतस्य प्रतिमास्ति" यह मंत्र साकार को प्रतिपादन करता है।

अब मंत्र के अर्थ यह हुए कि:—

नतस्य प्रतिमास्ति यस्यनाम महद्यशः हिरण्यगर्भ इत्येषः यस्मान्नजात इत्येषः ॥ यजु० अ० ३२।३।

अर्थ-"नतस्य" उसकी कोई (प्रतिमा) मूर्त्ति नहीं है, जिस परमात्मा का नाम अर्थात् यश प्रसिद्ध है। सृष्टि रचना रूप से प्रसिद्ध यश है इससे बड़ा और यश क्या हो सक्ता है, वह परमात्मा "हिरण्यगर्भः" सब सूर्य्य चन्द्रमादि पदार्थों का अधिकरण अर्थात् सब लोक लोकान्तर उस परमात्मा के उदर में निहित हैं इस लिये उस परमात्मा देव से यह प्रार्थना करनी चाहिये कि हे देव तू हमारी हिंसा मतकर अर्थात् शारीरिक आत्मिक सामाजिक तीनों प्रकार के बल को हम कदापि तेरे से विमुख होकर हनन न करें और जिस लिये हे परमात्मन् आप उत्पन्न नहीं होते इस लिये आपकी कोई मूर्त्ति नही है ॥

और यदि वादी लोगों के कथनानुसार "हिरण्यगर्भः" इत्यादि तीनों मंत्रों की प्रतीकें मानी जाय तो भी अर्थ यह होगा कि उसकी कोई (प्रतिमा) मूर्त्ति नहीं, जिसके वर्णन में "हिरण्यगर्भ" ऋग्वेद अ० ८ अ० ७ व० ६ "मामाहिंसीज्ज नितायः" यजु० १२।२०२ "यस्मान्नजातः" यजु० ८।१६ यह मंत्र हैं इनका फिर भी अर्थ यही होगा और "नतस्यप्रतिमा" का अर्थ फिर भी किसी प्रकार बदल नहीं सकेगा, ग्रंथ विस्तार भय से हम "यस्मान्नजातः मामाहिंसीज्जनिताय" के अर्थों का विस्तार नहीं करते, यदि कोई देखना चाहे तो श्री स्वामी

जी के भाष्य में देख ले। उक्त मंत्रों में निराकार ईश्वर का ही वर्णन है साकार का नहीं, इस प्रकार "तदेवाग्निस्तदादित्यः" "सर्वेनिमेषाः" इस प्रकरण में तत् शब्द का अर्थ इन पूर्व मंत्रों में जो ब्रह्म कथन किया गया वही है जिसके अर्थ वादी के परम माननीय आचार्य्यों के मत से और वेद मत से निराकार परमात्मा के सिद्ध किये गए। इस प्रकार पूर्वोत्तर समालोचना से यही सिद्ध होता है कि प्राचीन आर्य्य लोगों का यही मन्तव्य था कि ईश्वर निराकार है॥

॥ इतिवेदार्थसंग्रहे ईश्वर मन्तव्य निरूपणं समाप्तम्॥

अब इस दूसरे मन्तव्य में वैदिक अर्थों का संग्रह किया जाता है। वेदादि मन्तव्यों में प्रथम मन्तव्यवत् बहुत विस्तार करने से ग्रंथ बहुत बृहत् हो जायगा, अतएव हम केवल वैदिक मंत्रों पर ही अधिक निर्भर करके इन मन्तव्यों के वेदार्थ संग्रह को सङ्कुचित करने की चेष्टा करेंगे॥

इस मन्तव्य का आशय यह है कि वेद ईश्वरीय होने से निर्भ्रम हैं अर्थात् ईश्वर ने जो ज्ञान अपनी सर्व शक्तिमत्ता से ऋषियों के हृदय में प्रकाश किया वह वेद है, और वह वेद ईश्वरीय ज्ञान होने से निर्भ्रान्त है। वेदों के निर्भ्रम होने के विषय में हम पहिले भी संक्षेप से वर्णन कर आए हैं, इसी प्रकार स्वामी शङ्कराचार्य्यादिकों ने भी वेदों को भ्रान्ति रहित माना है, वेदस्य हि स्वार्थे निरपेक्षं प्रामाण्यं रवे रिव रूप विषये॥ स्मृति पा० सू० १ एवं यह विषय आर्य्य मात्र में सर्व तंत्र सिद्ध है कि वेद ईश्वरीय होने से भ्रान्ति रहित हैं॥

यहां इस आशय का विचार किया जाता है कि किसके द्वारा वेद प्रकट हुए, क्योंकि इस विषय में हमारे सनातनी भाई विप्रतिपन्न हैं ॥

"तस्मात् यज्ञात्सर्वहुतऋचःसामानिजज्ञिरे" इस मंत्र के प्रमाण से यह बात तो सिद्ध है कि (ऋचः) ऋग्वेद (सामानि) सामवेद (छन्दांसी) से अथर्व और यजुः चारों वेद ईश्वर से प्रकाश हुए, किस मनुष्य के द्वारा प्रकाश हुए इस का वर्णन ब्राह्मण ग्रथों में है, और पः ज्वालाप्रसादमिश्र सनातनधर्म्मकल्पतरुकार ने यह लिखा है कि

यस्मिन्नश्वासऋषभास उक्षणोवशा मेषा अवसृष्टा स आहुताः । कीलालपे सोम पृष्टाय वेधसे हृदामतिं जनये चारु मग्नये ॥ ऋ० मं० १० अ० ८ सू० ९१ मंत्र १४ ॥

इस मंत्र से ब्रह्मा जी को वेद प्राप्ति पाई जाती है (वेधसे हृदामतिं जनये) इस का अर्थ यही है कि परमात्मा ब्रह्मा जी के हृदय में वेदों का प्रकाश करता हुआ। तिमिर भास्कर पृ० २३७ यहां तो मिश्र जीने "वेधसे हृदामतिं जनये" इस वाक्य गत "वेधस" शब्द से ब्रह्माजी पर वेद प्रकट होने की विधि येन केन प्रकारेण मिला ही ली। पर इस समय ऐसे आडम्बर मात्र के अर्थों को कौन खड़ा होने देता है, देखो इस मंत्र में आगे अन्त में "अग्नये" यह विशेषण "वेधसे" का पड़ा है जिससे यह अर्थ स्पष्ट है कि मैं ऐसे अग्नि के लिये "हृदा" हृदय से

"चारुं" कल्याण करने वाली मति बुद्धि को उत्पन्न करता हूं यहां उक्त पं: साहब "चारुमग्नये" इस अगले पाठ को झट चट कर गए। इतना ही नहीं पूर्वका पाठ जो (कीलालपे सोम पृष्ठाय) उक्तदोनों चतुर्थ्यन्त शब्द "वेधसे" के विशेषण थे इनको भी जलाञ्जलि दे गए। और लोगों के दिखलाने के लिये ऊपर पूरा मंत्र "यस्मिन्नश्वा स ऋषभा" यह लिख गए। अर्थ करने में केवल इतनी प्रतीक ही याद रही "वेधसे हृदामतिं जनये" और सम्पूर्ण मंत्र भूल गए, क्यों न भूलते यदि न भूलते तो ब्रह्माजी को वेद प्राप्ति कराते कराते कुछ और प्राप्त कर बैठते, और वह यह था कि सूत्रामणि यज्ञ में जो "सुरा" शराब पीने वाला अग्नि है और सोमरस युक्त है पृष्ठ भाग जिसका, ऐसे अग्नि के लिये हम कल्याण कारिणी मति उत्पन्न करें अर्थात् ऐसे अग्नि की हम स्तुति करें, फिर वह अग्नि कैसा है जिसमें पुष्ट २ घोड़े और बैल और "मेषा" मेढ़े देवता के लिये अश्वमेध यज्ञ में हवन किये जाते हैं ऐसे अग्नि के लिये हम स्तुति रूप बुद्धि उत्पन्न करें, यहां तो ब्रह्मा जी को वेद उत्पन्न करते २ कुछ और ही उत्पन्न हो गया। इस अर्थ में किसी को सन्देह हो तो देखो सायणाचार्य्य का सनातन भाष्य "ऋ० अ० ८ अ० ४ व० २३ मं: १४" सनातन धर्म्म के संकल्प पूर्ण करनेवाले कल्पतरुकार जी आप सायणाचार्य्यादिकों के सनातन अर्थों को छोड़कर नई नई नीवें क्यों डालते जाते हैं यह अधिकार आपको नहीं, आप तो सभी सनातन अर्थ ठीक मानते हो तुम्हारी सम्मति में तो वेदों के अर्थ करने में सायणाचार्य्यादि भूल में न थे किन्तु केवल

आर्य्य समाज ही भूल में है ॥

सायणादि भाष्यकारों को छोड़कर नए अर्थ करने का अधि कार तो आर्य्य समाज को ही है जो सायणादिकों के समय को पौराणिक समय होने के कारण भ्रान्ति मूलक बतलाता है और वेदों को पशुवध रूप अश्वमेधादिकों से रहित मानता है ॥

आर्य्य मन्तव्यानुकूल उक्त मंत्र के यह अर्थ हैं कि "कीला-लपे" जो जल के पीने वाला भौतिकाग्नि है और हवन काल में जिसके पृष्ठ भाग में सोमरसादि पाया जाता है इस प्रकार की हवनादि सामग्री को धारण करने वाला जो (वेधस) विदधातीति-वेधस इस व्युत्पत्ति से जो धारण करने के अर्थ से (वेधस) नाम से प्रसिद्ध है। फिर वह कैसा भौतिकाग्नि है "यस्मिन्नश्वा" जिस में अश्व, बैल, मेषादि, पशु दान दिये जाते हैं अर्थात् हवन यज्ञ के अन्त में अश्वादि पशु यज्ञों में दान किये जाते हैं। ऐसे भौतिकाग्नि की हम हृदय से स्तुति वर्णन करते हैं। इस मंत्र में अग्न्यादि पदार्थों का स्वभाव वर्णन किया गया है ॥

प्रकृत यह है कि इस मंत्र में ब्रह्माजी को वेद प्राप्ति का कहीं भी पता नहीं पाया जाता, केवल (वेधस) शब्द के अनर्थ करके अपने अर्थ सिद्ध करने की चेष्टा की है। और जो "ब्रह्मा देवा नां प्रथमंसम्बभूवविश्वस्यकर्त्ताभुवनस्य गोप्ता" इस प्रथम मुण्डक का आश्रय लेकर ब्रह्मा को वेद प्राप्ति मानी जाती है इसका आशय यह है कि यहां ब्रह्मा का प्रथम होना उपनिषद् विद्या वेत्ता ऋषियों में प्रथम होना पाया जाता है नाकि वेद वेत्ताओं में। "विश्वस्यकर्त्ताभुवनस्य गोप्ता" यह विशेषण

ब्रह्मविद्या को प्रकट करके उसके द्वारा भुवन संसार की रक्षा के अभिप्राय से है ॥

और जो–हिरण्यगर्भं जनयामास पूर्वं स नो बुद्ध्या शुभया संयुनक्तु । श्वेता० ३ । ४ इससे ब्रह्मा प्रथम सिद्ध किया जाता है यहां हिरण्यगर्भ से तात्पर्य्य किसी ब्रह्मा ऋषि का नहीं, किन्तु विराट का नाम है जिसका वर्णन मनु में स्पष्ट है ॥

"भूतानां ब्रह्मा प्रथमो ह जज्ञे तेनार्हति ब्रह्मणा स्पर्धितुं कः" अथर्व० १९ । २३ । ३० और इस मंत्र से जो ब्रह्मा ऋषि सिद्ध किया है और यहां महाव्यामोह से यह कथन किया है कि दयानन्दजी तथा उनके चेलों को आंखे खोलकर देखना चाहिये कि यह मंत्र भाग की श्रुति है तिमिर भास्कर पृ० २३८ इसका उत्तर यह है कि श्री स्वामी दयानन्दजी महाराज तथा उनके चेलों ने ठीक २ आंख खोलकर देखा तो यह पाया कि वेद संहिता में आपके चतुर्मुख ब्रह्मा का वा वेदों के कर्त्ता ब्रह्मा का कहीं नाम तक नहीं। पर अब आप आंखें खोलकर देखें तो इस मंत्र में तो ब्रह्मा नहीं किन्तु ब्रह्म है। देखो इस मंत्र के पूर्वार्द्ध में यह शब्द है, "ब्रह्माग्रे ज्येष्ठं दिव माततान" इसके अर्थ यह हैं कि ब्रह्म ने सृष्टि के प्रथम इस बड़े द्यौ लोक को (आततान) विस्तार किया। अब कहिये द्यौ लोक के विस्तार करने वाला ब्रह्म हुआ वा आपका पौराणिक ब्रह्मा ॥

पौराणिक ब्रह्मा को वेद प्राप्ति के विषय में सबसे पुष्ट प्रमाण यह दिया जाता है :—

यो वै ब्रह्माणं विदधाति पूर्वं यो वै वेदांश्च प्रहिणो ति तस्मै तंह देवात्म बुद्धि प्रकाशं मुमुक्षुर्वै शरण महं प्रपद्ये ॥ श्वेताश्वतर अ० ६ ॥

इसके अर्थ यह हैं कि जिस परमात्मा ने (ब्रह्माणं) हिरण्यगर्भरूप ब्रह्माण्ड को उत्पन्न करके उस ब्रह्माण्ड के लिये वेदों को दिया, उस परमात्मा की मैं मुमुक्षु शरण को प्राप्त होऊं, इस उपनिषद् वचन से किसी मनुष्य रूप ब्रह्मा को वेदों का दिया जाना नहीं पाया जाता ॥

और "सब्रह्मविद्यांसर्वविद्याप्रतिष्ठामथर्वाय ज्येष्ठ पुत्राय प्राह" इस मुण्डक वाक्य का उत्तर तो ब्रह्मा उपनिषद् वेत्ताओं में प्रथम हुआ इस कथन से देदिया गया ॥

इस प्रकार वेद संहिता और उपनिषदों में कहीं भी आपके ब्रह्मा को वेदों की प्राप्ति होना नहीं लिखा प्रत्युत प्रतिकूल लिखा है जैसे कि:—

तेभ्यस्तप्तेभ्यस्त्रयोवेदाअजायन्ताग्नेर्ऋग्वेदः वायोर्यजुर्वेदः आदित्यात् सामवेदः ॥ शतपथ कां० ११ अ० ५ ॥ अर्थ—तप करते हुए अग्नि वायु आदित्य इन तीनों ऋषियों से, अग्नि से ऋग्वेद वायु से यजुर्वेद आदित्य से सामवेद, उक्त तीनों वेद उत्पन्न हुए ॥

इस विषय में यह भी प्रश्न उत्पन्न होता है कि वेद तीन ही हैं जो शतपथ के उक्त वाक्य में तीनों वेदों काही कथन है इसका

उत्तर यह है कि यहां तीनों का प्रसङ्ग होने के अभिप्राय से तीन कहे गए, वास्तव में वेद चार हैं इसी शतपथ में चार वेद होने का प्रमाण पाया जाता है "एतस्य वा महतो भूतस्य निश्वसितं ऋग्वेदः यजुर्वेदः सामवेदः अथर्ववेदः" इससे सिद्ध है कि वेद चार हैं, अस्त्वन्य देतत् ॥

प्रकृत यह है कि "तेभ्यस्तप्तेभ्यः" इस शतपथ के वचन से वेदों का अग्नि आदि ऋषियों के द्वारा प्रकट होना पाया जाता है वा ब्रह्मा के द्वारा? ब्रह्मा के द्वारा वेदों का प्रकाश होना मानने वाले इस शतपथ का यह अर्थ करते हैं कि अग्नि वायु आदित्य इन तीनों तपस्वियों से तीनों वेद ऋग् यजु साम प्रकाश हुए अर्थात् वेद त्रय विहित कर्मों का प्रचार हुआ, क्योंकि इस श्रुति में अजायन्त क्रिया है और वह जनि धातु से बनती है, जो प्रादुर्भाव के अर्थों में प्रसिद्ध है। और प्रादुर्भाव प्रकाश होने को कहते हैं, जिसे भाषान्तर में ज़ाहिर होना कहते हैं, तात्पर्य्य यह है कि इन तीनों देवताओं ने जगत् में तीनों वेदों का प्रचार किया ॥

ब्रह्माजी से इन्हीं तीनों ने वेदों को पढ़कर विहित यज्ञादिक कर्मों का अनुष्ठान किया, तिमिर भास्कर पृ० २३८

यहां वादी ने यह तो माना कि अग्नि आदि ऋषियों के द्वारा वेदों का प्रकाश हुआ, और इसी पृष्ठ में "अग्निर्देवता वातो देवता" इस मंत्र के प्रमाण से यह सिद्ध किया है कि अग्नि आदि ऋषि न थे किन्तु जड़ पदार्थ थे, धन्य है सनातनियों

की स्मृति जो फिर इसी पृष्ठ में अग्नि आदिकों को तपस्वी माना। इतना ही नहीं प्रत्युत यह भी माना कि वेदों का प्रचार अग्नि वायु आदित्यादिकों के द्वारा ही हुआ है। वादी उन वक्ताओं में से है जो श्रीस्वामीजी को परस्पर विरोध का दोष लगाया करते हैं और स्वामी जी के मन्तव्य से अत्यन्त विरुद्ध भङ्ग पीने का उपहास करके भूल के कारण भङ्ग का उपालम्भ दिया करते हैं पर यहां तो वादी स्वयं शिव भोले की भक्ति के भवर में पड़कर इस वात को भूल गया कि पहले में क्या लिख आया हूं और अब क्या लिखता हूं। और जो "अजायन्त" क्रिया के अर्थों पर वड़ा भारी वल लगाकर यह सिद्ध किया कि अग्न्यादि ऋषियों ने केवल वेदों को प्रकट किया रचा नहीं, इस सिद्ध साधन से क्या, हम कव कहते हैं कि अग्न्यादिकों ने वेदों को वनाया, और आपके ब्रह्मा जी ने कौनसा वेदों को बनाया उनको भी तो आप प्रकाश होना ही मानते हैं फिर आविर्भाव के अर्थों से आपको क्या लाभ, क्योंकि आविर्भाव में अग्न्यादि ऋषि और ब्रह्मा समान हैं, अस्तु अधिक दिखलाने योग्य बात यह है कि यहां तो वादी ने अर्थात् के अर्थ को ऐसा लम्बा कर लिया जो इन तीनों तपस्वियों से तीनों वेद ऋग् यजु साम प्रकाश हुए के अर्थ अर्थात् कहकर यह करलिये कि अर्थात् वेदत्रय विहित कर्मों का प्रचार हुआ ॥

इस प्रकार वेद विहित कर्मों के प्रचार को आपने अग्न्यादि को मानकर फिर यह माना कि ब्रह्मा जी से इन्हीं तीनों ने वेदों को पढ़कर विहित यज्ञादि कर्मों का अनुष्ठान किया। अब बतलावें

यहां तो आपने अग्न्यादि ऋषियों को ब्रह्माजी के विद्यार्थी माना है फिर जड़ कैसे रहे। न केवल विद्यार्थी ही माना है प्रत्युत यज्ञादि कर्मों के अनुष्ठान करने वाले माना है ठीक है, आप को इस में क्या आग्रह है अग्न्यादि ऋषि यज्ञादि कर्मों का अनुष्ठान करें और वेदों का जगत् में प्रचार करें पर आपको आग्रह इस बात का है कि अग्न्यादि ऋषि ब्रह्माजी के विद्यार्थी अवश्य बने रहें। हमे क्या जहां तक वन पड़े अग्न्यादिकों को ब्रह्माजी के विद्यार्थी बनाइये, पर आपके मनु भगवान ही नहीं बनने देते हम क्या करें, देखो :—

अग्निवायुरविभ्यस्तुत्रयं ब्रह्म सनातनम्। दुदोह यज्ञ सिद्ध्यर्थमृग्यजु साम लक्षणम् मनु० अ० १ श्लो० १२॥

अर्थ—यह है कि अग्नि वायु आदित्य इन तीनों से सनातन ब्रह्म जो वेद है उसको यज्ञ की सिद्धि के लिये ब्रह्माजी ने उक्त तीनों ऋषियों से वेद त्रयी को दोहन किया। मनुका यह आशय है कि अग्नि वायु आदित्य इन तीनों से ब्रह्मा को वेद मिले, इस आशय को कोई छिपा नहीं सक्ता॥

इसके अर्थ पं: ज्वालाप्रसाद मिश्र सनातनधर्म के संस्कार कर्त्ता अब यों करते हैं, (ब्रह्माजी ने ऋग् यजु साम यह नित्य तीन वेद यज्ञ की सिद्धि के लिये अर्थात् यज्ञ करने और कराने के हेतु अग्नि वायु रवि नामक देवताओं के अर्थ क्रम पूर्वक दिये। (अग्नि वायु रविभ्यः) यहां चतुर्थी विभक्ति है पञ्चमी नहीं,

और दुदोह क्रिया ददौ के अर्थ में है, इत्यादि अनर्थ करके यह लिख मारा है कि धातुओं के अनेक अर्थ होते हैं इसलिये यहां दुह धातु के अर्थ दुहने के नहीं किन्तु देने के हैं, एवमेवास्तु ऐसा ही सही जहां दुग्धं गीतामृतम् पाठ है उसके अर्थ सनातन संप्रदाय से गीता रूपी अमृत दिया यह होंगे, हों पर पं० ज्वाला प्रसाद मिश्रजी इस सनातनपन से कहां मुख छिपावेंगे कि दुदोह क्रिया का कर्त्ता मनु के सब भाष्यकारों ने ब्रह्मा को माना है और "अग्नि वायु रविभ्यः" इसको सब ने अपादान माना है। देखो कुल्लूक यह अर्थ करते हैं, "ब्रह्मा ऋग्यजुसाम संज्ञं वेद त्रयं अग्नि वायु रविभ्यः आकृष्टवान्" अर्थ—ब्रह्मा ने तीनों वेदों को अग्नि वायु आदित्य इन तीन ऋषियों से आकृष्ट-वान्-लिया, और इस अर्थ में वही आपकी मानी हुई शतपथ की श्रुतिप्रमाण है जिसमें आप अग्निआदिकों से वेदों का जगत् में प्रचार होना मान आए हैं, और वहां "तेभ्यस्तपतेभ्यः" इसको पञ्चमी विभक्ति मान आये हैं इसी पञ्चमी विभक्ति के अर्थों को कुल्लूक भट्ट यों खोलता है "अग्नेर्ऋग्वेदोवायोर्यजुर्वेद आदित्यात्सामवेद इति" शतपथ आकर्षणार्थत्वादुह्धिधातोर्नाग्नि वायुरविणामकथितकर्म्मता किन्त्वपादानतैव॥ अर्थ–अग्नि से ऋग्वेद और वायु से यजुर्वेद आदित्य से साम वेद, यहां दुह धातु आकर्षण अर्थ वाली है इस लिये "अकथितञ्च" इस सूत्र करके अग्नि वायु आदिकों को कर्म्म नहीं हुआ, अपा-दानता ही है, अब कहिये क्या इन सारे सनातन भाष्यों पर दृष्टि ना देकर मन माने सम्प्रदान के अर्थ बनाकर अर्थात् चतुर्थी के

अर्थ बनाकर अग्नि आदिकों को वेद विद्या में ब्रह्मा जी के विद्यार्थी बनायेंगे? यहां और क्या कहें इस शतक में ऐसे नए अर्थ करके सनातन धर्म्मी होने का दम भरना यह काम आज कलके कलयुगी आचार्य्यों का ही है ॥

इस मनु के श्लोक से यह सिद्ध हुआ कि ब्रह्मा को वेद अग्नि आदि ऋषियों के द्वारा मिले, अब क्या? "तस्मिन्यज्ञे स्वयं ब्रह्मा सर्वलोकपितामह" इत्यादि ब्रह्मा के प्रथम उत्पन्न होने का कथन शतपथादिकों में अग्नि आदि ऋषियों के प्रथम सिद्ध होने के प्रमाणों से प्रवल हो सक्ता है । सारांश यह है कि जब शतपथ से यह सिद्ध हो गया कि ब्रह्माजी ने अग्नि आदि ऋषियों से वेद लिये तो मनु आदि के प्रमाणों से ब्रह्मा को प्रथम सिद्ध करना क्या काम आ सक्ता है॥

इति वेदार्थ संग्रहे द्वितीयमन्तव्य निरूपणं समाप्तम् ॥

(३) इस तीसरे मन्तव्य में धर्म का लक्षण किया गया है, ईश्वराज्ञा का पालनकरना धर्म है, और उससे विरुद्ध का नाम अधर्म है। यही धर्म्माधर्म्म का मुख्य लक्षण है । यह मन्तव्य स्पष्ट है इसमें व्याख्या की आवश्यक्ता नहीं ॥

(४) जिसके इच्छा द्वेष सुख दुख ज्ञानादि लिङ्ग हों, उस का नाम जीव है । इसमें न्याय शास्त्र का यह सूत्र है, "इच्छाद्वेषप्रयत्नसुखदुख ज्ञानान्यात्मनो लिङ्गमिति" न्या० द० १।१।१० इनमें ज्ञानादि गुण तो उसके स्वरूपभूत हैं और द्वेष सुख दुःख आदि उसके उपलक्षण हैं स्वरूपभूत नहीं । जैसे कि "तद्गुणसारत्वात्तु तद्व्यपदेशः प्राज्ञवत्" ब्र० सू० २ । ३ । २९ ।

(तद्गुणसारत्वात्) नाम ज्ञान गुण सार होने के अभिप्राय से उसको विज्ञानमय कहा गया है, जैसे कि (प्राज्ञवत्) नाम परमात्मा को आनन्द गुण सार होने के अभिप्राय से आनन्दमय कहा गया है। इससे सार यह निकला कि जीवात्मा का ज्ञान रूप गुण ही स्वरूप भूत है और गुण आगमापाई हैं, इससे मुक्ति में द्वेष और दुःखादिकों के रहने का दोष नहीं आता॥

(५) इस पांचवें मन्तव्य में जीव ईश्वर के भेद को सिद्ध किया गया है। वह भेद इस प्रकार है "ततस्तुतंपश्यतेनिष्कलं ध्यायमानः"। मु० ३। १। ८ अर्थ—उस निष्कलंक परमात्मा को ध्यान करने वाला जो जीव है वह देख सक्ता है। इस वाक्य में परमात्मा ध्यान का विषय और जीव ध्यान करने वाला, इस प्रकार जीव ईश्वर के भेद को स्पष्ट वर्णन किया गया है। "परात्परंपुरुषमुपैतद्दिव्यं" मु० ३। २। ८। अर्थ—वह (परात्परं) नाम प्रकृति से परे जो पुरुष है उस दिव्य पुरुष को जीवात्मा प्राप्त होता है, जीवात्मा उसको प्राप्त होने वाला है और वह प्राप्ति का विषय है। एवं यह वाक्य भी भेद ही को कथन करता है "यः सर्वाणि भूतान्यन्तरो यमयति" बृ० ३। ७। ३। जो सब भूतों के अन्तर व्यापक होकर उनकी प्रेरणा करता है वह तुमारा आत्मा है, और "य आत्मनितिष्ठन्नात्मनोऽन्तरो यमात्मा न वेद" इत्यादि वाक्यों में व्याप्य व्यापक भाव से जीव ईश्वर का स्पष्ट भेद वर्णन किया गया है॥

द्वासुपर्णा सयुजा सखाया समानं वृक्षं परिष

स्वजाते। तयोरन्यः पिप्पलं स्वाद्वत्त्यनश्नन्नन्यो अभिचाक शीति। ऋ० अष्ट० २ अ० ३ व० १७।

अर्थ-(द्वासुपर्णा) नाम दो चेतन हैं (सयुजा) नाम अनादि काल से सम्बन्ध रखने वाले हैं (सखाया) परस्पर मित्र हैं,(समानं वृक्षं) नाम अनादित्वेन समान प्रकृति रूपी वृक्ष को(परिषस्वजाते) नाम आश्रय किये हुए हैं। उन दोनों में से (अन्य) जो परमात्मा है वह आप्त काम होने के कारण से (अनश्नन्) नाम भोग न करता हुआ (अभिचाकशीति) नाम साक्षी रूपसे वर्त्तता है। इस मंत्र में जीव ईश्वर का स्पष्ट रूप से भेद वर्णन किया गया है। कोई मायावादी इसको कल्पित भेद कथन करता है, कोई उक्त दोनों में से भोक्ता बुद्धि और अभोक्ता जीव लेता है, इस प्रकार नाना अर्थ करते हैं, पर यहां जीव ईश्वर को छोड़कर बुद्धि और जीव का ग्रहण करना अति कठिन है क्योंकि उन्हीं के कई एक भाष्यकार यहां जीव ईश्वर का ही ग्रहण करते हैं जैसे कि सायण यह लिखता है कि "अत्रलौकिकपक्षिद्वयदृष्टान्तेन जीव परमात्मानौस्तूयेते" यहां लौकिक पक्षि दो के दृष्टान्त से जीव और परमात्मा की स्तुति की गई है, इसलिये भी बुद्धि जीव का यहां ग्रहण नहीं हो सक्ता कि मुण्डकोपनिषद् में यह मंत्र जीव ईश्वर के विषय में पढ़ा गया है न कि बुद्धि और जीव के विषय में। एवं व्यास सूत्रों में भी जीव ईश्वर का भेद स्पष्ट है जैसा कि "अधिकन्तु भेद निर्देशात्" ब्र० सू० २।१।२२। अर्थ-तु शब्द पूर्वपक्ष को हटाता है (अधिकं) नाम ब्रह्म जीव से

अधिक अर्थात् बड़ा है (भेदनिर्देशात्) नाम वेदोपनिषदों में जीव ब्रह्म का भेद कथन किये जाने से। जैसे कि " आत्मावारे द्रष्टव्य श्रोतव्यो मन्तव्यो निदिध्यासितव्य:" बृ० २।४।५।

"सोऽन्वेष्टव्य:" "स विजिज्ञासितव्य:" इत्यादि उपनिषदों में जीव ब्रह्म का भेद है। इस सूत्र में स्वामी शङ्कराचार्य्य को भी भेद ही मानना पड़ा है, क्योंकि इससे पूर्व यह सूत्र था कि यदि ब्रह्म ही जीव बन गया तो उसने अपने लिये हित न किया, इसका उत्तर उक्त सूत्र है। यदि जीव ब्रह्म के भेद का कोई अधिक विस्तार देखना चाहें तो वेदान्तार्य्यभाष्य में देखलें, यहां विस्तार भय से संक्षिप्त लिखा गया है॥

(६) तीन पदार्थ जीव प्रकृति और परमात्मा को अनादि माना है वह "द्वासुपर्णासयुजासखाया" इत्यादि मंत्रों में स्पष्ट हैं॥

(७) जो द्रव्य, गुण, कर्म, उत्पन्न होते हैं वह प्रवाह से अनादि हैं, और स्वरूप से सादि हैं, सारांश यह है कि यह जगत् प्रवाह से अनादि है और स्वरूप से सादि है॥

(८) नाम रूप की रचना का नाम सृष्टि है। "रचनाऽनुपपत्तेश्चनाऽनुमानम्" ब्र० सू० २।१।१ इस सूत्र में सृष्टि की उत्पत्ति ब्रह्म से विना नहीं हो सक्ती यहकहा है और इस सूत्र में इस बात को भी स्पष्टकिया है कि उत्पत्ति केवल रचनाकी ही होती है न कि नित्य द्रव्यों की। इसलिये आर्य्य मन्तव्यों में सृष्टि का कर्त्ता ब्रह्म माना गया है न कि नित्य द्रव्यों का॥

(९) नवें में सृष्टि का प्रयोजन वर्णन किया गया है । सृष्टि का प्रयोजन ईश्वर के सामर्थ्य की सफलता है, जैसे कि नेत्रादि तभी सफल होते हैं जब उनका कोई विषय हो, इसी प्रकार ईश्वर का सामर्थ्य भी तभी सफल होता है जब उसका कोई कार्य्य हो । इस विषय में यह प्रश्न हुआ करता है कि जब अकस्मात् ईश्वर ने सृष्टि उत्पन्न करदी तो कोई बड़ा और कोई छोटा क्यों बना ? यदि पूर्व कर्म सापेक्ष सृष्टि उत्पन्न की तो कर्म कहां से आए ? क्योंकि कर्म तब होंगे जब शरीर होगा, और शरीर तब होगा जब प्रथम कर्म हो चुकेंगे । इस प्रकार अन्योऽन्याश्रय दोष आने से कर्म अनादि सिद्ध नहीं हो सक्ते ? इसका उत्तर यह है कि अन्योऽन्याश्रय दोष तब आता यदि जिन कर्मों से जो शरीर बना है उस शरीर से फिर वही कर्म उत्पन्न होते, पर ऐसा नहीं होता' किन्तु उस शरीर से और कर्म उत्पन्न होते हैं और फिर उन कर्मों से और शरीर उत्पन्न होता है, एवं बीजाङ्कुर के समान यह प्रवाह अनादि है इस लिये कोई दोष नहीं । जिनके मत में जीव, जीवों के कर्म, प्रकृति यह अनादि नहीं उनके मत में सृष्टि रचने का प्रयोजन वर्णन नहीं किया जा सक्ता ॥

एवं मायावादि वेदान्तियों के मत में भी सृष्टि रचने का कोई प्रयोजन नहीं हो सक्ता, क्योंकि उनके मत में सृष्टि से प्रथम ब्रह्म एक ही था, और उसी अभिन्ननिमित्तोपादानकारण से सृष्टि बन गई इस मत में ब्रह्म का प्रयोजन सृष्टि रचने का कोई कथन नहीं किया जा सकता ॥

(१०) दशवें में सृष्टि का कर्त्ता ईश्वर माना गया है और यह मन्तव्य स्पष्ट है इस लिये व्याख्यान की आवश्यक्ता नहीं ॥

(११) बन्ध स्वभाविक है या नैमित्तिक ? इस बात का निर्णय इस मन्तव्य में किया गया है । बन्ध को नैमित्तिक माना है अर्थात् अविद्या रूपी निमित्त से होता है, जैसा किः—

अन्धंतमः प्रविशन्ति ये ऽविद्यामुपासते ततो भूय इव ते तमो य उ विद्यायाᳬरताः ॥ ई० वा० उ० ९

अर्थ—वह लोग (अन्धतम) नाम गाढ़ अविबेक रूपी बन्धन को प्राप्त होते हैं जो अविद्या की उपासना करतें हैं, अर्थात् अविद्या ग्रस्त हैं । ओर वह भी अन्धतम को प्राप्त होते हैं जो (विद्या) नाम ज्ञान के अभिमान में ही रत हैं कर्म नहीं करते । इत्यादि मंत्रों से बन्ध अविद्याजन्य कर्म कृत सिद्ध होता है और विद्या जन्य कर्म से उसकी निवृत्ति होती है ॥

(१२) इस बारहवें में मुक्ति का निरूपण है । "मुक्ति" जाग्रत स्वप्न सुषुप्ति आदिकों के समान जीव की अवस्था विशेष है, इस मुक्ति अवस्था में जीव के इन्द्रियादि भी उसके साथ रहते हैं जैसाकि 'भावं जैमिनिर्विकल्पामननात्' ब्र० सू० ४।४।११ अर्थ–(भावं) नाम शरीर और इन्द्रियों का मुक्ति में भाव पाया जाता है, जैमिनि आचार्य्य विकल्प के कथन पाए जाने से ऐसा मानते हैं, वह विकल्प यह है "स एकदा भवति द्विधा भवति त्रिधा भवति" छा० ७।२६।२। इत्यादि वाक्यों में यह

पाया जाता है कि वह एक प्रकार से होता है, दो प्रकार से होता है, तीन प्रकार से होता है। आशय इसका यह है कि उसकी एक प्रकार की शक्ति होती है दो प्रकार की होती है तीन प्रकार की होती है, एवं सहस्र प्रकार की शक्तियें उक्त वाक्य में कथन की गई हैं। और यह शक्तियें विना शरीर इन्द्रियों के नहीं हो सक्तीं, इससे पाया जाता है कि मुक्ति में शरीर रहता है। जब मुक्ति में शरीर और इन्द्रियें पाए जाते हैं तो फिर यह कैसे कहा जा सक्ता है कि पुनरावृत्ति नहीं होती? क्योंकि जैसे इस लोक के शरीर से पुनरावृत्ति होती है ऐसे परलोक के शरीर से भी पुनरावृत्ति होती है। जो लोग मुक्ति से पुनरावृत्ति नहीं मानते उनको यह भी मानना चाहिये कि मुक्ति में शरीर और इन्द्रियों का भाव नहीं रहता, और ऐसा मानने पर शङ्कर मत के समान मुक्ति हो जाती है जिसमें शरीर इन्द्रिय तो क्या प्रत्युत अहंभाव भी नहीं रहता, अर्थात् मैं सुखी हूं जीव यह भी नहीं जान सक्ता, केवल पाषाण तुल्य हो जाता है ऐसी मुक्ति वेद और उपनिषदों में कहीं भी निरूपण नहीं की गई। जिस वाक्य से स्वामी शङ्कराचार्य्य जी ने पुनरावृत्ति ली है जैसे कि:—

आत्मनि सर्वेन्द्रियाणि सम्प्रतिष्ठाप्प्या हिꣳसन्त्सर्वभूतान्यन्यत्र तीर्थेभ्यः स खल्वेवं वर्त्तयन्यावदायुषं ब्रह्मलोकमभि सम्पद्यते नचपुनरावर्त्तते नचपुनरावर्त्तते। छा० अंत०॥

अर्थ—जब कि यह जीव सब इन्द्रियों को अपने आधीन कर लेता है और किसी प्राणी मात्र की हिंसा नहीं करता, (अन्यत्र तीर्थेभ्यः) नाम पवित्र स्थानों से भिन्न हिंसा नहीं करता अर्थात् पवित्र स्थानों में जाने के लिये जो हिंसा अवर्जनीय है उस में उसको कोई दोष नहीं। एवं सम्पूर्ण आयु वर्ताव करने वाला पुरुष ब्रह्म लोक को प्राप्त होता है। और "नच पुनरावर्तते" के अर्थ यह हैं कि फिर उसको ब्रह्मोपासना में आवृत्ति नहीं करनी पड़ती। और दूसरा "पुनरावर्त्तते" उपनिषद् की समाप्ती के लिये आया है॥

दूसरी वात यह है कि लोक्य तेति लोकः जो दर्शन का विषय हो उसका नाम लोक है, अर्थात् स्थान विशेष का नाम लोक है। जब स्थान विशेष लोक है तो फिर पुनरावृत्ति कैसे नहीं। क्योंकि जब चन्द्रलोकादिकों से वादी के मत में पुनरावृत्ति मानी जाती है तो फिर ब्रह्मलोक से पुनरावृत्ति कैसे नहीं? पं० ज्वाला प्रसाद मिश्र ने "भावं जैमिनिर्विकल्पामननात्" इस सूत्र के यह अर्थ किये हैं कि ब्रह्म लोक की प्राप्ति रूप जो मुक्ति है उसमें शरीर और इन्द्रियों का भाव जैमिनि आचार्य्य मानते हैं, जब ब्रह्मलोक की प्राप्ति रूप मुक्ति में शरीर और इन्द्रियों का भाव मान लिया तो फिर शेष मुक्ति कौनसी रही जिसमें पुनरावृत्ति का निषेध किया गया है? क्योंकि "नचपुनरावर्त्तते नच पुनरावर्त्तते" इस वाक्य में भी तो ब्रह्मलोक की प्राप्ति रूप ही मुक्ति है, इस में स्पष्ट यह लिखा है कि "ब्रह्मलोकमभिसम्पद्यते" अर्थात् ब्रह्म लोक को प्राप्त होना है।

इसी आशय को लेकर श्रीकृष्णजी गीता में लिखते हैं कि **"आब्रह्म भुवना लोकाः पुनरावर्त्तिनोऽर्जुनमामुपेत्यतु कौन्तेयपुनर्जन्म न विद्यते"** अर्थ—ब्रह्म लोक को प्राप्त हुए पुरुष पुनः लौट आते हैं पर मुझको प्राप्त होकर हे अर्जुन फिर नहीं जन्मते। इस वाक्य में कृष्णजी ने भी मुक्ति से पुनरावृत्ति मानी है। रही यह बात कि यह जो कहा कि मुझ को प्राप्त होकर फिर जन्म नहीं होता यह अर्थवाद है अर्थात् उसका यह अर्थ नहीं कि वास्तव में फिर जन्म नहीं होता किन्तु परान्तकाल तक फिर जन्म नहीं होता इस अभिप्राय से यह कहा गया है॥

मुक्ति से पुनरावृत्ति का दृढ़ प्रमाण यह है कि **"भोगमात्र साम्यलिंगाच्च"** ब्र० सू० ४।४।२१ में यह लिखा है कि मुक्ति में जीव को ब्रह्म के साथ भोग मात्र में समता होती है अर्थात् जैसे ब्रह्म आनन्दमय है इस प्रकार जीव भी मुक्ति अवस्था में आनन्द को भोगता है, जो लोग बल पूर्वक यह दिखलाते हैं कि सर्व शास्त्र का यह सिद्धान्त है कि मुक्ति से पुनरावृत्ति नहीं होती, उनके मत में भोग मात्र में ही जीव ब्रह्म की समता क्यों? प्रत्युत सभी गुणों में समता होनी चाहिये! अनावृत्ति में समता, विभु होने में समता, ऐश्वर्य्य में समता, नित्य ज्ञान में समता, एवं ब्रह्मवत् सर्व गुण सम्पन्न ही जीव उनके मत में होना चाहिये था। फिर सूत्रकार ने भोग मात्र में ही समता क्यों मानी? और तर्क यह है कि यह सूत्र **"अनावृत्तिः शब्दादनावृत्तिःशब्दात्"** इससे पूर्व, का है अर्थात् **"भोगमात्र**

साम्य लिङ्गाच्च" इक्कीस का है और उक्त सूत्र बाईस का है जब पूर्व सूत्र में भोग मात्र में समता वर्णन की गई है तो उत्तर सूत्र इससे विरुद्ध कैसे हो सकता है? हमारे विचार में तो "अनावृत्तिशब्दादनावृत्तिःशब्दात्" यह शारीरक का अन्तिम सूत्र इस इक्कीस के सिद्धान्त को ही दृढ़ करता है कि (अनावृत्ति)नाम आवर्त्तनं आवृत्तिः—पुनः २ परमेश्वर के अभ्यास का नाम यहां आवृत्ति है। न आवृत्ति अनावृत्तिः अर्थात् जिस अवस्था में अभ्यास रूप आवृत्ति नहीं अर्थात् मुक्ति में "आत्मा वारे द्रष्टव्यः श्रोतव्यो मन्तव्योनिदिध्यासितव्य" वृ० ४। ५। ६। एवं आवृत्ति नहीं होती। इस अभिप्राय से सूत्र कार ने कहा है कि "अनावृत्तिःशब्दादनावृत्तिः शब्दात्" इसने पूर्व सूत्र के इस अर्थ को दृढ़ किया कि "सोऽश्नुतेसर्वान् कामान् सह ब्रह्मणा विपश्चिता" अर्थ—वह मुक्त जीव ब्रह्म के साथ सब आनन्दों को भोगता है, अर्थात् ब्रह्म समानआप्त काम हो जाता है, इसी भोगमात्र में उसकी समता पाई जाती है इसलिये भोग के साथ मात्र शब्द आया है। मात्र शब्द यह सिद्ध करता है कि भोग में ही जीव ब्रह्म की समता है अन्य बातों में नहीं। इस बात की सिद्धि का बड़ा प्रमाण यह है "जगद्व्यापारवर्ज्जंप्रकरणादसन्निहितत्वाच्च" ब्र० सू० ४। ४। २७। अर्थ—(जगद्व्यापारवर्ज्जं) नाम मुक्त पुरुष का ऐश्वर्य्य जगत् के व्यापार को छोड़कर होता है (प्रकरणात्) यह बात प्रकरण से पाई जाती है। प्रकरण यह है कि सम्पूर्ण जगत्

के कर्त्ता होने के प्रकरण में ब्रह्म का ही कथन पाया जाता है जैसे कि—

यतो वा इमानि भूतानि जायन्ते येनजातानि जीवन्ति यत् प्रयन्त्यभिसम्विशन्ति तद्विजिज्ञासस्व तदब्रह्म तै० ३। १ ॥

अर्थ—जिससे यह सब भूत निकलते हैं और जिससे आविर्भूत हुए जीते हैं, और जिसमें फिर प्रवेश कर जाते हैं उसकी जिज्ञासा करो वह ब्रह्म है। (असन्निहितत्वात्) नाम जिन वाक्यों में ब्रह्म को जगत् कर्त्ता कहा गया है उन में जीव का सम्बन्ध भी नहीं पाया जाता, इससे भी पाया गया कि जब मुक्त पुरुष का ऐश्वर्य्य जगत् रचने में ईश्वर के बराबर नहीं होता तो अनावृत्ति में ईश्वर के बराबर कब हो सकता है। उक्त मुक्त पुरुष विषयक सब सूत्रों की सङ्गति विस्तार भय से यहां नहीं लिखी जाती विस्तार पूर्वक देखना हो तो वेदान्तार्य्यभाष्य अध्याय ४ के चौथे पाद में देख लेवें। और जो दो वेद मंत्र ऋ०मं० १ सू० २४ मं० १। २। मुक्ति विषय में स्वामीजी ने दिये हैं उनके पौराणिक लोग यह अर्थ करते हैं कि अजीगर्त्त नाम वाला एक राजर्षि एक खड्ग लेकर शुनःशेप को मारने आया, उस समय की शुनःशेप की यह प्रार्थना है मुक्त पुरुष की नहीं? इसका उत्तर यह है कि जैसा उनका यह आक्षेप है कि यहां मुक्त पुरुष का नाम नहीं, एवं यहां शुनःशेप का भी नाम नहीं, और नाही अजीगर्त्त का, फिर उन्होंने यह कहानी कहां से घड़ली। यदि यह कहा

जाय कि इससे आगे के मंत्रों में जाकर शुनःशेप का नाम है जैसाकि "शुनःशेपोह्यह्वदगृभीतः" ऋ० मं० १ सू० २४ मन्त्र १३ इसके अर्थ यह हैं कि शुनःशेप जो विद्वान् है वह परमात्मा का आह्वान करता है इससे शुनःशेप कोई पुरुष विशेष नहीं पाया जाता किन्तु जिज्ञासु ही पाया जाता है जिनमें उक्त जिज्ञासु की प्रार्थना है वह मंत्र यह हैं ॥

(१) कस्यनूनंकतमस्यामृतानांमनामहेचारु देवस्यनाम। कोनो मह्या अदितये पुनर्दात्पितरं च दृशेयं मातरञ्च ॥ ऋ० मं० १ सू० २४ मं० १।

(२) अग्नेर्वयं प्रथमस्या मृतानां मनामहे चारु देवस्य नाम । स नो मह्या अदितयेपुनर्दात्पितरं च दृशेयं मातरंच ॥ ऋ० मं० १ सू० २४ मं० २।

अर्थ-(१) यहां जिज्ञासु यह प्रश्न करता है कि विनाश रहित वस्तुओं में से हम किसको मानें? और वह कौन देव है जिसका नाम श्रेष्ठ है? जो हमें फिर पृथ्वी को प्राप्त कराता है, और माता पिता के फिर दर्शन कराता है? इस अगले मंत्र में इस बात का उत्तर है ॥

(२) (अग्नि) नाम अग्रणी सर्वोपरि जो परमात्मा है उस देव का नाम श्रेष्ठ है उसकी हम उपासना करें, वह हमको पृथ्वी को प्राप्त कराता है, और वही फिर हमको माता पिता के दर्शन कराता है ॥

इससे यह पाया जाता है कि फिर माता पिता के दर्शन की इच्छा यहां मुक्त पुरुष ही करता है। क्योंकि छान्दोग्य में लिखा है कि " सङ्कल्पादेवास्यपितरःसमुत्तिष्ठन्ति " इस लेख से पाया गया कि माता पिता का सङ्कल्प मुक्ति अवस्था में भी होता है। वह लोग इसका यह उत्तर दिया करते हैं कि जिस में ऐसा संकल्प होता है वह लोक विशेष की प्राप्ति रूप मुक्ति है वास्तव में मुक्ति नहीं। यह उनका कथन साहस मात्र है क्योंकि "भावं जैमिनिर्विकल्पामननात्" इस सूत्र में हम सिद्ध कर आए हैं कि ब्रह्म लोक प्राप्ति रूप मुक्ति में भी शरीर इन्द्रियों का भाव बना रहता है फिर पितृ लोक का सङ्कल्पक्रम मुक्ति में कैसे कहा जाता है। इस प्रकार पूर्वोत्तर निरीक्षण करने से यह ज्ञात होता है कि मुक्ति एक ब्रह्म के अपहतपाप्मादि गुणों के धारण करने की अवस्था विशेष है और वह शुभ कर्मों से प्राप्त होती है। "उत्पाद्य, प्राप्य, संस्कार्य्य, विकार्य्य" उक्त चार प्रकार की मुक्ति का स्वामी शंकराचार्य्यजी ने खण्डन करके "अशरीरं शरीरेष्वनवस्थेष्ववस्थितं महान्तंविभुमात्मानं मत्वाधीरो न शोचति" कठ० २। २२। इत्यादि प्रमाणों से जो स्वामी शंकराचार्य्यजी ने यह सिद्ध किया है कि मुक्ति में शरीर नहीं रहता और मुक्ति धर्म कार्य्य भी नहीं, यह शास्त्र के आशय से सर्वथा विरुद्ध है और उक्त वाक्य परमात्मा को अशरीरी कहता है नकि जीव को? एवं धर्म कार्य्य होने से हमारे मत में मुक्ति उत्पाद्य है, धर्म से मुक्ति उत्पादन की जाती है, इसी लिये महर्षि

कणाद ने यह कहा है "यतोऽभ्युदयनिश्रेयससिद्धिसंधर्मः"

(१३) इसमें मुक्ति के साधन अभ्यासादि कर्म कथन किये गए हैं, जिनका वर्णन "ते ध्यानयोगानुगता अपश्यन्नित्यादि" उपनिषद् वाक्यों में स्पष्ट है, इसमें (सद्विद्या) यथार्थ ज्ञान को ही मुक्ति का साधन माना है, इस प्रकार ज्ञान कर्म का समुच्चय मुक्ति का साधन हुआ ॥

मायावादियों के समान केवल ज्ञान ही मुक्ति का साक्षात् साधन नहीं, उनके मतमें कर्मों से मुक्ति का निषेध है। और "तमेव विदित्वाऽतिमृत्युमेति नान्यः पन्था विद्यतेऽयनाय" इस श्रुति से मुक्ति का एक मात्रज्ञान ही साधन माना है और वह ज्ञान जीव ब्रह्म की एकता रूप है। पर उक्त ज्ञान से मुक्ति कदापि नहीं होती क्योंकि वाक्य जन्य ज्ञान से कभी अनर्थ की निवृत्ति नहीं देखी गई, और जो यह कहा जाता है कि "रज्जूरियं नायं सर्पः" इत्यादि वाक्यों से सर्व रूप अनर्थ की निवृत्ति देखी जाती है यह भी ठीक नहीं, क्योंकि ऐसी निवृत्ति भ्रम स्थल में ही होती है, और यह जगत् भ्रम नहीं है किन्तु अनित्य है अर्थात् प्रलयकाल पर्य्यन्त स्थायी है। फिर उसकी निवृत्ति वाक्य जन्य ज्ञान से कैसे होसक्ती है। और जो यह कहा है कि "तमेवविदित्वाऽतिमृत्युमेति" यहां अति मृत्यु नाम मुक्ति ब्रह्म वेदन से ही होती है। यहां ब्रह्म वेदन से यथार्थ ज्ञान का तात्पर्य्य है और वह यथार्थ ज्ञान श्रवण, मनन, निदिध्यासनादिकों से विना नहीं होता, इस लिये कर्म और ज्ञान का समुच्चय

हुआ, और वह ज्ञान जीव ब्रह्म की एकता रूप नहीं किन्तु ईश्वर का यथार्थ ज्ञान है ॥

(१४) से १९ तक मन्तव्य स्पष्ट हैं उन में व्याख्या की आवश्यक्ता नहीं ॥

(२०) में विद्वानों को देव, और अविद्वानों को असुर, पापियों को राक्षस और अनाचारियों को पिशाच लिखा है। यहां देव शब्द के अर्थ श्रीस्वामीजी ने विद्वानों के माने हैं इससे हमारे सनातनी भाई बहुत घबराते हैं, और घबराने का कारण यह है कि जहां मनुस्मृति आदिकों में देवों की पूजा लिखी है वहां जब देव के अर्थ विद्वानों के होगए तो उनकी देव शब्द से मूर्त्तिपूजा तो उड़ गई और जिन स्थलों में देव शब्द से अलौकिक देवों का ग्रहण करके अपने चित्त को सन्तुष्ट करते थे वहां जब देव विद्वान् ही रह गए तो फिर क्यों न घबराएं, हमारे विचार में तो देव शब्द अनेकार्थ वाची है, कहीं देव सूर्य्य चन्द्रमादि भौतिक पदार्थों का नाम है, कहीं देव परमात्मा का नाम है और कहीं देव दिव्यगुण सम्पन्न मनुष्यों का नाम है एवं देव के अनेक अर्थ हैं। जहां देव शब्द मनुष्यों में आया है वहां स्वामी जीने विद्वानों के अर्थ लिये हैं। जैसा कि कृष्णजीने गीता में कहा है "द्वौभूतसर्गौलोकेऽस्मिन् दैव आसुर एवच" गी० १६।६ यहां देव शब्द मनुष्य का वाची है। एवं अथर्व वेद कां० १९ अ० ७ सू० १२ में यह लिखा है ॥

"नैतांविदुःपितरोनोत देवाः" उस परमात्मा की शक्ति

को न पितर जानते हैं न देव जानते हैं, इस वाक्य में पितरों से भिन्न देव शब्द विद्वानों के लिये आया है, उस शक्ति की दुर्विज्ञेयता दिखलाने के अभिप्राय से यहां ऐसा कहा है, और सायण भी यहां ऐसे अर्थ करता है कि "देवास्त्रयस्त्रिंशत्देवव्यतिरिक्ताअन्येदेवा न विदुः" अर्थ–तेतीस देवों से भिन्न जो और देव हैं वह यहां अभिप्रेत हैं, और पितृ शब्द के सहचार से देव शब्द यहां मनुष्यों काही वाचक होसक्ता है। यदि कोई यह कहे कि पितृ शब्द भी पौराणिक देवों के समान यहां अलौकिक जाति काही वाचक है? इसका उत्तर यह है कि "मातृदेवोभव पितृदेवोभव" इत्यादि उपनिषद्वाक्यों में पितृ शब्द मनुष्य जाति में प्रसिद्ध है फिर अलौकिक कल्पना क्यों? रही बात यह कि कहीं देव शब्द ईश्वर वाचक, और कहीं भौतिक देवों का वाचक, और कहीं विद्वानों का वाचक क्यों है? इसका उत्तर यह है कि मुख्य तो परमात्मा का ही नाम देव है, परंतु गौणीवृत्ति से भौतिक देव और विद्वानों का भी नाम होता है। और ऐसे अनेक अर्थों के वाचक प्रायः शब्द आते हैं जो प्रकरणानुकूल अर्थ देते हैं। और पिशाच भी अलौकिक पदार्थ नहीं जैसा कि अथर्व वेद कां० ८ अ० ३ सू० ६ में यह मंत्र है:—

य आमं मांसमदन्ति पौरुषेयं च ये क्रविः।
गर्भान् खादन्ति केशवास्तानितो नाशयामसि॥

अर्थ–जो पिशाच (आमं) नाम अपक्क अर्थात् कच्चे मांस को खा जाते हैं, और मनुष्य के मांस को खा जाते हैं, और गर्भधारी

प्राणियों को भी मारकर खा जाते हैं (तां) उनको (इतः) नाम इस संसार से हम नाश करें, यदि कोई यह प्रश्न करे कि इस मंत्र में राक्षस अथवा पिशाच का नाम नहीं है ? तो उत्तर यह है कि इसी काण्ड का मंत्र १३ यह है:—

य आत्मानमतिमात्रमंस आधाय विभ्रति। स्त्री णां श्रोणिप्रतोदिन इन्द्र रक्षांसि नाशय ॥ १३ ॥

अर्थ—जो (आत्मान) नाम प्राणियों को (अतिमात्रं)नाम असन्त (अंसे आधाय) नाम अपने वश में करके (विभ्रति) नाम व्यवहार करते हैं। अर्थात् मनुष्यादि प्राणियों को सर्वथा वशीभूत करके पशुओं के समान स्वाधीन करते हैं और जो स्त्रियों को दुःख देते हैं हे इन्द्र परमात्मन् (रक्षांसि) नाम ऐसे राक्षसों को (नाशय) इस संसार से नाशकर। इस मंत्र में स्पष्ट राक्षस पद पड़ा है और इसमें वर्णन भी ऐसे पापियों का किया गया है जो अलौकिक नहीं हैं इसलिये राक्षस पिशाच पापी जनों का ही नाम है कोई अलौकिक योनि नहीं ॥

(२१) इसमें यह वर्णन किया है कि साकार पदार्थों में से माता, पिता, आचार्य्यादि, प्राणियों की पूजा करना ही देवपूजा कहाती है नाकि मूर्त्यादि जड़ पदार्थों की, जिन लोगों ने वैदिक मंत्र तथा तर्क का सहारा लेकर ईश्वर विषयक मूर्त्तिपूजा का मण्डन किया है उनका खण्डन यहां वैदिक मंत्र तथा तर्कों से किया जाता है। जहां कहीं वेद में प्रतिमा शब्द आता है मूर्त्ति-पूजक लोग उसको ईश्वर की प्रतिमा की ओर लेजाने की असन्त

चेष्टा करते हैं, और जहां कहीं ईश्वर की प्रतिमा के निषेधके अभिप्राय से प्रतिमा शब्द आता है जैसेकि "नतस्यप्रतिमास्ति" उसके प्रतिमा से भिन्न अर्थ करने में कटिबद्ध हो जाते हैं, इस बात को हम "नतस्यप्रतिमास्ति" इस मंत्र में दिखला आए हैं, अब देखिये कि:—

सहस्रस्य प्रमासि सहस्रस्य प्रतिमासि। सहस्रस्योन्मासि साहस्रोऽसि सहस्रायत्वा॥ यजु० १५। ६५।

इस मंत्र में प्रतिमा शब्द आया है, इसके अर्थ भी सनातनी लोग यही करते हैं कि हे परमात्मन् तुम (सहस्रस्य) नाम असंख्यात जो यह जगत् है उसकी प्रमा हो, प्रमीयते यया स प्रमा, (सहस्रस्य प्रतिमासि) असंख्यात जगत् की मूर्त्ति हो, और (सहस्रोऽसि) तुम असंख्यात जगत् रूप हो। (सहस्रायत्वा) सहस्रनाम अनन्त फल के लिये त्वा नाम तुम्हारी प्रार्थना करता हूं। महीधर इस मंत्र को अग्नि विषय में लगाते हैं कि हे अग्ने "सहस्रस्येष्टकानांप्रमाप्रमाणंत्वमसिसहस्रस्यप्रतिमाप्रतिनिधिरसि" अर्थ—हे अग्ने असंख्यात ईंटों का तुम प्रमा प्रमाण हो, और सहस्रों के तुम प्रतिमा प्रतिनिधि हो॥

महीधर के अर्थ से यह प्रतीत होता है कि सनातनियों के सनातन समय में "सहस्रस्यप्रतिमासि" इत्यादि मंत्र मूर्त्तिपूजा को सिद्ध नहीं करते थे। इस मंत्र के अर्थ यह हैं कि हे विद्वन् (सहस्रस्य प्रमासि) असंख्यात पदार्थ युक्त जगत् की तुम (प्रमा) नाम यथार्थ ज्ञान हो, और उस जगत् की तुम (प्रतिमा) नाम दृष्टान्तादिकों से तुलना करने वाले हो, और

फिर तुम कैसे हो कि (उन्मा) नाम उसमें से तुम प्रत्येक पदार्थ की तुलना करने वाले हो, अर्थात् सदसद् विवेचन रूपी तुला पर रखकर सत्यासत्य को तोल देते हो । इस लिये (सहस्राय) नाम सहस्र प्रयोजनों के लिये परमात्मा ने तुम्हें बनाया है ॥

तंयज्ञंबर्हिषिप्रौक्षन्पुरुषजातमग्रतः । तेनदेवा अयजन्तसाध्या ऋषयश्चये ॥ यजु० ३१ । ९ ।

इस मंत्र से मूर्त्तिपूजक यह आश्रय लेते हैं कि (तंयज्ञं) नाम उस यज्ञ पुरुष को देवता और ऋषि लोगों ने पूजन किया जो सब सृष्टि से प्रथम उत्पन्न हुआ था ॥

पहला दोष इस अर्थ में यह है कि वह जब सृष्टि से प्रथम उत्पन्न हुआ, उसकी सेवा करने वाले साध्य और देवता उस समय कहां थे? और दूसरी बात यह है कि महीधर ने इस मंत्र को पशु यज्ञ में लगाया है, कि उस यज्ञरूप पशु को यूप में बंधन करके प्रोक्षणादि संस्कारों से उसका संस्कार किया, अस्तु यहां विचारार्ह यह है कि जब यज्ञ शब्द के अर्थ–विष्णु व्यापक परमात्मा के हैं तो फिर साकार की पूजा इससे कैसे सिद्ध हुई। यजु० ३१ । १६ "यज्ञेनयज्ञमयजन्तदेवाः" इस मंत्र में यह बात स्पष्ट है कि यज्ञ नाम परमात्मा का है, और दूसरा यज्ञ नाम सामग्री साधनरूप उस वैदिक कर्म का है जिसकी कोई प्रतिमा हो नहीं सक्ती, एवं यज्ञ के दोनों अर्थों में मूर्त्तिपूजा सिद्ध नहीं हो सक्ती ॥

इस मंत्र के अर्थ यह हैं कि उस यज्ञरू[illegible]जनीय परमात्मा का

ज्ञानयज्ञ से ऋषि लोग पूजन करते हैं। वह पुरुष कैसा है जो इस सब कार्य्यरूप सृष्टि से (अग्रतः) नाम प्रथम है (तेन) नाम उसके दिये हुए वेदरूपी हेतु से। (साध्या) योगी लोग और (ऋषयः) मंत्र द्रष्टा लोग (अयजन्त) नाम यज्ञ करते हैं। इसमें तो ज्ञानयज्ञ से पूजा लिखी है फिर मूर्त्तिपूजा कहां रही। क्योंकि ज्ञानयज्ञ तो मूर्त्तिपूजकों के मत में भी निराकार को ही बोधन करता है न कि साकार को। जैसा कि गीता में लिखा है कि :—

"श्रेयानद्रव्यमयात्यज्ञात्ज्ञानयज्ञःपरंतप।
सर्वंकर्माखिलंपार्थज्ञानेपरिसमाप्यते" गी० ४। ३३।

अर्थ–(द्रव्यमयात् यज्ञात्) नाम द्रव्यरूप यज्ञ से ज्ञानरूपयज्ञ (श्रेयान्) नाम श्रेष्ठ है, क्योंकि सब कर्म ज्ञानयज्ञ में जाकर समाप्त हो जाते हैं, और मूर्त्तिपूजकों का यह सिद्धान्त भी है कि अज्ञानावस्था में ही मूर्त्तिपूजा की विधि है नकि ज्ञानावस्था में॥

अन्धन्तमः प्र विशन्ति येऽसम्भूति मुपासते। ततो भूयइवते तमो य उ संभूत्या ऽरताः॥ यजु० ४०।९।

यह मंत्र स्पष्टतया मूर्त्तिपूजा का निषेध करता है कि (असंभूति) नाम प्रकृति और (संभूति) नाम प्रकृति का कार्य्य उक्त दोनों पदार्थों की पूजा करने वाले (अन्धतम) नाम अविद्या अन्धकार को प्राप्त होते हैं॥

स्वामीजी के अर्थों पर आक्षेपता लोगों ने इस मंत्र के अर्थों में ब्रह्म के स्थान में प्रकृति की उपासना करना इस पकड़ को पकड़ा है, पहले यह दोष पं० साधुसिंह ने निकाला है, और फिर

उसी का अनुकरण पं० ज्वालाप्रसादमिश्र ने किया है, उक्त दोनों पुरुषों ने इतना भी नहीं सोचा कि प्रकृति और प्रकृति के कार्य्य की उपासना का जो निषेध किया गया वह किस अभिप्राय से किया गया है, वास्तव में वेद भगवान् का आशय यह था कि प्रकृति और प्रकृति के कार्य्य की उपासना करने वाले इसलिये नारकीय हैं कि वह उपास्य देव से भिन्न की उपासना करते हैं अर्थात् उपास्य के स्थान में अनुपास्य की उपासना करते हैं तो फिर यहां ब्रह्म के स्थान में प्रकृति की उपासना करने का निषेध यह अर्थ क्यों बुरा है? और जो पं: ज्वालाप्रसादमिश्र ने यह लिखा है कि ब्रह्म के स्थान में प्रकृति की उपासना कहना यह प्रतीकोपासना हुई, हम कब कहते हैं कि यह प्रतीकोपासना नहीं, पर भेद तो इतना है, हम यह कहते हैं कि यहां प्रतीकोपासना का निषेध है जैसाकि "नतस्यप्रतिमास्ति" में है, यदि यह कहा जाय कि वेद समकाल में प्रतीकोपासना थीही नहीं फिर निषेध क्यो? तो "अन्धन्तम:प्रविशन्तियेऽविद्यामुपासते" जब वेद समकाल में अविद्या की उपासना थी ही नहीं तो फिर वदे भगवान् ने इस मंत्र में अविद्या की उपासना का निषेध क्यों किया? शास्त्र रीति से तो ज्ञान से प्राप्त वस्तुओं का भी निषेध हुआ करता है, यदि सर्वथा प्राप्त वस्तुओं का ही निषेध हुआ करता तो उनके मतमें "येअविद्यामुपासते" इसका क्या उत्तर है? हां एक उत्तर हो सक्ता है कि उनके मत में स्वाश्रय स्वविषय होकर अविद्या ब्रह्म में रहती है, एवं नित्य प्राप्त के अभिप्राय से निषेध किया गया है। इसी प्रकार हमारे मत में भी यह उत्तर हो

सक्ता है कि दस्यु लोग अर्थात् वेदविहित कर्मों से विरुद्ध आच-रण करने वाले लोग वेद समकाल से चले आते हैं इस लिये ऐसे लोगों में प्रकृति और प्रकृति के कार्य्य की उपासना प्राप्त थी इस लिये प्राप्त का ही निषेध किया गया है अप्राप्त का नहीं ॥

और बात यह है कि जब वह लोग सनातन होने का दम भरते हैं और प्रत्येक सनातन भाष्य का सत्कार करते हैं फिर स्वामीजी के अर्थों पर रोप क्यों ? क्योंकि इस मंत्र के भाष्य में महीधर और स्वामी शङ्कराचार्य्यजी ने प्रकृति और प्रकृति के कार्य्य की उपासना काही निषेध किया है फिर उनके अर्थों से अरुचि क्यों ? और जो उन्होंने यह लिखा है कि प्रकृति और प्रकृति के कार्य्य की भिन्न २ उपासना करने का निषेध है समु-च्चय का निषेध नहीं, इसके प्रमाण के लिये उन्होंने यह मंत्र उद्धृत किया है :—

संभूतिंचविनाशं च यस्तद्वेदोभयꣳसह। विनाशे-न मृत्युं तीर्त्वासम्भूत्यामृतमश्नुते॥यजु०४०।११

इस मंत्र के महीधर ने ज्ञानकर्म के अर्थ किये हैं कि (विनाश) नाम कर्मों से अन्तःकरण की शुद्धि द्वारा (संभूत्या) नाम आत्म ज्ञान से अमृत को पाता है। यह हमभी स्वीकार करते हैं कि यहां समुच्चयवाद है पर ज्ञानकर्म का, नाकि प्रकृति और प्रकृति के कार्य्य की उपासना का। और जो पं० ज्वालाप्रसाद मिश्र ने संभूति से पूर्व लुप्तअकार माना है जिससे असंभूति शब्द बनाकर प्रकृति का अर्थ लेना चाहा है यह शैली उनकी अलौकिक है,

पर फिर भी उनका मनोर्थ सिद्ध नहीं होता क्योंकि स्वामी शं० चा० और महीधर यह सनातन भाष्यकार उनसे विरुद्ध हैं, और जो यह लिखा है कि "ब्रह्मदृष्टिरुतकर्षात्" ब्र० सू० ४।१।५ इस सूत्र में ब्रह्मदृष्टि से कार्य्य की उपासना सिद्ध की है, यहां सर्वथा सूत्र का अनर्थ किया गया है, यह सूत्र प्रतीकाधिकरण का है इससे पूर्व यह सूत्र है कि "न प्रतीके नहि स" अर्थ-(प्रतीके) नाम मूर्ति में परमेश्वर की उपासना नहीं करनी चाहिये, क्योंकि (नहि स) नाम वह परमेश्वर मूर्ति नहीं है । उसीमें हेतु यह है कि "ब्रह्मदृष्टिरुतकर्षात्" ब्रह्मणो दृष्टि-ब्रह्मदृष्टि, अर्थात् ब्रह्मज्ञान प्रतीकोपासना से उत्कृष्ट नाम श्रेष्ठ है इसलिये भी मिथ्याज्ञान रूपी जो मूर्ति पूजा है वह नहीं करनी चाहिये । और जो "अथ मृत्पिण्डमुपादायत्रीन्महावीरान्करोति प्रादेशमात्रंमध्ये संगृहीतमथास्योपरिष्टान्त्र्यङ्गुलंमुखमुन्नयतिनासिकामेवा स्मिन्नेतद्दधातीति" ब्रा० श० १४ । १ । २ । १७ ।

अर्थ-मिट्टी का पिण्ड लेकर तीन महाबीरों को बनाता है जिन की लम्बाई मध्य में प्रादेश मात्र है और ऊपर तीन अंगुलियों का मुख बनाकर उसी में नासिका बनाता है, इत्यादि ब्राह्मण वाक्यों में महावीर एक यज्ञ पात्र विशेष है इससे मूर्त्तिपूजा का क्या सम्बंध । यह भी स्मरण रहे कि हम ब्राह्मण ग्रंथों को वेदानुकूल होने से मानते हैं । इस बात को हम मत्स्यावतार की कथा में स्पष्ट लिख आए हैं कि हम ऐसे ग्रंथों को स्वतः प्रमाण नहीं मानते जिनमें ऐसी असम्भव बातें हैं । इसमें संदेह नहीं कि बहुत

सी बातें अध्यास से ब्राह्मणग्रन्थों में वर्णन की गई हैं जैसा कि यज्ञ पुरुष का सिर कट जाना, और यही बात पुराणों में और बढ़ाकर लिखी गई जैसा कि देवीभागवत में लिखा है कि एक समय विष्णुभगवान का सिर कट गया था उस समय सब देवताओं ने प्रार्थना की। एवं बहुत से अनृतभाषण ब्राह्मण ग्रन्थों में हैं जिन्होंने पुराणों में आकर एक भयानक आकार धारण कर लिया है, इस लिये यहां हमने ब्राह्मण वाक्यों की समीक्षा नहीं की वेद मन्त्रों पर जो मूर्त्तिपूजकों को सहारा था वह निराकरण किया गया॥

अब तर्क से मूर्त्तिपूजा का खण्डन किया जाता है। अब मूर्त्तिपूजक लोग यह कहते हैं कि हम मिट्टी पत्थर की मूर्त्ति की पूजा नहीं करते किन्तु मूर्त्ति में व्यपाक जो परमेश्वर है उसकी पूजा करते हैं। जैसे कि (हम कभी पत्थर मिट्टी की पूजा नहीं करते किन्तु मिट्टी पत्थर के आश्रय से उसी सच्चिदानन्द परमपुरुषोत्तम की पूजा करते हैं) मूर्त्तिपूजा पं० अम्बिकादत्तव्यास पृ० ७

अब पौराणिक फ़िलासफ़ी में मूर्त्तिपूजा शब्द के तीन अर्थ होते हैं, मूर्त्ति की पूजा, मूर्त्ति से पूजा, मूर्त्ति में पूजा, प्रथम अर्थ को तो अब आर्य्यसमाज से भयभीत हुए पौराणिक स्वीकार ही नहीं करते, शेष दोनों को स्वीकार करते हैं, हम इनके सिद्धान्त को ही दृष्टांन्त रूप रखकर इनका खण्डन करते हैं कि:—

योयो यांयां तनुर्भक्तः श्रद्धयार्चितुमिच्छति। तस्य तस्याचलां श्रद्धां तामेव विदधाम्यहम्॥ गी० ७।२१

इस पर स्वामी शं० चा० का यह भाष्य है कि "योयोयांयां देवतातनुश्रद्धयार्चितुमिच्छति" अर्थ-जो पुरुष जिस २ देवता की मूर्त्ति का श्रद्धा से पूजन करता है, यहां तो स्वामी शंकराचार्य्य जी ने भी देवता की मूर्त्तिपूजन के ही अर्थ किये हैं नकि मूर्त्ति में देवता पूजन के, फिर तुम मूर्त्ति की पूजा से कैसे भाग सक्ते हो ? यदि कोई हम पर यह आक्षेप करे कि कहीं तुम शङ्कर का आश्रय लेकर मूर्त्तिपूजा का खण्डन कर देते हो, कहीं उनका आश्रय लेकर मूर्त्तिपूजा का मण्डन करते हो, यह परस्पर विरोध क्यों ? इसका उत्तर यह है कि परमत दृष्टान्त से परमत खण्डन यही कहलाता है कि जो उनके सिद्धान्त से उनका विरोध बतलाना है । रही यह बात कि स्वामी शं० चा० को कहीं मूर्त्तिपूजा का खण्डन करता,कहीं मण्डन करता क्यों उद्धृत किया जाता है ? इसका उत्तर यह है कि यह परस्पर विरोध रूपी दोष भी उनके मत में ही लगता है, पर प्रकृत यह है कि जब स्वामी शं० चा० जैसे वृद्धाचार्य्य मूर्त्तिपूजा के अर्थ मूर्त्ति की पूजा ही मानते थे, तो फिर आज कलके तुच्छ जीव मूर्त्ति अधिकरण में पूजा वा मूर्त्तिकरण से पूजा, मूर्त्ति में पूजा, और मूर्त्ति से पूजा इत्यादि शुष्क तर्क बढ़ाकर सनातन धर्म से क्यों विरोध करते हैं ॥

और जो मूर्त्ति को करण मानकर मूर्त्तिपूजा की सिद्धि की जाती है वह भी ठीक नहीं, क्योंकि करण उसको कहते हैं कि जो व्यापार वाला हो और असाधारण कारण हो, सो मूर्त्ति-पूजन ईश्वर प्राप्ति का असाधारण कारण नहीं, क्योंकि जो लोग मूर्त्तिपूजा नहीं करते उनको भी ईश्वर प्राप्ति होती है, और जब

वेदाध्ययन शम दमादि अनेक साधन ईश्वर प्राप्ति के हैं फिर इस तुच्छ साधन का आश्रय सर्वथा अनुपयुक्त है ॥

केवल अनुपयुक्त ही नहीं प्रत्युत ऐसा भूल का कारण है कि इस मूर्त्तिपूजा रूपी भूल भुलैयों में पड़कर मनुष्य मनुष्य जन्म के फल चतुष्टय से ऐसा भूल जाता है कि फिर कभी उस रास्ते पर नहीं आता, जैसा कि वर्त्तमान काल की मूर्त्तिपूजा का चित्र दिखला रहा है कि सहस्रों लोग मूर्त्तिपूजकों के शृंगार पथ में सम्मिलित होकर शम दमादि साधन सम्पत्ति से गिरकर सर्वथा नाश हो जाते हैं "कौन्तेयप्रतिजानिहिनचमेभक्तःप्रणश्यति" इस गीता वाक्य से सर्वथा उलटा फल होता है, अर्थात् मूर्त्ति-पूजकों की विहार लीला, मान लीला, चीर लीला, रास लीला, इत्यादि अनन्त लीलाओं में लम्पट होकर कोटि २ नर नारी लोक परलोक से भ्रष्ट हो जाते हैं, इस अभिप्राय से स्वामी जी ने यह कहा है कि इतर पाषाणादि जड़ मूर्त्तियों को सर्वथा अपूज्य समझता हूं ॥

और जो मूर्त्ति में पूजा का अर्थ, मूर्त्तिपूजा के किये जाते हैं, यह एक ऐसा सिद्ध साधन है जिस से बिचारे मूर्त्तिपूजक लोग अपने चित्त को मूर्त्तिपूजा की सिद्धि का सन्तोष दे लेते हैं बरन मूर्त्ति में व्यापक समझकर मूर्त्तिपूजा की सिद्धि करने से मूर्त्ति-पूजकों को क्या लाभ! जब इस ब्रह्माण्ड के अणु २ में परमात्मा व्यापक है तो फिर इस निखिल ब्रह्माण्ड के एक देश तुच्छ मूर्त्ति के अन्दर उसकी व्यापकता क्यों विशेष समझी जाती है? बहुत

क्या हम इस कथा को शारीरक का एक अधिकरण लिखकर समाप्तकरते हैं। "नचकार्य्येप्रत्यभिसंधि" ब्र०सू०४।३।१४।

अर्थ—(कार्य्ये) नाम प्रकृति के कार्य्य मूर्त्ति में कभी ध्यान नहीं करना चाहिये, इसी पर स्वामी शंकराचार्य्य ने "नतस्य प्रतिमास्ति" के अर्थ को स्पष्ट किया है कि "नतस्य प्रतिमा-स्ति यस्यनाममहद्यश:" इतिचपरस्यैव ब्रह्मणोयशोनामत्व प्रसिद्धे:" शं० भा० अर्थ—"नतस्यप्रतिमास्ति" इस मंत्र में परब्रह्म के यश का ही वर्णन है नकि साकार का, मूर्त्तिपूजकों के लिये यह परम प्रमाण है कि "नतस्यप्रतिमास्ति" में परब्रह्म की मूर्त्ति का निषेध किया गया है। यदि कोई यह शङ्का करे कि शंकर ने पर और अपर यह दो ब्रह्म माने हैं तो जब उनके प्रमाण को उद्धृत करते हैं तो उन दोनों का स्वीकार क्यों नहीं करते ! इसका उत्तर यह है कि उनका काम दो प्रकार के ब्रह्म मानने से बिना नहीं चल सक्ता, क्योंकि मायावाद में यही महत्व है कि जब तक दो प्रकार का ब्रह्म न माना जाय तब तक उनके अद्वैतवाद की सिद्धि नहीं होती, अस्तु हम को तो इस दृष्टान्त में विवक्षितांश यह है कि सनातनियों के बड़े आचार्य्य भी "नतस्य प्रतिमास्ति" के अर्थ मूर्त्तिपूजा के निषेध के ही मानते हैं॥

इति मूर्त्तिपूजन निषेधो नाम एक विंशति

मन्तव्यः समाप्तः

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(२२) "शिक्षा" जिससे इस संसार का अभ्युदय बढ़े, और अविद्यादि निखिल दोष दूर हों, उसको स्वामी जी ने धर्म शिक्षा माना है ॥

(२३) इस में पुराणों का प्रकरण है, आशय यह है कि आर्ष ग्रन्थों में जहां २ पुराणों का नाम मिलता है वह ब्राह्मण ग्रंथों के लिये आया है भागवतादि अष्टादश पुराणों के लिये नहीं, क्योंकि भागवतादि अष्टादश पुराणों का तो उस समय जन्म भी नहीं हुआ था। स्वामीजी के मन्तव्यों पर आक्षेप करने वाले लोग भागवतादि ग्रंथों को पुराण समर्थन करने के लिये प्राचीन ग्रंथों से जो प्रतीकें देते हैं उनसे यह सिद्ध नहीं होता कि उस समय भागवतादि ग्रंथों को पुराण कहा जाता था, उन प्रतीकों को लिखकर हम पुराण शब्द का आशय वर्णन करते हैं कि पुराण शब्द उससमय ब्राह्मण ग्रन्थों के अभिप्राय से आया है वा किसी अन्य अभिप्राय से ? "इतिहासः पुराणङ्गाथा नाराशंस्यः स एवं विद्वाननुशासनानि विद्या वाकोवाक्यमितिहास पुराणी, गाथा, नाराशंसीरित्यहरहः स्वाध्यायमधीते इत्यादि" शत० अ० ११ प्र० २। इस वाक्य का आशय यह है कि इतिहास पुराण गाथा और नाराशंसी नाम मनुष्यों के जीवन चरित्र ग्रन्थ, (वाकोवाक्य) तर्क शास्त्र इत्यादि ग्रन्थों को प्रतिदिन स्वाध्याय करें, इस वाक्य से यह नहीं पाया जाता कि यहां पुराण शब्द भागवतादिकों के लिये आया है प्रत्युत यह पाया जाता है कि यहां पुराण शब्द ब्राह्मण ग्रन्थों के लिये आया है। क्योंकि ब्राह्मण ग्रन्थों का वाचक और कोई शब्द इसमें नहीं

और जो पं० ज्वालाप्रसादमिश्र ने निम्न लिखित वाक्य का उदाहरण दिया है:—

"क्षीरोदनमांसौदनाभ्यां ह्वाएषदेवांस्तर्पयतिएवं विद्वान् वाकोवाक्यमितिहास: पुराणमित्यहरहः स्वाध्यायमधीते त एनन्तृप्तास्तर्पयन्ति सर्वैः कामैः सर्वैर्भोगैः" शतपथ०

हमारे मन्तव्य में यह वाक्य प्रक्षिप्त है, क्योंकि इसमें देवताओं को मांस से तृप्त करना लिखा है, स्यात् उनके अलौकिक देवता ऐसे हों जो मांस से तृप्त होते हों, हमारे विचार में तो देवताओं को मांस से तृप्ति जनक वाक्य मांसाहारी देवता प्रिय लोगों के डालेहुए हैं इस लिये ऐसे वाक्यों का कोई प्रमाण नहीं। और आगे जो यह लिखा है," अरेऽस्यमहतो भूतस्य निश्वसितमेतदृग्वेदो यजुर्वेदः सामवेदोऽथर्वाङ्गिरसइतिहास:" श०प्र०४ब्रा० ४

उस सर्वोपरि परमात्मा का ऋग्, यजु, साम, अथर्व, श्वासवत् हैं, और इतिहास पुराणादि भी निश्वासवत् हैं यहां भी पुराण शब्द ब्राह्मणों के लिये आया है, क्योंकि यहां यदि ब्राह्मण ग्रन्थों का वाची पुराण शब्द न माना जाय तो और कोई यहां ब्राह्मण ग्रन्थवाची शब्द नहीं है और पं० ज्वालाप्रसादमिश्र ने जो यह लिखा है कि "इसमें इतिहास पुराण आदि पांच नाम पृथक् २ ग्रहण किये हैं॥

क्या पांच नाम पृथक् २ ग्रहण किये जाने से पुराण शब्द भागवतादिकों को कहता है? पांच क्या योंतो यहां ६ नाम पृथक् २ ग्रहण कियेगए हैं, पर इन नामों का भागवतादि ग्रन्थों से क्या सम्बन्ध? और निम्न लिखित छान्दोग्य लिखकर यह

सिद्ध किया है कि यहां इतनी विद्या कथन करके फिर पुराण शब्द पृथक् है इससे भी यह सिद्ध नहीं होता कि भागवतादिकों का नाम पुराण है। "सहोवाचऋग्वेदंभगवतोऽध्येनियजुर्वेदं सामवेदमथर्वणंचतुर्थमितिहास पुराणं पंचमं वेदानांवेद पित्र्यं राशिंदैवंनिधिं वाकोवाक्यमेकायनंदेवविद्यां, ब्रह्म विद्यां,भूतविद्यां,क्षत्रविद्यां,नक्षत्रविद्यां,सर्प,देव, जन, विद्यामेतद्भगवोऽध्येमि" ॥ छा० प्र० ७ अर्थ—नारद ने सनत्कुमार को कहा कि हे भगवन् ऋग्, यजु, साम, और अथर्व इन चार वेदों को मैं पढ़ता हूं और पांचवें वेद, इतिहास पुराण को। यहां वेद शब्द इतिहास पुराण में उपचार से आया है अर्थात् गौणी वृत्ति से आया है, क्योंकि ज्ञान का साधन होने से गौणी वृत्ति से इनको भी वेद कहा जा सकता है, और यहां पुराण शब्द का इतिहास शब्द विशेषण है, अर्थात् पुराण और इतिहास शब्द यहां एकही अर्थ को कहते हैं, और (पित्र्यं) नाम श्रद्धा पूर्वक जो पिता पितामहादिकों की सेवा विधायक शास्त्र है, और राशि, गणितशास्त्र, निधिकालगति ज्ञानशास्त्र, वाकोवाक्य तर्क-शास्त्र, एकायन नीतिशास्त्र, (देवविद्या) इन्द्रियोंकीवशीभूत करने की विद्या, और (ब्रह्मविद्या) जीव ईश्वर सम्बन्धी वेदान्त विद्या, (भूतविद्या)तत्वोंकी विद्या, जिससे पृथिव्यादि तत्वों के गुण जाने जायें, (क्षत्रविद्या)क्षात्रधर्म की विद्या,(नक्षत्रविद्या) तारामण्डल की विद्या, (सर्पदेवजनविद्या) सांपके काटने की विद्या, विद्वानों के गुणादि पहचानने की विद्या, जन मनुष्यों की विद्या, यह भी

स्मरण रहे कि इस वाक्य में दो स्थानों में देव शब्द आया है इसलिये विचारे सनातनियों को देव शब्द के अर्थ दोही करने पड़ेंगे, भला एक देव शब्द के अर्थ तो इनके अलौकिक देवता होगए, पर दूसरे देव शब्द के अर्थ क्या ? हमारे मत में तो यहां दूसरा देव शब्द जन शब्द के साथ आया है जिसके अर्थ जन विशेष के ही होते हैं, अस्तु यह प्रकरणान्तर है, प्रकृत यह है कि नारद ने सनत्कुमार से कहा कि हे भगवन् मैं इतनी विद्या जानता हूं, फिर भी मैं मन्त्रवेत्ता ही हूं आत्मवेत्ता नहीं ॥

उक्त विद्याओं में पुराण शब्द का आना यह सिद्ध नहीं करता कि पुराण शब्द का वाच्य उस समय भागवतादि पुराण थे। आगेफिर"अस्यमहतोभूतस्यनिश्वसितं"इस बृहदारण्यक की प्रतीक देकर पं० ज्वालाप्रसाद मिश्र ने भागवतादिकों को पुराण सिद्ध किया है हमारी समझ में यह बात नहीं आती कि पुराण शब्द आजाने से ही भागवतादि ग्रन्थों का ग्रहण कैसे हो सक्ता है ? यदि यह कहा जाय कि इतिहास मे भिन्न पुराण शब्द आया है इसलिये पुराण भागवतादिकों का ही नाम है, तो यह क्या सत्तर्क हुआ ? क्योंकि "सर्गश्चप्रतिसर्गश्चवंशोमन्वन्तराणि च। वंशानुचरितं चैव पुराणंपञ्चलक्षणम्" अर्थ–सर्ग सृष्टि की उत्पत्ति और प्रतिसर्ग–एक २ भूगोल का वर्णन, वंशो का वर्णन, और मन्वन्तरों का वर्णन और वंशों के चरित्रों का वर्णन उक्त पांच लक्षणों वाले पुराणों में, क्या इतिहास नहीं आजाता? फिर आपके मन्तव्य में इतिहास का ग्रहण पृथक् क्यों किया ? और हमारे मत में तो ऐत्रेयादि ब्राह्मण ग्रन्थों का प्राचीन होने

के कारण पुराण कहा गया है, और उनमें इतिहास पाए जाने से उनको इतिहास शब्द से भी कहा है, इसी अभिप्राय से स्वामी जीने यह कहा है कि इतिहास और पुराण यह दोनों नाम आर्ष ग्रंथों में ब्राह्मण ग्रंथों के अभिप्राय से ही आते हैं, और यदि भागवतादिकों के अभिप्राय से आते तो जैसे छान्दोग्य में मनुस्मृति का नाम है इस प्रकार अठारह पुराणों को लिखते हुए क्या बहुत भार था ? तत्व तो यह है कि आर्षग्रंथों के समय भागवतादि पुराणों का जन्म ही नहीं था फिर उनका नाम आर्ष ग्रंथों में कैसे आता । और जो आश्वलायन सूत्रों का प्रमाण देकर यह सिद्ध किया है कि उक्त सूत्रों में ब्राह्मण, कल्प, गाथा, नाराशंसी, इतिहास, पुराण, यह भिन्न २ नाम आए हैं इससे पाया जाता है कि ब्राह्मण ग्रंथों का नाम पुराण नहीं ? इसका उत्तर यह है कि जैसे बृहदारण्यक के "अस्यमहतोभूतस्यनिश्वसितं" इस वाक्य में आपने सब ग्रंथों को परमात्मा के श्वासवत् माना है, यहां विद्या शब्द से उपनिषद् आही चुके थे फिर उपनिषदों का पृथक् ग्रहण क्यों किया ? जैसे यहां विवरणार्थ उपनिषद् शब्द पृथक् ग्रहण किया गया है इसी प्रकार यहां भी ब्राह्मण, कल्प, गाथा, नाराशंसी, इतिहास, पुराण, यह शब्द विवरणार्थ आए हैं अर्थात् उत्तरोत्तर शब्द पूर्व शब्द के आशय को स्पष्ट बोधनार्थ पर्याय शब्द दिये गए हैं । और जो भाष्यकार ने प्रयोग विषय में इतिहास पुराण शब्द का प्रयोग किया है उस स्थान में पुराण शब्द के अर्थ यदि व्यास कृत पुराणों के थे तो कल्प, नाराशंसी यह भाष्यकार ने प्रयोग विषय में क्यों न लिखे ? अब बतलाओ

कि प्रयोग विषय में इनका ग्रहण किस शब्द से होता है? यदि इतिहास, पुराण शब्द से ही इनका ग्रहण है तो फिर स्वामीजी के इस लेख से क्यों घबराते हो कि पुराण, इतिहास, कल्प, गाथा और नाराशंसी यह एक ही अर्थ को कहते हैं ॥

वादियों के शिथिल प्रमाणों पर समीक्षा निष्फल है, वादी का बल यह है कि यह बात वेद से भी स्पष्ट हो गई, द० तिमि० भा० पृ० ८३ द्वितीयावृत्ति वह वेद यह है:—

स बृहतीं दिशमनुव्यचलत् ॥ १० ॥
तमितिहासश्च पुराणं च गाथाश्च नाराशंसीश्चा नुव्यचलत् ॥ ११ ॥

इतिहासस्य च वै स पुराणस्य च गाथानां च नाराशंसीनां च प्रियंधाम भवति य एवंवेद ॥१२॥ अथर्व० १५ । १ । ६ ॥

अर्थ—वह बड़े उच्च मार्ग को प्राप्त होता है, इतिहास, पुराण, गाथा, नाराशंसी उसका अनुकरण करते हैं और वह पुरुष इतिहास, पुराण गाथा नाराशंसी का प्रियधाम हो जाता है जो इस प्रकार जानता है ॥

उक्त मंत्रों में जो पुराण शब्द आया है वह आधुनिक पुराणों के लिये नहीं आया किन्तु एक प्रकार की विद्या के लिये आया है। और जो इससे यह आशय लिया जाता है कि इतिहास

शब्द से भिन्न पुराण शब्द के आने से पुराण इतिहास से भिन्न है? इसका उत्तर तो हम प्रथम लिख आए हैं कि आधुनिक भागवतादिकों को पुराण माननें वाले भी उनको इतिहास से सर्वथा पृथक् नहीं कर सक्ते। क्योंकि उनके पुराणों में भी इतिहास है॥

यदि यह कहा जाय कि आर्य्य मन्तव्यानुकूल भी पुराण शब्द के वाच्य ब्राह्मण ग्रंथ वेदके समय में न थे, फिर उनके लिये पुराण शब्द क्यों आया? इसका उत्तर यह है कि उक्त अथर्व वेद के मंत्रों में जो इतिहास पुराणादि नाम आए हैं वह विद्या के अभिप्राय से आए हैं, किसी ग्रंथ विशेष के अभिप्राय से नहीं, यदि ग्रंथ विशेष के अभिप्राय से आते तो वेद इन ग्रंथों का आशय अवश्य लेते, और वेद का स्वतस्त्व भी न रहता। यदि यह कहा जाय कि त्रिकालज्ञ परमेश्वर ने भविष्यत का ध्यान धर के यहां भविष्यत काल में होने वाले पुराणादिकों का नाम लिख दिया, तो फिर भविष्यत का ध्यान धरके दर्शनादि शास्त्रों का नाम क्यों न लिखा? यह भाव ऐसा स्पष्ट है कि जिसको कोई छिपा नहीं सक्ता कि वेदोपनिषद् और आर्ष ग्रंथों में जो पुराण शब्द आया है वह भागवतादिकों के लिये नहीं आया, और जो यह गोपथ का प्रमाण लिखा है:—

"एवमिमेसर्वेवेदानिर्मिताःसकल्पाःसरहस्याःस ब्राह्मणाः सोपनिषत्काः सेतिहासाः सान्वाख्याताः स पुराणाः स स्वराः स संस्काराः स निरुक्ताः सानुशासनाः सानुमार्जनाः स वाकोवाक्यास्तेषां यज्ञमभिपद्यमानानां

छिद्यते नामधेयंयज्ञमित्येवमाचक्षते" (गोपथ द्वि० प्रपा०)

अर्थ–इस प्रकार यह सब वेद बनाए गए। (सकल्पाः) कल्प के साथ (सरहस्याः) रहस्य के साथ, (सब्राह्मणाः) ब्राह्मण ग्रंथों के साथ (सोपनिषत्काः) उपनिषदों के साथ, (सेतिहासः) इतिहासों के साथ (सान्वाख्याताः) संज्ञा के साथ (सपुराणाः) पुराणों के साथ, (सस्वराः) स्वरों के साथ (स संस्काराः) संस्कारों के साथ, (स निरुक्ताः) निरुक्त के साथ इत्यादि। यहां पं० ज्वाला प्रसादमिश्र यह बल दिखलाते हैं कि यहां इतिहास, ब्राह्मण पुराण, यह भिन्न २ पड़े हैं इससे यह पाया जाता है कि ब्राह्मणों का नाम इतिहास पुराण कदापि नहीं? पर उक्त पण्डितसाहब ने यहां यह नहीं सोचा कि वह तो ब्राह्मण ग्रंथों को वेद मानते थे यहां तो ब्राह्मण ग्रंथ कुछ और ही बन गए, यदि यह कहा जाय कि ठीक तो है (स ब्राह्मणाः) के अर्थ यह है कि वेद ब्राह्मणों के साथ ही उत्पन्न हुए, एवं ब्राह्मण ग्रंथ और वेद एक हो गए? इसका उत्तर यह है कि (सवाकोवाक्याः) भी तो लिखा है तो क्या न्यायदर्शन भी वेद है? यदि यह कहा जाय कि न्यायदर्शन की विद्या बीज रूप से वेद में है इस लिये (स वाको वाक्याः) कहा है, एवं ब्राह्मण ग्रंथों की भी तो विद्या वेद में है फिर (सब्राह्मणाः) कहने से क्या दोष है, एवं विचार करने से सारांश यह निकलता है कि यहां ब्राह्मणादि नाम किसी ग्रंथ विशेष के अभिप्राय से नहीं आए, किन्तु विद्या विशेष के अभिप्राय से आए हैं॥

और यह भी यहां स्पष्ट कर देना आवश्यक है कि ब्राह्मण ग्रंथों के विषय में महाभारत में यह प्रमाण मिलता है॥

ततः शतपथं कृत्स्नं सरहस्यं ससंग्रहं चक्रे स परिशेषञ्च हर्षेण परमेण ह । म० भा० शा० प० अ० ३१८।१६ ॥

अर्थ—याज्ञवल्क्य कहते हैं कि सम्पूर्ण शतपथ को मैंने बनाया। और आगे के श्लोक में यह प्रतीक है कि "शतपथंचेदमपूर्वंकृतंमया" कि यह अपूर्व शतपथ मैंने बनाया। इत्यादि प्रमाणों से यह सिद्ध होता है कि शतपथादि ब्राह्मण ग्रंथों को याज्ञवल्क्यादि ऋषियों ने बनाया, तो फिर (स ब्राह्मणाः) इत्यादि वाक्यों से वेद समकाल में ब्राह्मण ग्रंथों का वर्णन कैसे आसक्ता है, इसलिये यहां (स ब्राह्मणाः) इत्यादि कथन ब्रह्म ज्ञानादिकों को कथन करता है किसी ग्रंथ विशेष को नहीं। और जो मनुस्मृति के श्लोक देकर पुराण शब्द से आधुनिक भागवतादिकों को सिद्ध किया है इस में मनु के समय की तो कथा ही क्या किन्तु स्वामी शं० चा० के समय में भी भागवत पुराण न था, इसका परम प्रमाण यह है कि कहीं भी भागवत का प्रमाण स्वामी शं० चा० जीने शारीरक भाष्यादिकों में नहीं दिया, और जहां २ "इत्याहः पौराणिकाः" यह कहकर श्लोक प्रमाण दिये हैं वह भागवत के नहीं किन्तु अन्य पुराणों के हैं। बहुत क्या यह पुराण ऐसे नवीन हैं कि जिन में से कई एकका तो मुसलमानों की राजधानी में निर्माण हुआ है, इसी लिये उन में मन्दिरादि तोड़े जाने का कथन है, फिर ऐसी नवीन पुस्तकों को स्वामी जी आर्ष कैसे मानते ?

(२४) इस में दुःख सागर से पार उतरने के हेतु, सत्य भाषण, विद्या, सत्संगादि माने हैं, वही तीर्थ शब्द का वाच्य हो सक्ते हैं इतर जल स्थलादि नहीं, क्योंकि वैदिक तथा औपनिषद् समय में जड़ जल स्थलादि तीर्थ नहीं माने जाते थे ॥

इसको पौराणिक लोग इस प्रकार समर्थन करते हैंः—

नमः पार्य्याय च वार्य्याय च नमः प्रतरणाय चोत्तरणाय च नमस्तीर्थ्याय च कूल्याय च नमः शष्प्याय च फेन्याय च ॥ यजु० अ० १६ । ४२ ।

इस मंत्र के पं० ज्वालाप्रसादमिश्र ने यह अर्थ किये हैं कि हे शिव सब प्रकार से सब में श्रेष्ठ सब संसार के पार उतारने हारे हो, क्योंकि आप तीर्थ रूप हो जैसे गंगा, अथवा आप तीर्थों में पर्य्यटन करते हो, आपके अर्थ नमस्कार और तीर्थों के घाट किनारे रूप आपके लिये नमस्कार, (शष्प्य) अर्थात् गौ रूपी, सेनारूपी, सिक्तारूपी हो आपको बारंबार नमस्कार है । (नमः तीर्थ्याच) यह पद इसी हेतु में है कि आप प्रयागादि तीर्थों में विचरते हो ॥

समीक्षा—इस मंत्र के पण्डित साहब ने अलौकिक अर्थ यह किये हैं कि आप तीर्थ रूप हो जैसे गंगा, अथवा आप तीर्थों में पर्य्यटन करते हो, यह किस पद के अर्थ हुए ? उक्त मंत्र में (तीर्थ्यायच) यह शब्द है जिसके अर्थ आप कहीं तीर्थरूप के करते हैं, कहीं तीर्थों में पर्य्यटन करने के करते हैं, जो परस्पर विरुद्ध हैं । यदि

सर्वात्मवाद के अभिप्राय से तीर्थ रूप है तो वह पर्य्यटन नहीं कर सक्ता, जो पर्य्यटन करता है वह सर्वात्मवाद के अभिप्राय से तीर्थ रूप नहीं हो सक्ता (कुल्यायच) के अर्थ यह किये हैं कि तीर्थों के घाट भी आप ही हैं, ऐसे परस्पर असम्बद्ध अर्थ किये हैं जो न केवल अनुभव विरुद्ध हैं किन्तु वेद की सङ्गति सेभी विरुद्ध हैं, इससे पूर्व "नमः शम्भवायच मयोभवायच" यह मंत्र है। इसके अर्थ निर्विशेष शिव के हैं, और सब आचार्य्य इसके निराकार के ही अर्थ करते हैं फिर अगले मंत्र में तीर्थों के घाट बनने वाला परमेश्वर पं० ज्वालाप्रसादमिश्रने कहां से निकाल लिया। अस्तु यदि यह कहा जाय कि इस में (कूल्य) शब्द पड़ा है—कूलेभवः—कूल्यः—जो किनारे में हो उसको कूल्य कहते हैं, इस अर्थ से भी तो घाट में व्यापक पाया गया, फिर आपने घाटरूप कैसे निकाल लिया?

मालूम यह होता है कि इसी अध्याय के मंत्र २८ का ध्यान धरके पण्डित साहब ने यह अर्थ किये हैं उसमें "नमः श्वभ्यः श्वपतिभ्यश्च" यह पाठ है, इसके अर्थ महीधर ने यह किये हैं "श्वानः कुक्कुरास्तद्रूपेभ्योनमः" अर्थ—(श्वा) नाम कुत्तों का है, कुत्ते रूप जो परमेश्वर है उसको नमस्कार है। पर यहां यह अर्थ नहीं शोभते, क्योंकि इसी में वादी यह अर्थ करता है कि संसार से पार उतारने हारे हो, फिर इसी में यह अर्थ करता है कि घाट का किनारा हो, और पानी की झाग हो, गंगा के किनारे का घास हो, इस प्रकार कहीं उत्पत्ति विनाश वाला सब

कुछ परमेश्वर, कहीं संसार से पार उतारने वाला परमेश्वर, यह परस्पर विरुद्धार्थ हैं। अस्तु प्रसङ्ग सङ्गति से यह कहा गया, पर खण्डन योग्य बात यह है कि वादी तीर्थ शब्द से जो गंगा यमुनादि तीर्थ सिद्ध करता है यह बात ठीक नहीं, क्योंकि यदि केवल तीर्थों में ही उसका होना पाया जाता, या कुछ तीर्थ की विशेषता वर्णन की जाती तब वादी का अभिमत सिद्ध होता, पर यहां तो वादी ने इस विशेषता को मिटाकर घास पात सभी कुछ परमेश्वर बना दिया॥

यहां यह भी स्मर्ण रहे कि तीर्थ नाममात्र से वादी के अभिमत की सिद्धि नहीं होती क्योंकि तीर्थ शब्द का मुख्यार्थ यह है कि जो मनुष्य के तराने का हेतु हो अर्थात् उद्धार का उपाय हो, इस अर्थ में सहस्रों स्थानों में तीर्थ शब्द का प्रयोग लौकिक भाषा में भी आया है जैसे कि

"सत्यंतीर्थंक्षमातीर्थंतीर्थमिन्द्रियनिग्रहः। सर्वभूतदया तीर्थं" इत्यादि एवं दानंतीर्थंदमस्तीर्थंसन्तोषस्तीर्थमुच्यते। ब्रह्मचर्य्यपरंतीर्थं तीर्थञ्चप्रियवादिता॥ इत्यादि अनेक प्रमाण तीर्थ के विषय में हैं।

अब वादी दूसरे ढङ्ग पर चलता है कि वेद में गंगा यमुना सरस्वती के नाम हैं इससे पाया जाता है कि वहां इन्हीं गंगा यमुनादि तीर्थों का अभिप्राय है जैसेकि:—

इमंमेगंगेयमुने सरस्वतिशुतुद्रि स्तोमं स च ता परुष्णया। असिक्न्यामरुद्वृधे वितस्तयार्जीकीये

शृणुह्यासुषोमया। ऋ० मं० १० अ० ६ सू ७५ मं ५
सरस्वती सरयुः सिंधुरूर्मिभिर्महोमहीरवसायंतु वक्षणीः। देवीरापोमातरः सूदयित्न्वोघृतवत्पयो मधुमन्नोअर्चत। ऋ० मं० १० अ० ५ सू० ६४ मं० ९

उक्त मंत्रों के अर्थ यदि वादी कृत भी मानेजायें तबभी तीर्थ सिद्ध नहीं होते। वादी के अर्थ यह हैं कि "हे गंगे, यमुने तुम सम्पूर्ण मेरे यज्ञको सन्मुख होकर सेवन करो, हे मरुद्वृधे, आर्जकीये, परुष्णी, आसिक्नी, वितस्ता, सुशोमा के साथ मेरे यज्ञ को सेवन करो, मेरी स्तुतियों को सब प्रकार से सुनो।

यहां यह विचार करना है कि यदि गंगादि नदियों के अधिष्ठातृ देवता नहोंतो उनका आह्वान यह किस प्रकार है, और स्तुति श्रवण की प्रार्थना कैसे की है? इस कारण गंगादि तीर्थों को अतीर्थ कहना अज्ञान है ति० भा० पृ० ३८३ द्वि० वृ० इन अर्थों से इस प्रकार तीर्थ सिद्ध नहीं होते क्योंकि मेरे यज्ञ को सन्मुख होकर सेवन करो यह कहना उपचार से बन सक्ता है। और जो यह कहा है कि (यदि गंगादि नदियों के अधिष्ठातृ देवता न होते तो उनका अह्वान न होता) अस्तु अधिष्ठातृ देवता रहें इससे तीर्थ पक्ष में क्या फल? सनातन धर्म में तो सब वस्तुओं के अधिष्ठातृ देवता हैं तो क्या वह सब तीर्थ हो जाते हैं? इस धर्म में मिट्टी का अधिष्ठातृ देवता है, पानी का अधिष्ठातृ देवता है, अग्नि का अधिष्ठातृ देवता है, यदि अधिष्ठातृ देवता से ही तीर्थ सिद्ध होते हैं तो घर में घड़े के पानी से न्हाकर ही क्यों नहीं

मनोरथ सिद्ध कर लिया जाता, क्योंकि उसका भी तो अधिष्ठातृ देवता चेतन है। इस मत में छज छाननी आदि सब पदार्थों के अधिष्ठातृ देवता हैं, इस अधिष्ठातृ देवता में विचारे तीर्थों का क्या बना ॥

अधिष्ठातृ देवता से तीर्थ सिद्ध न होने का और प्रमाण यह है कि

तत्तेज ऐक्षत बहुस्यां प्रजायेयेति ता आप ऐक्षन्त ॥ छा० ६। ३ ॥

अर्थ—तेज, (अग्नि) ने, इच्छा की कि मैं बहुत होकरके उत्पन्न होऊं इस लिये उसने जल को बनाया और फिर जलों ने इच्छा की उन्होंने अन्न को रचा, इत्यादि स्थलों में जड़ पदार्थ निष्ठ ईक्षण सब आचार्य्यों ने गौण माना है इसी प्रकार यहां भी गौणी वृत्ति से गंगा यमुनादिकों में श्रवणादि व्यवहार कथन किये गए हैं फिर आपका अधिष्ठातृ देवता कहां रहा। सरांश यह निकला कि गंगा यमुना सरस्वती शतुद्रि आदि नदियों वाले विस्तृत भूमण्डल पर परमात्मा कहता है कि यज्ञ कर्त्ता अपने भाव को फैलावें, ऐसा फैलावें कि यज्ञ का भाव और स्तुति नभोमण्डल में ऐसी परिपूरित हो जावे कि मानों जड़ पदार्थभी सुनलें ॥

इस में यह प्रश्न हो सक्ता है कि आर्य्यावर्त्त की नदियों का नाम ही वेद में क्यों आया और देशान्तरों की नदियों का नाम क्यों नहीं? क्योंकि वेद तो ईश्वर ने सब देशों के लिये साधारण बनाया है? इसका उत्तर यह है कि यहां गंगादि नाम रूढ़ि नहीं किन्तु योगरूढ़ि हैं, जैसे कि गच्छतीतिगंगा, येनाम सब

नदियों में घट सक्ते हैं एवं देश विशेष की नदियों का प्रश्न नहीं हो सक्ता ॥

यदि यह कहा जाय कि प्रसिद्धि से तो गंगा यमुना में ही यह नाम पाए जाते हैं ? इसका उत्तर यह है कि प्रसिद्धि लोक के आधीन है जैसा कि सहस्रधार शब्द वेद में आया है और अब देहरादून में अन्वर्थ संज्ञा वाला सहस्रधार एक स्थान विशेष है क्या कोई कह सक्ता है कि वेद में इसी स्थान विशेष के लिये सहस्र धार शब्द आया है, प्रत्युत वास्तव में यह है कि सहस्रधार शब्द जो वेद में आया है उसको देखकर किसी ने इस पहाड़ विशेष का नाम भी सहस्रधार रख दिया, एवं गंगा यमुनादि शब्द जो वेद में आए थे उनको देखकर लोगों ने उक्त नदी विशेषों के नाम भी गंगा यमुना रखे, इस प्रकार उक्त नामों से वेदों में तीर्थ सिद्ध नहीं होते ॥

और जो ऋग्वेद का तीर्थ सिद्धि में यह मंत्र प्रमाण दियाहै कि:-

आपो भूयिष्ठा इत्येको अब्रवीदग्निर्भूयिष्ठइत्यन्यो अब्रवीत् । वर्धयन्तीं बहुभ्यः प्रैकोअब्रवीद्दतावदं तञ्चमसां अपिंशत ॥ ऋ० मं० १ अ० २२ सू० १६१ मं० ६ ॥

इस मंत्र में तो वादी को अर्थाभास के लिये भी गंधमात्र नहीं मिलता । अर्थ यह हैं कई लोग कहते हैं कि यज्ञों का फल जलीय पदार्थ बहुत होता है, कई कहते हैं कि आग्नेय पदार्थ बहुत होता है, और कई कहते हैं कि पार्थिव पदार्थ बहुत होता

है, क्योंकि उक्त पदार्थ सभी यज्ञों का फल हैं इसलिये सभी ठीक कहते हैं, इस आशय से यज्ञ के पात्रों का विभाग करें। भला इसमें तीर्थ की क्या कथा? और जो (ऋतावदन्तः) के यह अर्थ किये हैं कि जितेन्द्रिय सत्यवादी को तीर्थ फल देते हैं, इसका मंत्र में गंधमात्र भी नहीं, होता भी कैसे, वेद के समय की तो क्या कथा महाभारतादिकों के समय में जिन नामों में तीर्थ का गंधमात्र न था वह आज बड़े तीर्थ कहलाते हैं जैसाकि आज जिस स्थान में पुष्करतीर्थ है और जो पौराणिकों के विचार में पृथ्वी के दो नेत्रों में से एक नेत्र है महाभारत में उसका नाम पुष्करारण्य लिखा है, उस समय इस स्थान के तीर्थ होने की कोई चर्चा न थी, इसी प्रकार पौराणिकों के सहस्रों तीर्थ ऐसे हैं, कोई कृष्णजी के जन्म से बना है, कोई कृष्णकर्म से बना है, कोई कृष्णलीला से बना है, कहां तक कहें, कोई किसी मूर्त्ति पर डाका डालने से बना है, जैसे डाकोर जी इत्यादि। इस बात को हम पं० ज्वाला-प्रसाद के मन्तव्यसमीक्षण में भी लिख आए हैं इसलिये यहां अधिक लेख की आवश्यक्ता नहीं॥

(२८) इसमें प्रारब्ध और पुरुषार्थ का वर्णन है, कई लोग यह शङ्का किया करते हैं कि प्रारब्ध कर्म हमको अवश्य भोगने पड़ते हैं इसलिये पुरुषार्थ निष्फल है? इसमें विवेचनीय बात यह है कि प्रारब्ध कर्म भी पुरुषार्थ से बनते हैं, वह इस प्रकार कि कर्म तीन प्रकार के हैं क्रियमाण जो वर्त्तमान काल में किये जाते हैं, और जब तक उनका कोई फल नहीं होता आत्मा में संस्कार रूप हो कर रहते हैं तब तक सञ्चित कहलाते हैं। और जब फल देने के

लिये अभिमुख हो जाते हैं तब वही प्रारब्ध कहलाते हैं। एवं परम्परा से पुरुषार्थ से ही प्रारब्धकर्म बनते हैं। यहां का पुरुषार्थ किया हुआ यहां की प्रारब्ध भी हो जाता है, जैसेकि स्वच्छ खानपानादि से बलबुद्धि की वृद्धि अन्यथा ह्रास, इस अभिप्राय से स्वामीजी ने कहा है कि पुरुषार्थ प्रारब्ध से बड़ा है॥

(२६) यह मन्तव्य स्पष्ट है॥

(२७) "संस्कार" जो अपगुणों को निकाल देता है और सद्गुणों को प्रविष्ट कर देता है। प्रसिद्ध संस्कार मनुष्य के १६ हैं, श्मशानान्त संस्कार के अनन्तर परलोक गामी जीव के लिये यहां का किया हुआ कोई कर्म उसके सुख दुःख का हेतु नहीं हो सक्ता, इस अभिप्राय से स्वामीजीने कहा है कि दाह के पश्चात् मृतक के लिये कुछ भी नहीं करना चाहिये, इस विषय में हमारे सनातनी भाइयों को बड़ी विप्रतिपत्ति है, वह यह मानते हैं कि यहां के किये हुए श्राद्धादि कर्म मृतक जीव के लिये सुख दुःख के हेतु हो सक्ते हैं। और युक्तियें इस विषय में यह देते हैं कि (१) जैसे इस लोक में दूसरे के कर्मों का फल दूसरे को मिल जाता है इसी प्रकार परलोक में भी मृतक के पीछे किये हुए श्राद्धादि कर्मों का फल मिल सक्ता है?

(२) दूसरी युक्ति यह है कि जैसे मृतक के नाम पर बनवाए हुए कुए तालावादि कर्मों का यश रूपी फल मृतक को मिलता है एवं श्राद्ध का फल भी मिलता है?

(३) जैसे मरने के पश्चात् उसकी इष्ट प्राप्ति के लिये प्रार्थना की जाती है और उसका फल उसको मिलता है, इसी प्रकार

यहां के दिये हुए पदार्थ उसको मिल सक्ते हैं ?

(१) प्रथम युक्ति का उत्तर यह है कि इस लोक में भी दूसरे के कर्मों का फल दूसरे को नहीं मिलता किन्तु दूसरे के प्रारब्ध कर्मों में दूसरा निमित्त मात्र हो जाता है। अन्यथा यदि अन्य के कर्मों का फल अन्य को मिल जाय तो जिस समय किसी के सम्बन्धि को कोई दुःख होता है या प्राणान्त होता है उस समय बहुत से इष्ट मित्र ऐसी प्रार्थना करते हैं कि मेरे शुभकर्म इसको लग जायें और मेरी आयु इसको प्राप्त हो जाय पर ऐसा होता नहीं, इस लिये दूसरे के कर्म दूसरे को नहीं लगते ॥

(२) कुए तालावादिकों का यशरूपी फल उसको नहीं मिलता, किन्तु यश भी तभी होता है जब वह अपने हाथ से बनवाजाय, और यदि उसका कोई सम्बन्धि उसके पीछे उसके नाम के लिये बनवा देता है और वह यावदायुष कदर्य्य रहता है तो उससे उसका यश नहीं रहता किन्तु बनवाने वाले का यश होता है। रही नाम की प्रसिद्धि सो परलोक में उसके सुख दुःख का कारण नहीं हो सक्ती ॥

(३) मरने के पीछे जो उसकी इष्ट प्राप्ति के लिये प्रार्थना की जाती है वह जीवित जनों को सुमार्ग दर्शाने के लिये की जाती है। और दूसरी बात यह है कि प्रार्थना का फल नम्रता, आत्म न्यूनता, आदि हैं। अन्य कर्मवत् फल प्राप्ति प्रार्थना का फल नहीं, अन्यथा सब प्रार्थना कर्त्ता सब कार्य्य अपने प्रार्थनाओं से ही सिद्ध कर लिया करें एवंतृतीय तर्क से भी मृतक श्राद्ध मण्डन नहीं होता॥

अब हम यह पूछते हैं कि मृतक के अनन्तर जो श्राद्धादि कर्म किये जाते हैं वह किस प्रकार उसको प्राप्त होते हैं? क्या वह उसकी प्रारब्ध बन जाते हैं, अथवा जिस समय उसके निमित्त भोजनादि दिये जाते हैं तो वह उसी समय उसको जाकर मिल जाते हैं?

प्रारब्ध इस लिये नहीं कह सक्ते कि अपने क्रियमाण कर्मों से भिन्न प्रारब्ध कर्म नहीं होते किन्तु अपने क्रियमाण कर्म ही प्रारब्ध होते हैं, इसको इस सूत्र में वर्णन किया है ॥

कृतप्रयत्नापेक्षस्तु विहितप्रतिषिद्धावैयर्थ्यादिभ्यः ब्र० सू० २।३।४२॥

अर्थ—(कृतप्रयत्न) नाम अपने किये हुए कर्मों की अपेक्षा से ही ईश्वर उसको सुख दुःख भुगवाता है, अन्यथा यदि ईश्वर बिना कर्मों के फल भुगवा देता अथवा अन्य के कर्मों से अन्य को फल भुगवा देता तो विहित और प्रतिषिद्ध कर्म सब निष्फल होते, इस लिये दूसरे के किये हुए कर्म दूसरे की प्रारब्ध नहीं होते ॥

यदि यह कहा जाय कि जिस समय उसको भोजनादि दिये जाते हैं उसी समय उसको जाकर मिल जाते हैं यह सर्वथा असम्भव हैं। और वादी मत में महा अनिष्टापात है क्योंकि जब मनुष्य शरीर की तृप्ति कारक अन्न जल चिउटी के शरीर धारी जीव को जा मिलेगा तो उसका सर्वस्व नष्ट हो जायगा, और यदि हस्ती के शरीर धारी जीव को मिलेगा तो अकिञ्चितकर होगा क्योंकि उसकी तृप्ति उससे न होगी, इससे यह सिद्ध हुआ कि श्राद्धादि कर्मों का फल मृतक को नहीं मिलता ॥

और बात यह है कि हमारे वादी श्राद्धादि कर्मों में भोक्ता ब्राह्मणों के द्वारा पित्रों को उस अन्न की प्राप्ति मानते हैं, इस लिये

(१) प्रथम प्रश्न यह है कि श्राद्धादि कर्म वेद में किस मंत्र में वर्णन किये गए हैं?

(२) और किस मंत्र में ब्राह्मणों को खिलाकर पक्वान्नों का परलोक में भेजने का प्रकार लिखा गया है?

(३) यदि मृतकों का ही श्राद्ध होता है तोः—

येच जीवा येच मृतां ये जाता ये च यज्ञिया॥ अथर्व० १८।४।५७॥

इस मंत्र में जीतों का श्राद्ध क्यों बिधान किया गया है?

(४) वेद में पिण्ड पितृयज्ञ का कथन है वा श्राद्ध का? यदि पिण्ड पितृयज्ञ का कथन है तो सनातन पथ का अभिमान करने वाले पौराणिक इसको श्राद्ध कर्म क्यों कहते हैं?

(५) यदि वेद में पिण्ड पितृयज्ञ का विधान है तो वेद में पिण्ड पितृयज्ञ का किस मंत्र में वर्णन है?

(६) यदि पिण्ड पितृयज्ञ का वर्णन है तो उस पिण्ड का किसी को भोजन कराके परलोक में भेजना कहां लिखा है?

(७) यदि पितर अपने आपही हविष् के खाने को यज्ञ में चले आते थे तो अब क्यों नहीं आते?

(८) जो प्रेत कर्म में वैदिक मंत्र हैं जब उनका विनियोग चिता कर्म में है फिर उन मंत्रों से आधुनिक श्राद्ध की सिद्धि कैसे की जाती है? यह प्रश्नाष्टक है जिसका उत्तर पौराणिक मण्डल में कोई

नहीं। केवल चिताकर्म के बहुतसे मंत्रों का संग्रह करके गरुड़पुराणी श्राद्ध को आडम्बर मात्र से वैदिक समझा जाता है, और यह मिथ्या विश्वास पर जगद्बन्धन की जड़ समझना धर्म से सर्वथा विरुद्ध है, इसलिये हम इस विषय के मंत्रों के पौराणिक अर्थों की सविस्तर समीक्षा करते हैं ॥

मृतकश्राद्ध मानने वालों के प्रबलप्रमाण काही हम प्रथम खण्डन करते हैं। पौराणिक वर्ग में वह प्रबल प्रमाण यह है कि :—

ये अग्निदग्धा ये अनग्निदग्धा मध्ये दिवः स्वधया मादयन्ते। त्वंतान्वेत्थयदिते जातवेदः स्वधया यज्ञं स्वधितिंजुषन्ताम् अथर्व० १८।२।३५।

इसके यह अर्थ किये जाते हैं कि जो अग्नि से दग्ध किये गए, और जो अग्नि से नहीं दग्ध किये गए, और जो हवि भक्षण करके स्वर्ग में रहते हैं, हे अग्ने तू उनको जानता है यह हवि तू उनके लिये भक्षण करने को लेजा ॥

पर हम इस अर्थ की समीक्षा करते हुए यह बतलाते हैं कि इससे तो (अग्निदग्धा) कहने से मृतपित्रों के शरीर का ग्रहण होता है तो क्या उन शरीरों के लिये अग्नि से प्रार्थना है? कि अग्नि उनको इस हवि का सेवन कराये, मंत्र के मुख्यार्थ से शरीरों का ग्रहण होता है आत्मा का कदापि नहीं। सूक्ष्मदर्शी सनातन धर्म्मी यहां यह कहेंगे कि केवल लक्षणा से यहां "अग्निदग्धा" कहने से शरीर सम्बन्धि जो आत्मा है उसका ग्रहण हो जाता है जैसे कि "गंगायांघोषः" इस कथन से गंगा पद का शक्यार्थ जो प्रवाह उसके साथ सम्बन्ध

रखने से गंगापद की तीरमें लक्षणा होजाती है, इससे तात्पर्य्य यह निकलता है कि गंगा के तीर पर घोष है, एवं अग्नि से दग्ध जो शरीर उसके साथ सम्बन्ध रखने से आत्मा का ग्रहण हो जाता है। तो अब हम पूछते हैं कि लक्ष्यार्थ से बिना तो आपका भी निर्वाह नहीं होता फिर आप लक्ष्यार्थ लेने से क्यों घबराते हैं?

सार यह निकला कि मृत पितरों के जीवात्मा का ग्रहण उक्त मंत्र में लक्षणा बृत्ति से लाभ हुआ ॥

लक्षणा से मंत्रार्थ यह बनते हैं कि हे (जातवेदः) अग्ने परमात्मन् जो मृतपितरों के शरीर अग्नि में जलाए गए हैं, और जो अग्नि में नहीं जलाए गए, जो आकाश में स्वयं अपनी कांति से विराजमान हैं, अर्थात् ऐसे आकाशवत् उच्च पर्वतीय देशों में पड़े हैं कि जिनकी कांति नहीं विगड़ी, तुम परमात्मन् सर्वज्ञ होने के कारण सबको जानते हो, इस लिये इस स्वधा सम्बन्धि यह यज्ञीय हविष् उनको सेवन कराओ। भेद इतना है कि पौराणिक अर्थ में "अग्निदग्धा" शब्द में तात्पर्य्याऽनुपपत्ति से पितरों के जीवात्मा में लक्षणा की गई, और हमारे मन्तव्य में (जातवेदः) पद की भौतिकाग्नि में तात्पर्य्याऽनुपपत्ति होने से परमात्मा में लक्षणाकी गई, क्योंकि इस मंत्र में यह लिखा हुआ है कि हे जातवेदः तू उनको जानता है और जानना जड़ अग्नि में हो नहीं सक्ता जिससे यह अर्थ लाभ हुआ कि सर्वज्ञ परमात्मा इस अन्त्येष्टि यज्ञ के हविष् को इस्ततः सर्वत्र प्रचार करें ताकि जिन पित्रों के शरीर असंस्कृत रहे हैं उनसे भी संसार को कुछ हानि न हो ॥

हमारे उक्तार्थकी प्रबलतामें यह प्रमाणहै कि इससे आगे मं० १६

में अन्त्येष्टि यज्ञ का वर्णन है, इससे पाया गया कि इस मंत्र में भी अन्त्येष्टि यज्ञ अर्थात् चिताकर्मका विधान है फिर इससे मृतक श्राद्ध की सिद्धि कैसे ?

इससे आगे मंत्र ३६ यह है :—

शं तपमाति तपो अग्ने मा तन्वं तपः। बनेषु शुष्मो अस्तु ते पृथिव्यामस्तुयद्धरः॥ ३६ ॥

अर्थ—हे भौतिकाग्ने तू इस प्रेत शरीर को (शंतप) नाम शोभन तपा और (मातितपः) अतिमत तपा अर्थात् ऐसा मत तपा जिससे हमारे शरीरों तक भी उसका दाह पहुंचे, (मातन्वंतपः) हमारे शरीरों को मत तपा तुम्हारा शुष्क करने वाला तेज बनों में हो और हरण करने वाला जो तुम्हारा तेज है वह पृथ्वी में रहे। इस मंत्र में उपचार से भौतिकाग्नि को ऐसा कथन किया गया है, शिक्षा इससे यह लाभ होती है कि मृतक की चिता ऐसी न तपाई जाय जिससे अन्त्येष्टि यज्ञ करने वाले लोगों को भी दाह प्रतीत हो, अर्थात् शनैः २ तपाई जाय। तत्व यह निकला कि यह चिता का प्रकरण है इस में डाले हुए घृतादि पदार्थों को कोई नहीं कह सक्ता कि परलोक में मृत पितरों की भुख मिटाने के लिये यह डाले जाते हैं किन्तु मृतक प्राणियों के शरीर संस्कार के लिये और जीवितों के दुर्गन्धादि निवृत्ति के लिये ऐसा कथन किया गया है, नंकि किसी फल प्राप्ति के लिये। इसी अभिप्राय से:—

येच जीवा येच मृता ये जाता येच यज्ञियाः। तेभ्यो घृतस्यकुल्यैतु मधुधाराव्युंदती॥ अ० १८।४।५७

यह मंत्र लिखा है, इसके अर्थ यह हैं कि (येचजीवा) जो जीते हैं, (येचमृता) जो मर गए हैं, (येजाता) जो उत्पन्न हुए हैं, (येच यज्ञियाः) और जो उत्पन्न होने वाले हैं (तेभ्यः) इन सब पूर्वोक्त प्राणियों के लिये (मधुधाराव्युन्दाति) नाम मीठे २ प्रवाहों को सिञ्चन करती हुई (घृतस्य) घी की (कुल्या) नाम धार (एतु) नाम प्राप्त हो। इस मंत्रमें स्पष्ट करदिया गया कि यह पिता का हवन जीवित मृतक सबके लिये कल्याणकारी है। जीतों के लिये दुर्गंध निवृत्ति द्वारा कल्याणकारी है, मृतक शरीरों के लिये उनके संस्कार द्वारा शुभकारी है। इस मंत्र में मृतक श्राद्ध वादियों का मत सर्वथा शिथिल होजाता है क्योंकि इसमें जीवितों का भी विधान है। इस मंत्र के अर्थ पं० ज्वालाप्रसादमिश्र यहांतक गोलमोल करते हैं कि कुछ पताही नहीं देते, उनके अर्थ यह हैं कि (जो जीवित हैं जो कोई मृतक होगए जो उत्पन्न हुए जो यज्ञ के कराने वाले हैं उनके वास्ते घृत की कुल्या मधुधारा प्राप्त हो *) कुछ नहीं खोला, कि वह पितर हैं अथवा यज्ञके कराने वाले ऋत्वजादि हैं, यहां ऐसी मौन वृत्ति धारण की है कि पिण्ड वा श्राद्ध का नाम ही नहीं लिया, और मंत्रों में यहां तक दम मारते हैं कि कबरों में गाड़े हुओं को भी भोजनादि भक्षण कराने को तैय्यार हैं जैसेकिः—

ये निखाता ये परोप्ता ये दग्धा येचोद्धिताः ॥
सर्वांस्तानग्न आवह पितॄन्हविषे अत्तवे ॥
अथर्व० कां० १८। २। ३४

इस मंत्र के अर्थ यह करते हैं कि जो पितर गाड़े गए,जो पड़े

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* दयानन्द ति० भा० पृ० ११४।

रहें, जो अग्नि से जलाए गए, जो उद्धित फेंके गए हैं, हे अग्ने! उन सबको हवि भक्षण करने को सम्यग् प्रकार से लेजा।

यहां प्रष्टव्य यह है कि निखातादि पदों से तो शरीर का ग्रहण है, वह तो आपके कथनानुसार दबाया या जलाया गया, फिर विचारा अग्नि आपके हवि को किसके पास लेजावेगा? और मृतक शरीर कैसे भक्षण करेगा? यदि लक्ष्यार्थ लेनेसे शरीर सम्बन्धि जीवात्मा के अर्थ लेते हैं तो सभी मंत्रके लक्ष्यार्थ क्यों नहीं लेते जिससे तात्पर्य्य उपपत्ति होसके। वह इस प्रकार है कि हे अग्ने परमात्मन् (सर्वांस्तान्) उनसब (पितृ) पितरों को (हविषे अत्तवे) नाम हवि भक्षण करने के लिये (आवह) नाम प्राप्त कर।

जो (ये निखाता) युद्धादि समय में भूमि में जिनका संस्कार किया गया है (परोप्ता) नाम दूर देश में जिन शरीरों को काष्ठवत् त्याग दिया गया है, (येदग्धा) जो शरीर अग्नि में दग्ध किये गए हैं, और जो (उद्धिताः) नाम इधर उधर फेंक दिये गए, उन सबको इस अन्त्येष्टि यज्ञ की सुगन्धि का प्रभाव प्राप्त करा॥

इससे शिक्षा यह लाभ होती है कि चिता का हवन न केवल चितास्थ शरीर की शुद्धि के लिये है किन्तु सर्व दुर्गन्धित द्रव्यों की शुद्धि के लिये है। यहां भी "येऽग्निदग्धा" इस मंत्र के "जातवेदः" के समान अग्निपद परमात्मा का बोधक है, आशय यह है कि हे परमात्मन् तुम इस चितास्थ हवन की सुगन्धि से सब पदार्थों को शुद्ध करो। अत्ता-शब्द यहां उपचार से कहा गया है क्योंकि मृत शरीरों में भक्षण करने का सामर्थ्य नहीं होता॥

इस मंत्र को भी दृढ़ता से पौराणिक लोग मृतक श्राद्ध के

मण्डल में दिया करते हैं:—

यास्तेधाना अनुकिरामि तिलमिश्राः स्वधावतीः तास्ते सन्तु विभ्वीः प्रभ्वीस्तास्तेयमो राजानुमन्यताम् ॥ अथर्व० १८ । ३ । ६९ ॥

अर्थ–(तिलमिश्राः) तिलों से मिश्रित (स्वधावतीः) नाम स्वधाशब्द संयुक्त जो धान, मैं तुम्हारी चिता में छोड़ता हूं वह बहुत सुगंधिप्रद हों और (यमोराजा) नाम दीप्तिवाला वायु उनकी सुगंधि को इतस्ततः फैलावे। सायणाचार्य्य ने यहां यम के अर्थ ईश्वर के किये हैं कि "राजाराजमानईश्वरोयमः ते तव ताधानाऽनुमन्यताम् भोक्तुमनुजानातु" अर्थ–दीप्तिवाला ईश्वर यम तुम्हारे लिये उन धानों के भोगने की आज्ञा दे; हमने यहां सायण के अर्थ से यह सार ग्रहण करना है कि सायण से विरुद्ध सनातनी यहां यमके अर्थ प्रेत देशका स्वामी व्यक्ति विशेष कैसे कर लेते हैं ॥

उक्त तिल और धानों का यहां चिता में डालने का विधान है, इस बात का प्रमाण यह इसी काण्ड का मं० ७१ है:—

आरभस्व जातवेदस्तेज स्वद्धरो अस्तुते । शरीरमस्य सं दहाथैनंधेहि सुकृतामुलोके ॥ ७१ ॥

अर्थ–हे अग्ने (आरभस्व) नाम इस मृतक को दग्ध करने का प्रारम्भ कर। सायण इसके यह अर्थ करते हैं कि "मृतंदग्धुमुपक्रमस्व" तुम्हारा हरण शील तेज हो, "शरीरमस्य सन्दह" इसके शरीर को अच्छे प्रकार दाह करो, और इसके

जीवात्मा को पवित्र स्थानों को प्राप्त कराओ। इस मंत्र में शरीर के दाह का कथन किया जाना इस बात को सिद्ध करता है कि यह श्मशान कर्म के मंत्र हैं यहां श्राद्ध की क्या कथा?

इस मंत्र को पं० ज्वालाप्रसादमिश्र ने ऐसे ही लिखकर छोड़ दिया है अर्थ कुछ नहीं किये, करते भी क्या, उक्त श्मशान के मंत्र की शरण से श्राद्ध कैसे सिद्ध करते। इस लिये श्राद्ध की सिद्धि के लिये एक और मंत्र पर जा पड़े हैं और वह यह है:—

ये अग्रवः शशमानाः परेयुर्हित्वाद्वेषांस्यनपत्यवन्तः ते द्यामुदित्याविदन्तलोकं नाकस्यपृष्ठे अधिदीध्यानाः॥ अथर्व० १८। २। ४७॥

इसके अर्थों में पं० ज्वालाप्रसादमिश्र यह लिखते हैं कि "जो निस्सन्तान लोग स्वर्गादि लोक में प्राप्त हैं उनको हवि देते हैं। यहां पूर्ण रूप से विदित है कि मृतक श्राद्ध होता है"॥

उत्तर—यहां मंत्र में हवि देने का कहीं नाम तक नहीं, फिर आपकी पूर्णरूप से मृतक श्राद्ध की सिद्धि कैसे? मंत्र के सत्यार्थ यह हैं (ये) जो (अग्रवः) अग्रगामी (शशमानाः) प्रशंसा योग्य (परेयुः) नाम परलोक को प्राप्त होते हैं (द्वेषांसिहित्वा) नाम द्वेषों को छोड़कर, फिर वह कैसे पितर हैं (अनपत्यवन्तः) नाम सांसारिक संतति रहित है, वह पितर (द्याम) नाम अंतरिक्ष को (उदुगत्य) उल्लङ्घन करके स्वर्गलोक में अर्थात् सुखलोक में (अधिदीध्यानाः) नाम अधिक दीप्तिवाले होकर विराजमान होते हैं॥

आशय इसका यह है कि जो राग द्वेष से रहित विद्वान् सांसा-

रिक सन्तति को छोड़कर केवल विद्यारूपी सन्तति संसार में उत्पन्न कर जाते हैं, वह दीप्तिवाले होकर स्वर्गलोक में विराजते हैं। इस मंत्र से यह भी पाया गया कि पुत्र पौत्रादि सन्तति उत्पन्न करने वालों का ही नाम पितर नहीं किन्तु निस्सन्तानों का नाम भी पितर है। अस्तु यह प्रकरणान्तर है, प्रकृत यह है कि यहां मृत-पितरों के निमित्त स्वर्ग में कोई वस्तु पहुंचाने का नाम तक नहीं, फिर उन्होंने मृतक श्राद्ध कैसे निकाल लिया। उक्त प्रकार से मृतक श्राद्ध वादियों की समीक्षा करने से ग्रंथ बहुत बढ़ता है इस लिये जिन २ श्राद्ध विषयक मंत्रों के उन्होंने अर्थाभास किये हैं उन सबके सत्यार्थ यहां किये देते हैं॥

येतेपूर्वेपरागता अपरे पितरश्चये। तेभ्योघृतस्य कुल्यैतु शतधाराव्युंदती॥ अथर्व० १८। ३। ७२।

अर्थ—परमेश्वर इस मंत्र में यह उपदेश करते हैं कि जो तुम्हारे पितर विद्वान् तथा जनकादि मृत होते हैं उनका संस्कार इस प्रकार किया करो॥

(ये) जो (ते) तेरे (पूर्वे) पूर्वले (पितरः) रक्षकादि (च) और (अपरे) अन्य बन्धु आदि (परागता) नाम परलोक वास कर गए हों, उनके अन्त्येष्टि संस्कार के लिये (व्युन्दती) नाम गिरती हुई घृत की शतधारा नदी के समान चिता में डालो ताकि उसमें दुर्गन्धि आदि कुछ न रहे॥

ये समानाः समनसः पितरो यमराज्ये तेषांल्लोकः स्वधा नमो यज्ञोदेवेषु कल्पताम्॥ यजु० १९।४५

अर्थ-(ये) जो (समानाः) नाम समान गुणों वाले हैं (समनसः) समान बृत्तियों वाले हैं अर्थात् एक ही ईश्वरीय धर्म में जिनकी वृत्तियें हैं, ऐसे (पितरः) विज्ञानी लोग, न्यायकारी राजा के राज्य में होते हैं, क्योंकि उनका (लोकः) नाम ज्ञान अमृत रूप होता है और सत्कार ही उनका अन्न होता है। हे परमात्मन् ऐसा (यज्ञ) नाम समान बृत्तियों वाला यज्ञ (देवेषु) नाम उक्त देवताओं में (कल्पताम्) नाम प्रचार करें। इस मंत्र में ईश्वर से ज्ञान यज्ञ की प्रार्थना है ॥

येसमानाः समनसोजीवाजीवेषुमामकाः।
तेषाᳬश्रीर्मयिकल्पतामस्मिल्लोकेशतᳬसमाः ॥
यजु० १६। ४६।

अर्थ-(ये) जो (समानाः) समान गुणों वाले हैं, (समनसः) समान बृत्तियों वाले हैं, फिर कैसे हैं (जीवेषुमामकाः) नाम और जीवों में ममत्व रखने वाले हैं अर्थात् परोपकारार्थ काम करके ममता उत्पन्न करने वाले हैं (तेषां) नाम ऐसे लोगों की जो (श्रीः) शोभा है (मयि) नाम मेरे में (कल्पताम्) धारण करावें, इस भाव को लेकर इस लोक में मैं सौ वर्ष तक जीऊं, इस मंत्र में ईश्वर से कर्म यज्ञ की प्रार्थना है। भाव यह है कि जो लोग निष्काम कर्म करते हैं उनके सब भूत आत्मवत् हो जाते हैं। अब उक्त ज्ञान यज्ञ और कर्म यज्ञ इन दोनों मार्गों को अगले मंत्र में वर्णन करते हैं ॥

द्वेसृतीअश्रृणवम्पितृणामहन्देवानामुतमर्त्यानाम्।

ताभ्यामिदं विश्वमेजत्समेतियदन्तरापितरम्मात
रञ्च ॥ ४७ ॥

अर्थ-(द्वेसृति) नाम दो मार्ग (मर्त्यानां) मनुष्यों के सुने गए हैं (पितृणाम्) एक पितरों का अर्थात् कर्मी लोगों का दूसरा (देवानाम्) ज्ञानी लोगों का (अश्रृणवम्) नाम मैं सुनता हूं, उन दोनों मार्गों से (इदं) नाम ये सम्पूर्ण जगत् (एजत्) नाम चेष्टा करता हुआ (समेति) नाम गति करता है, (यत्) जो जगत् (अन्तरापितरम्मातरञ्च) नाम और पिता माताओं को प्राप्त होता है। इस मंत्र में देवयान और पितृयाण मार्ग स्पष्ट रीति से कथन कर दिये हैं इन्हीं का नाम ज्ञान मार्ग और कर्म मार्ग है और इसी को गीता में शुक्र कृष्णगति के नाम से कहा गया है:—

शुक्लकृष्णेगतीह्येतेजगतः शाश्वतेमते ।
एकया यात्यनावृत्तिमन्ययाऽवर्त्तते पुनः ॥
नैतेसृतीपार्थजानन्योगीमुह्यतिकश्चन ।
तस्मात्सर्वेषुकालेषुयोगयुक्तोभवाऽर्जुन ॥
गीता० ८ । २६ । २७ ॥

अर्थ-(शुक्लकृष्णे) नाम शुक्ल और कृष्ण यह दोनों गतियें जगत् की निरन्तर होती है, (एकया) नाम एक से (अनावृत्ति) नाम ब्रह्म भाव को प्राप्त हो जाता है अर्थात् मोक्ष मार्ग में अपहत पाप्मादि ब्रह्म के भाव जीव को प्राप्त हो जाते हैं उस समय उसको (आवृत्ति) नाम ब्रह्म ध्यान नहीं करना पड़ता, और दूसरे कर्म मार्ग में ब्रह्म

ध्यानादि आवृत्ति करनी पड़ती है, इन दो मार्गों को जानता हुआ योगी हे अर्जुन! कभी मोह को प्राप्त नहीं होता, इस लिये सब कालों में तुम ज्ञानमार्ग और कर्ममार्ग का आश्रय लो ॥

यहां पौराणिक लोग यह प्रश्न करेंगे कि शुक्ल मार्ग में अग्नि ज्योति कथन की गई है, और शुक्ल दिन कथन किया गया है, और दूसरे मार्ग में धूम रात्रि कथन की गई है और छ मास का दक्षणायन कथन किया गया है ये तो कोई देश विशेष स्वर्गलोक के मार्ग प्रतीत होते हैं फिर इनको ज्ञान और कर्ममार्ग कैसे कह सक्ते हैं? इसका उत्तर यह है कि रूपक बांधकर यहां धूम और अग्नि का मार्ग कथन किया गया है वास्तव में मार्ग विधान में तात्पर्य्य नहीं, इसी अभिप्राय से स्वामीशङ्कराचार्य्यने अपने भाष्य में लिखा है (शुक्लकृष्णे) "ज्ञानप्रकाशकत्वात्शुक्लातदभा-वात्कृष्णा" अर्थ–देवयान की ज्ञान प्रकाश के अभिप्राय से शुक्लागति कही गई और पितृयाण की ज्ञान के अभाव होने के कारण कृष्णा गति कही गई, यह उक्त दोनों मार्ग पूर्व मंत्र में वर्णन किये गए हैं। इनमें श्राद्ध की कोई चर्चा नहीं ॥

उदीरतामवर उत्परास उन्मध्यमाः पितरः सोम्यासः। असुंयईयुरवृकाऋतज्ञास्तेनोऽवन्तु पितरो हवेषु॥ ऋ० १०।१५।१।

अर्थ–(सोम्यासः पितरः) सोम गुण सम्पन्न पितर उत्तम मध्यम और छोटी अवस्था वाले (उदीरताम्) नाम हमारी उन्नति करें, और जो मर्त्र भूतों के अद्रष्टा होने से ममता रूपी जीवन को प्राप्त

हैं (ऋतज्ञाः) नाम तत्व ज्ञानी हैं ऐसे पितर यज्ञों में हमारी रक्षा करें। अर्थात् तत्व ज्ञानी विद्वान् यज्ञ कर्मों में आकर हमारी रक्षा करें। इस मंत्र में (अवन्तु पितरो हवेषु) इतने मात्र से ही मृतक श्राद्ध वादी श्राद्ध निकालते हैं जिसका आशय स्पष्ट यह है कि यज्ञों में आकर विज्ञानी लोग हमारी रक्षा करें॥

येनः पूर्वेपितरःसोम्यासोऽनूहिरेसोमपीथंवसिष्ठाः तेभिर्य्यमः संꣳरराणोहवीꣳष्युशन्नुशद्भिः प्रति काममत्तु॥ यजु० १९। ५१।

अर्थ–जो शान्त्यादि गुण सम्पन्न (येनः पूर्वे पितरः) नाम हमारी सर्व प्रकार से रक्षा करने वाले हैं, (वसिष्ठाः) नाम सर्व गुण सम्पन्न हैं (सोमपीथंऽनूहिरे) नाम सोमपान को प्राप्त हैं ऐसे पितरों के साथ हमारी सन्तान प्रत्येक शुभ कामनाओं को भोग करे। आशय यह है कि सर्वगुण सम्पन्न विज्ञानी पितरों की सेवा में रहकर हमारी सन्तान मनुष्य जन्म के धर्म अर्थ काम मोक्षरूपी फल चतुष्टय कोभोगे।

मृतक श्राद्ध वादी इसके यह अर्थ करते हैं कि यजमान मृत पितरों के साथ यथेष्ट फल को भोगे, अब यह पता नहीं दिया मरकर भोगे, या जीता भोगे? पर यजमान से यह बात पाई जाती है कि जीता ही भोगे, पर यह नहीं बतलाया कि मृत पितरों के साथ उसका सम्बन्ध किस प्रकार होता है॥

त्वयाहिनः पितरः सोमपूर्वेकर्म्माणिचक्रुः पवमान धीराः। वन्वन्नवातः परिधीरपोर्णुहिवीरेभिरश्वै र्म्मघवाभवानः॥ यजु० १९। ५३।

अर्थ—हे विद्वन् (त्वया) तुम्हारे साथ (नः) हमारे (पितरः) अध्यापका (सोमपूर्वे) ऐश्वर्य्य वाले प्राचीन वृद्ध (कर्माणि) यज्ञादि कर्माणि (चक्रुः) करते हैं, यहां वर्त्तमान काल में लिट का प्रयोग है, फिर तुम कैसे हो (पवमानः) नाम पवित्र करने वाले हो (धीराः) धीर हो (वन्वन्) धर्म की सेवा करने वाले हो. (अवातः) हिंसा रहित हो (परिधीन्) नाम सर्व फल प्रद मार्गों को (अपोर्णुहि) नाम आच्छादनकर (वीरेभिरश्वैः) वलिष्ठ घोड़ों से हमारे मध्य में धन युक्त हो ॥

वर्हिषदः पितर ऊत्यर्वागिमावोहव्याचकृमाजुषध्वम्।तऽआगताऽवसाशन्तमेनाथानःशंयोररपो दधात ॥ यजु० १९ । ५५ ।

अर्थ—हे (वर्हिषदः) श्रेष्ठ सभा में बैठने वाले पितरो (ऊती) नाम रक्षणादि क्रिया से (अर्वाक्) नाम हमारे मध्य में (इमा) नाम इन हव्यादि भोजनयुक्त पदार्थों को (वः) तुमारे लिये (चकृम) संस्कार करते हैं उनका आप लोग (जुषध्वम्) सेवन करें, (शन्तमेन) नाम अत्यन्त कल्याण कारक (अवसा) रक्षणादि कर्म के साथ (आगत) आवें (अथ) इसके अनन्तर (नः) हमारे लिये (शंयोः) नाम सुख तथा (अरपः) नाम सत्याचरण को (दधात) धारण करें, और दुख को सदा हमसे पृथक् रखें ॥

यहां वादी ने "वर्हिषदः" शब्द से ही पौराणिक श्राद्ध वाले पितर सिद्ध कर लिये, यदि "वर्हिषदः" के अर्थ वादी स्वीकृत कुशासन के ही कर लिये जावें तब वतलाओ क्या कुशासन पर

बैठने वाले मृत पितर ही होते हैं ? यदि ऐसा है तो गीता० ६।११ में योगी के लिये कुशासन क्यों लिखा है ॥

आयन्तु नः पितर स्सोम्यासोऽग्निष्वात्ताः पथिभिर्देवयानैः । अस्मिन् यज्ञे स्वधया मदन्तोऽधिब्रुवन्तु तेऽवन्त्वस्मान् ॥ यजु० १९ । ५८ ।

अर्थ-(नः) हमारे पितर (सोम्यासः) शमदमादि गुण विशिष्ट (अग्निष्वात्ताः) नाम पञ्चाग्नि विद्यादिकों में निपुण (पथिभिर्देवयानैः) नाम ज्ञान मार्गों से अर्थात् ज्ञान देने के अभिप्राय से (आयन्तु) आवें, और हमारे इस यज्ञ में (स्वधया) अन्नादि से (मदन्तः) नाम आनन्द को प्राप्त हुए (अस्मान्) हमको (अधिब्रुवन्तु) नाम उपदेश करें और (अवन्तु) नाम हमारी रक्षा करें ॥

ये अग्निष्वात्ता ये अनग्निष्वात्ता मध्ये दिवः स्वधया मादयन्ते । तेभ्यः स्वराडसुनीतिमेतां यथावशं तन्वं कल्पयाति ॥ यजु० १९ । ६० ।

अर्थ-(ये अग्निष्वात्ता) नाम जिन्होंने पञ्चाग्नि विद्या को ग्रहण किया है और (ये अनग्निष्वात्ता) नाम ज्ञानी हैं (दिवः) नाम ज्ञानादि प्रकाश के मध्य में (स्वधया) सुन्दर तृप्ति से (मादयन्ते) नाम आनन्द को प्राप्त होते हैं (तेभ्यः) उन पितरों के लिये (स्वराट्) नाम स्वयं प्रकाशमान परमात्मा (असुनीतिमेताम्) नाम इस प्राणधारी (तन्वन्) नाम शरीर को (यथावशम्) कामना के अनुकूल (कल्पयाति) समर्थन करे ॥

मृतक श्राद्ध वादी के मत में अग्नि में जले हुए पितर और ना जले हुए पितर उक्त दो शब्द ही मृतक श्राद्ध के साधक हैं। इनका समाधान "अग्निदग्धाअनग्निदग्धा" इत्यादि मंत्रों में कर आए हैं उन युक्तियों का यहां भी उपयोग है॥

आच्याजानुदक्षिणतोनिषद्येमंयज्ञमभिगृणीतविश्वे। माहिꣳसिष्टपितरः केनचिन्नोयद्वआगः पुरुपता कराम॥ यजु० १९। ६२।

अर्थ—(विश्वे) नाम हे सर्व पितरो तुम (केन, चित्) नाम किसी हेतु से (नः) हमारी जो (पुरुषता) नाम पुरुषार्थता है उसको (मा, हिंसिष्ट) मत नष्ट करो, जिससे हम लोग सुख को (कराम) प्राप्त करें (यत्) जो (वः) तुमारा (आगः) अपराध हमने किया है उसको हम छोड़े, तुम लोग (इमम्) इस (यज्ञम्) सत्कार रूप व्यवहार को (अभि, गृणीत) हमारे सन्मुख प्रशंसित करो, हम (जानु) नाम जानु, अवयव को (आच्य) नीचे टेककर (दक्षिणतः) तुम्हारे दक्षिण पार्श्व में (निषद्य) बैठके तुम्हारा निरन्तर सत्कार करें॥

इस मंत्र में जानु टेककर बैठने और दक्षिण मुख से ही वादी मृतक श्राद्ध निकालते हैं॥

आसीनासोअरुणीनामुपस्थेरयिंधत्तदाशुषेमर्त्याय। पुत्रेभ्यः पितरस्तस्यवस्वः प्रयच्छततइहोर्जं दधात॥ यजु० १९। ६३॥

अर्थ—हे(पितरः) ज्ञानी लोगो (दाशुषे) दाता यजमान के लिये

(रयिम्) नाम धन को (धत्त) धारण करो, तुम कैसे हो, जोकि लाल रंग के उर्ण के आसनों के ऊपर (आसीना) बैठे हुए हो ॥

और हे पितरो (पुत्रेभ्यः) नाम यजमान रूप जो तुम्हारे पुत्र हैं उनको अभीष्ट धन दो, और तुम हमारे इस यज्ञ में (ऊर्जम्) जो पराक्रम है उसको स्थापन करो ॥

इस मंत्र में मृत पितरों का सूचक कोई शब्द नहीं प्रत्युत लाल रंग के आसनों पर बैठना, उनसे यज्ञ में पराक्रम और धनादिकों की प्रार्थना करना इस बात को सिद्ध करता है कि इस मंत्र में जीते पितरों का ही वर्णन है ॥

पुनन्तुमापितरः सोम्यासः पुनन्तुमापितामहाः। पुनन्तुप्रपितामहाः पवित्रेणशतायुषा । पुनन्तुमा पितामहाः पुनन्तुप्रपितामहाः पवित्रेणशतायुषा विश्वामायुर्व्यश्नवै ॥ यजु० १९ । ३७ ।

अर्थ-(सोम्यासः) नाम सौम्यगुण सम्पन्न (पितरः) पितर (मामपुनन्तु) मुझको पवित्र करें, और पितामह मुझको पवित्र करें, प्रपितामह मुझको पवित्र करें, पवित्र जो सौ वर्ष की आयु है उसके साथ पितामहादि पवित्र करें अर्थात् उनके अनुकरण से मैं भी सौ वर्ष की आयु को प्राप्त होऊं । इस प्रकार पूर्वोक्त पितरों से पवित्र हुआ (विश्वम्) नाम सर्व आयु को मैं (व्यश्नवै) प्राप्नुयां प्राप्त होऊं । उक्त प्रार्थना भी जीवित पितरों से ही की गई है, और पितामह प्रपितामहादि के नाम लेने से यह भी सिद्ध कर-दिया कि यहां तक जीते रहना सम्भव हो सक्ता है, यदि मृतकों

का अभिप्राय होता तो पितामह प्रपितामह तक ही अवधि क्यों रखी गई?

आधत्तपितरोगर्भङ्कुमारम्पुष्करस्त्रजम्। यथेहपुरुषोसत् ॥ यजु० २। २३

अर्थ–(पितरः)नाम इस कुलके बृद्ध लोग ऐसा गर्भाधान संस्कार करें कि जिससे सुन्दर कुमार उत्पन्न हों। इस मंत्र का मृतक श्राद्ध से क्या सम्बन्ध?

प्रेहि प्रेहि पथिभिः पूर्याणैर्येना ते पूर्वे पितरः परेताः। उभा राजानौ स्वधया मदन्तौ यमं पश्यासि वरुणं च देवम् ॥ अथर्व० १८। १। ५४

अर्थ–इस मंत्र में उस समय का वर्णन है जिस समय शकट पर डालकर मृतक को शमशान भूमि में लेजाया जाता है। हे प्रेत (प्रेहि प्रेहि) तू जा जा (पूर्याणैः पथिभिः) जिस मार्ग से प्रेत लोग परलोक को जाते हैं उस मार्ग का नाम पूर्याण है, और जिस से तुम्हारे पूर्व पितर परलोक अर्थात् पुनर्जन्म को प्राप्त हुए हैं, वहां जाकर तुम यम नाम आकाशस्थ वायु को वरुण नाम जल के दिव्य स्वरूप को, इन दोनों देवों को सुधारूप आहुति भक्षण करते हुए देखोगे। इस मंत्र में मृत शरीर में दृष्टि आदि भावों का आरोप किया गया है, आशय यह वर्णन किया गया है कि मृत शरीर का जब सुगन्धित द्रव्यों के साथ दाह किया जाता है तो वह वाष्परूप होकर नभोमण्डल को प्राप्त हो जाता है वहां की जल वायु की चिता पर दी हुई आहुति शुद्ध कर देती है,

इसलिये मृतक के लेजाने समय में उपचार से यह कहा जाता है कि तुम्हें ऐसे मार्ग से भेजा जायगा जिसमें कोई दुर्गति की सम्भावना नहीं, अर्थात् जिस प्रकार असंस्कृत देहादि सड़ गल जाते हैं वह गति तुम्हारी नहीं होगी ॥

इसमें मृतक श्राद्ध की क्या कथा। वादी ने यहां यम शब्द और वरुण शब्द देखकर ही मृतक श्राद्ध निकाला है, पर यह भी नहीं विचारा कि विचारे सनातनी सायण तो यहां गड्डी पर लाद कर श्मशान में लेजाने के लिये मृतक पितर को बुलाते हैं फिर यहां श्राद्ध की सिद्धि कैसे ?

ये नः पितुः पितरो ये पितामहा य आविविशुरुर्वन्तरिक्षम्। य आक्षिपन्ति पृथिवीमुतद्यां तेभ्यः पितृभ्योनमसाविधेम ॥ अथर्व० १८।२।४९

अर्थ—(येनः पितुः पितरो) हमारे पितामह और जो विज्ञानी पितर (आविविशुरन्तरिक्षम्) आकाश को प्राप्त हुए हैं अर्थात् पदार्थ विद्या द्वारा आकाश मार्ग के ज्ञाता हैं और जो आक्षियन्तिपृथिवी नाम पृथिवी पर निवास करते हैं और जो (द्यां) स्वर्ग लोक में स्थिर हैं ऐसे पितरों को मैं नमस्कार करता हूं ॥

इस मंत्र में मृतक श्राद्धवादी यह कहते हैं कि आकाश को प्राप्त हुए पितर जो इस मंत्र में कथन किये गए हैं वह जीवित कैसे हो सक्ते हैं ? उत्तर—इस मंत्र में तो यह भी कथन किया गया है कि जो इस पृथिवी में रहते हैं, अब यह बतलाओ कि क्या तुम्हारे पितर पितृलोक छोड़कर इस पृथिवी में भी रहते हैं, यहां तो पृथिवी

लोक में पितरों का रहना वर्णन करके वेदभगवान् ने मृतकश्राद्ध वादियों का मत शिथिल कर दिया, और जीवित श्राद्ध वादियों के मत में तो पदार्थ विद्या वेत्ता पितरों की अन्तरिक्ष में भी गति हो सक्ती है इस लिये कोई दोष नहीं ॥

योममारप्रथमोमर्त्यानांयःप्रेयाप्रथमोलोकमेतम् वैवस्वतंसंगमनंजनानांयमं राजानंहविषासपर्यत अथर्व० १८ । ३ । १३ ।

अर्थ—(यो ममार प्रथमोमर्त्यानां) जो लोगों में से प्रथम मरता है (यः प्रेया प्रथमो लोकमेतम्) और जो पहले इस लोक को प्राप्त होता है वैवस्वतं नाम विवस्वान् सूर्य्य से उत्पन्न हुआ जो यह यम वायु है और संगमनं नाम जिसके द्वारा जीव लिङ्ग शरीर सहित पुनर्जन्म को गमन करता है, हे मनुष्यो तुम उस (यमंराजानं) नियमन करने वाली दीप्तिमान वायु को (हविषा) हवन से (सपर्यत) पूजयत पूजा करो । आशय इस मंत्र का यह है कि जो पुरुष प्रथम मृत हो जाता है उसके जीवित सम्बन्धि उसको सुगंधित पदार्थों द्वारा दाह करें ॥

सायण इसके यह अर्थ करता है कि सूर्य्य का पुत्र यम प्रथम यहां से मरकर यमलोक में गया है उसकी तुम पूजा करो, मृतक श्राद्ध वादियों के मत में सूर्य्य का पुत्र यम मरकर जबतक वहां नहीं पहुंचा था तबतक यम लोक का राज्य किसके हाथ में था? मृतक श्राद्धवादियों की ऐसी अनन्त कच्ची बाते हैं जिनका आदि अंत नहीं मिलता । पं० ज्वालाप्रसादमिश्र इसमें यह गीत गाते हैं कि " जो मनुष्यों को मारके प्रथम इस लोक से लेजाते हैं

उन मनुष्यों के प्राण लेनेवाले यमराजा का हविद्वारा हम पूजन करते हैं"। द्या० ति० भा० पृ० ११५ इसकी भाषा ऐसी अलौकिक है कि अतिप्रयास करने पर भी अर्थ नहीं मिलता, प्रथम शब्द यहां सर्वथा निष्फल है। मृतक श्राद्धवादियों के मत में जब यम किसी को मारकर लेजाता है तो क्या उससे पहले यम ने कभी किसी को नहीं मारा था जो उसको प्रथम कहा जाय? और यह अर्थ भी सायण से सर्वथा विरुद्ध हैं॥

यौतेश्वानौ यम रक्षितारौ चतुरक्षौपथि रक्षी नृचक्षसौ। ताभ्यामेनंपरिदेहि राजन्त्स्वस्ति चास्मा अनमीवं च धेहि॥ ऋ० १०। १४। ११

अर्थ–(यम) हे अन्तर्यामिन् (यौ) जो (ते) तुम्हारे (रक्षितारौ) रक्षा करनेवाले (पथिरक्षी) सांसारिक पथ में रक्षा करनेवाले हैं (नृचक्षसौ) मनुष्यों को मार्ग दिखलानेवाले (श्वानौ) कर्म योग और ज्ञान योग उन दोनों से इस पुरुष को परिदेहि नाम रक्षित कीजिये (च) और (अस्मै) इसके लिये (अनमीवं) आरोग्यतादि सुख और (स्वस्ति) कल्याण (धेहि) दीजिये। यह इस मंत्र के मुख्यार्थ थे जिनको छोड़कर पं० ज्वालाप्रसादमिश्र ने यमराज के दो कुत्तों के अर्थ किये हैं, और कहा है कि हे यमराज जो तुम्हारे दोनों कुत्ते हैं उनको इस प्रेत की रक्षा करने को भेजो। क्या अद्भुत प्रार्थना है, अगर कुत्तों से ही मृतक की रक्षा होती है तो श्राद्धकर्म में कुत्तों का दान अवश्य होना चाहिये, ताकि पौराणिक पितृलोकगामी जीव के साथ रास्ते में कोई रगड़ा झगड़ा न करे॥

यमग्ने कव्यवाहनत्वंचिन्मन्यसे रयिम् ।
तन्नोगीर्भिः श्रवाय्यन्देव त्रापन यायुजम् ॥
यजु० १९ । ६४

अर्थ—हे अग्निवत् प्रकाशमान विद्वन् और हे कव्यवाहन नाम रक्षक लोगों को सुन्दर २ वस्तु देने वाले विद्वन् तुम हमारे लिये ऐश्वर्य्य सम्पादन करो ।

योऽअग्निः कव्यवाहनः पितॄन्यक्ष दृतावृधः ।
पेदुहव्या च निवोचति देवेभ्यश्च पितृभ्य आ ॥
यजु० १९ । ६५

हे (कव्यवाहन) विद्वन् तुम पितॄन् नाम अपने रक्षक जनकादिकों की पूजाकरो, जो रक्षक (ऋतावृधः) नाम वेद विज्ञान् से अपनी सन्ततियों को बढ़ाते हैं ॥

त्वमग्न ईडितःकव्यवाहनावाड्ढव्यानि सुरभीणिकृत्वी । प्रादाः पितृभ्यः स्वधायाते अक्षन्नद्धि त्वन्देव प्रयताहवींॅषि ॥ ६६

अर्थ—हे (कव्यवाहन) विद्वन् तुम सुगंधियुक्त अन्नादिकों को प्रथम अपने पिता पितामह आदिकों को भोजन कराके फिर स्वयं भोजन करो ॥

येचेहपितरोयेचनेहयांश्चविद्मयाॅउचनप्रविद्म ।
त्वं वेत्थ यतिते जातवेदः स्वधाभिर्यज्ञॅसुकृतञ्जुषस्व ॥ ६७

अर्थ—हे जातवेदः विद्वन्, यहां जातवेदः शब्द इस अभिप्राय से विद्वान् में वर्तता है कि—जातं वेदो यस्मिन् स जातवेदः अर्थात् उत्पन्न हुआ हो ज्ञान जिसको उसका नाम जातवेद है। हे जातवेदः तुम इस यज्ञ में पितरों का सेवन करो, जो पितर यहां विद्यमान हैं और जो यहां नहीं जिनको तुम जानते हो और जिनको नहीं जानते उनके लिये तुम पुण्य जनक यज्ञ करो।

इदम् पितृभ्यो नमो अस्त्वद्यये पूर्वासो यउ परा सईयुः। ये पार्थिवे रजस्या निषत्तायेवानूनꣳ सुवृजनासु विक्षु ॥ ६८

अर्थ—यह अन्न जनकादि पितरों के लिये हो, (ये पूर्वासः) नाम वृद्ध हैं उपरासः नाम संसार से उपरत हैं उन सबको यह अन्न प्राप्त हो। और जो रजोगुण प्रधान हैं उनको यह अन्न प्राप्त हो और जो केवल सत्व प्रधान हैं उनको यह अन्न प्राप्त हो ॥

अधायथानःपितरःपरासः प्रत्नासोऽअग्न ऋत माशुषाणाः। शुचीदयन्दीधितिमुकूथशासःक्षामा भिन्दन्तो अरुणीरपव्रन् ॥ ६९

अर्थ—हे विद्वन् जो प्राचीन पितर वैदिक कर्मों में निपुण हैं उनका तू सेवन कर ॥

उशन्तस्त्वानिधी मह्युशन्तः समिधीमहि। उशन्नुशतआवह पितृन्हविषेअत्तवे ॥ ७० ॥

अर्थ—हे विद्वन् तुम्हारा कल्याण चाहनेवाले जो तुम्हारे पितर हैं उनको भोजनादि कराने के लिये तुम बुलाओ ।

आशय उक्त मंत्रों का यह है कि जनकादि पितरों की तथा ज्ञान विज्ञान विद्याओं में निपुण पितरों की सेवा करना सन्तानों का मुख्यधर्म है, इस धर्म का उक्त मंत्रों में प्रतिपादन किया गया है, हमने उक्त मंत्रों का केवल आशय प्रकट कर दिया है अक्षरार्थ स्वामीजी के भाष्य में किया हुआ है इसलिये उसकी यहां आवश्यकता नथी ।

पं० ज्वालाप्रसाद मिश्र उक्त मंत्रों से मृतक श्राद्ध निकालतेहैं, पर मंत्रों के आशय से उनकी प्रतिज्ञा सर्वथा उलटी प्रतीत होती है । देखो मं० ६८ में उन्होंने यह अर्थ किये हैं कि हे अग्नि देवता तुमभी हवियों को भक्षण करो । यहां पृष्टव्य यह है कि क्या उन के मतमें अग्न्यधिष्ठातृ देवता भोजनादि किया करता है ? यदि यहां केवल भौतिकाग्नि में भक्षण कर्तृत्व है तो फिर उससे भिन्न देवता मानने की क्या आवश्यक्ता है । वस्तुतस्तु सनातनाचार्य्यों के मतमें ऐसे वाक्य उपचार से आते हैं जैसाकि "तेज ऐक्षत" इत्यादि वाक्यों में स्वामी शङ्कराचार्य्यादिकों ने उपचार से व्यवस्था की है फिरकव्यवाहन भौतिकाग्नि इनके मतमें मृतपितरों को कैसेबुला सक्ता है । मं० ६९ में "येचेहपितर:" इस वाक्य के यह अर्थ किये हैं कि "जो पितर इस लोक में देहधारण करके वर्तमान हैं" द० ति० भा० पृ० ११७ यहां तो जीतों का ही श्राद्ध मानलिया । फिर इस पर टीका यह करते हैं कि "यहां इह शब्द से जीते पितरों का ग्रहण नहीं होता, किन्तु जिन्होंने मरकर कर्म वश इस लोक में

देह धारण किया है उनका ग्रहण है" द० ति० भा० पृ० ११८ इस टीका ने मृतक श्राद्धवादी का मत और मर्दन कर दिया क्योंकि हमभी तो उन्हीं को जीते कहते हैं जिन्होंने कर्मवश से देह धारण किया है। यहां तो पितृलोक की दौड़ दूर करके जीते पितरों के श्राद्ध परही आजमे, । सच है बल वह है जो बलात्कार से मनवाए, इतनाही नहीं देखो मंत्र ६८ में फिर यह अर्थ करते हैं कि "विष्णु प्रजाओं अर्थात् मनुष्यलोक में देह धारण करके वर्तमान हैं"। द० ति०भा०पृ० ११८ अब बतलाओ यहां तो फिर मर्त्यलोक के देह धारियों को पितर मान लिया, तुम्हारे पितृलोक के पितरों में क्या न्यूनता थी जो यहां मर्त्यलोक के देहधारी पितर मानने से बिना निर्बाह न हुआ। इस मंत्र में तो ईश्वर को प्राप्त पितरों के लिये अर्थात् कैवल्य मुक्ति वालों के लिये भी मिश्रजीने अन्नदान माना है, क्या कैवल्य मुक्ति वाले भी अन्न खाते हैं? अथवा श्राद्ध के लालच में आकर उन विचारों की भी पुनरावृत्ति करनी है? आपतो "अनावृत्तिशब्दात्"के अर्थों में स्वामी शं०चा०के शिष्य हैं फिर ब्रह्मलोक को प्राप्त लोगों को बुलाकर बन्धन में क्यों डालते हैं॥

हमने तो आजतक यही सुना था कि पौराणिक लोग यमलोक के पितरों को बुलाया करते हैं, ईश्वर लोक के पितरों को बुलाने की प्रथा तो आपके आधुनिक वैदिकभाव से भरे हुए तिमिर-भास्कर में ही पाई गई। और जोः—

यमाय सोमः पवते यमाय क्रियते हविः । यमंह यज्ञो गच्छत्यग्नि दूतो अरंकृतः ॥ अथर्व० १८।२।१

इस मंत्र में यह माना है कि यज्ञ का फल यम को प्राप्त होता है और उसका दूत अग्नि यम के पास हवि ले जाता है, यहां तो श्राद्ध की फ़िलासफ़ी को मण्डत करते हुए वैदिकभाव का भरोसा छोड़कर सारा यज्ञ का फल ही यम लोक में पहुंचादिया, न यह सोचा कि विचारे और देवताओं का हक़ मारा जायगा, न यह सोचा कि यम के लिये सोम करने से सनातन सोम की सब हिंसा विचारे यम के सिरपर आयेगी, न वह सोचा कि:—

मुग्धादेवाउतशुनायजन्तोतगोरङ्गैः पुरुधायजन्त।
यइमं यज्ञं मनसा चिकेत प्रणो वोचस्तमिहेह ब्रवः॥
अथर्व० ७।१।५

इस मंत्र में ज्ञान यज्ञ का वर्णन किया है फिर हम यज्ञ मात्र को यम में ही क्यों लगायें ? अधिक क्या ॥

श्रेयान् द्रव्य मयात्यज्ञात् ज्ञान यज्ञः परंतप।
सर्वं कर्माऽखिलंपार्थ ज्ञानेपरि समाप्यते॥गी-४।३३

इत्यादि गीता के श्लोकों को भी भूलगए, जिनमें सबसे बड़ा ज्ञान यज्ञ ही माना है। कहां तक लिखें यहां तो पण्डितसाहब आग्रह से ग्रस्त होकर अपने सनातन पथ को यहां तक भूलगए हैं कि यम लोक के यज्ञ बिना पण्डितजीको और कुछ सुझा ही नहीं, देखो इसी मंत्र का सायण:—

"यद्यपि सोमो हविश्च उभे सर्वार्थं क्रियेते तथा यज्ञोपि सर्वदेवार्थः, तथापि यमस्य सर्वप्राणिसंहर्तृत्वेन वा सर्वेषां

पितृलोकप्रापकत्वेनवाप्राधान्याद् यमायैव सोमादिकं क्रियत इत्युपचर्यते"

अर्थ—यद्यपि सोम और हविः यह सबके लिये किये जाते हैं, तथा यज्ञ भी सब देवताओं के लिये किया जाता है, तथापि यम सबका संहार करने वाला है, सबको पितृलोक में प्राप्त कराने वाला है, इस अभिप्राय से यम को अधिक मानकर यम के लिये ही यह यज्ञ का फल है यह उपचार से कहा गया है॥

यहां उपचार का ध्यान भी पण्डितजीको नहीं रहा। मंत्रार्थ यह हैं (यमाय) नाम परमेश्वर के लिये (सोमः) सोम यज्ञ किया जाता है अर्थात् सोमलता विशिष्ट हवि वाला यज्ञ किया जाता है, और परमेश्वर के ही लिये हवि दिया जाता है, अग्निरूपी दूत से अलंकृत यह यज्ञ परमेश्वर को प्राप्त होता है, यह मंत्रार्थ है। इसी अभिप्राय से इस मंत्र के अर्थ सायणाचार्य्यने 'सर्वप्राणिसंहर्तृत्वेन' परमात्मा के किये हैं, क्योंकि वही परमात्मा सर्व का संहार कर्त्ता हो सक्ता है, जैसाकि "अत्ताचराचरग्रहणात्" ब्र०सू० १।२।९ इस सूत्र में सबका संहार करने से उस परमात्मा का नाम अत्ता कहा है। पं० ज्वालाप्रसादमिश्र इसमें यह लिखते हैं कि "इत्यादि मंत्रों से अग्नि का श्राद्ध में हविः ले जाना सिद्ध है" द०ति०भा० पृ० ११९ यहां श्राद्ध पण्डितसाहब ने अपनी ओर से जोड़लिया, मंत्र में कहीं श्राद्ध का नाम नहीं, यदि यह कहा जाय कि उक्त मंत्र में अग्नि को दूत लिखा है तो जब अग्नि दूत है तो जहां भेजेंगे वहां ही हवी लेजावेगा, फिर मृत पितरों के पास क्यों नहीं ले

जावेगा ? इसका उत्तर यह है कि दूत शब्द यहां अग्नि में उपचार से आया है, जिस प्रकार दूत वस्तुओं को लेजाता है इस प्रकार यह भौतिकाग्नि यज्ञमें हवन किये हुए पदार्थों को विश्लेष करके नभोमण्डल में पहुंचा देता है इस अभिप्राय से अग्नि को दूत कहागया है और इसी अभिप्राय से "अग्निदूतंवृणीमहे" इस ऋग्वेद के मंत्रमें अग्नि को दूत कहा है ।

यदि यह प्रश्न किया जाय कि अग्नि देवता पितृलोक में ही पदार्थों को पहुंचाता है इस लोक में नहीं तो देखो :—

ये दस्यवः पितृषु प्रविष्टा ज्ञातिमुखा अहुतादश्च रन्ति । परापुरो निपुरो ये भरन्त्यग्निष्टानस्मात् प्रधमाति यज्ञात् ॥ अथर्व० १८ । २ । २८

इस मंत्र में यह लिखा है कि (ये) जो (दस्यवः) दस्युलोग (पितृषु) पितरों में (प्रविष्टा) प्रवेश कर गए हैं (ज्ञातिमुखा) पितरों जैसे आकार के हैं (आहुतादः) नाम हवन कियेहुए लौकिक अन्न को भक्षण करते हैं (चरन्ति) नाम पितरों के मध्यमें वर्तमान हैं, ऐसे राक्षस (परापुरो) नैमित्तिक हवन कर्त्ताओं को और (निपुरः) नित्य हवन कर्त्ताओं को नाश करते हैं, ऐसे मायावी राक्षसों को अग्नि इस यज्ञ से (प्रधमाति) नाम प्रधमतु अर्थात् यज्ञ से निकाल दे । यहां तो अग्नि दूतके पदार्थों का यहांही दस्युलोग भक्षण करते हैं यह वेद भगवान ने लिखा है । फिर अग्नि दूत आपका क्या बनायेगा ? इतनाही नहीं यहां तो पितृ शब्द के अर्थ को भी वेद भगवान ने साफ करदिया है. यहां विचारे पितृलोक में

पितरों को मानने वाले क्या करेंगे? क्योंकि जब पितरों जैसी मनुष्याकृति के दस्युलोगों का पितरों में मिलजाना लिखा है तो पितर भी जीवितही पाएगए, यदि मृतक श्राद्धवादियों के मृतपितरों के आशय से यह मंत्र होता तो पितरों में दस्यु लोगों को कदापि ने मिलाता, यदि मृतकपितरों से आशय होता तो मंत्र मिलाता ही कैसे, क्योंकि पौराणिक पितर तो पितृयाणमार्ग से पितर लोकमें पहुंचे हैं वहां विचारे दस्युओं की क्या गति, हां यदि पितृयाण और देवयान द्वारा दस्युओं को क्रम मुक्ति का अधिकारी पौराणिक धर्म की नई फ़िलासफ़ी बनादे तो और बात।

ननु तुम्हारे मतमें भी यह मंत्र दुर्घट है क्योंकि यहां अग्नि से यह प्रार्थना कीगई है कि तुम पितरों से दस्युओं को भिन्न करो जड़ अग्नि के आगे ऐसी प्रार्थना कैसे?

उत्तर—हमारे मतमें अग्निशब्द यहां परमेश्वर का वाचक है। "अङ्गति गच्छति सर्वं व्याप्नोतित्यग्निः" अर्थ—जो सबमें व्यापक होकर ठहरता है उसका नाम अग्नि है, अगि गत्यर्थकधातु से यह शब्द सिद्ध होता है, "साक्षादप्यविरोधं जैमिनिः" ब्र० सू० १।२।२८ इत्यादि सूत्र और कई एक वेद मंत्रों से हम पहले भी अग्नि शब्द को ईश्वर वाचक सिद्ध कर आए हैं इस लिये यहां विस्तार की आवश्यकता नहीं।

ननु—कहीं तुम अग्निशब्द के अर्थ ईश्वर के करलेते हो कहीं भौतिकाग्नि के करलेते हो, एवं मनमाने अर्थ करने से सत्यार्थ सिद्धि कैसे?

उत्तर—इसमें हमारा क्या दोष है जो शब्द अनेकार्थ वाची

होता है वह प्रकरणानुसार ही अर्थ देता है जैसाकि पौराणिक लोगों के मतमें देवासुर संग्राम में देवशब्द इन्द्रादि देवों के अर्थ देता है और यजुर्वेद ३। ४० में देवशब्द इन्द्रियों के अर्थ देता है। "एषोऽहिदेवः प्रदिशोऽनुसर्वः" इस मंत्रमें देवशब्द ईश्वर के अर्थ देता है। और "यत्पुरुषेणहविषायज्ञंदेवा अतन्वत" अथर्व० ७। १। ४ यहां देव विद्वानों के अर्थ देता है "देवा दीव्यन्तीतिदेवायजमानाः" इस मंत्र के भाष्य में सायणाचार्य्य यह लिखते हैं कि यजमानों को भी देव कहते हैं। यहां कौन कह सकता है कि उक्त स्थलोंमें देवके एकही अर्थ लेने से संगति ठीक होसकती है, एवं संगति देखकर अग्निशब्द के भी ईश्वरादि अर्थों में कोई दोष नहीं।

अब हम श्राद्ध विषयक पं० ज्वालाप्रसादमिश्र की समीक्षा समाप्त करते हैं, क्योंकि उक्त पण्डित साहब ने स्वमत मार्जन करते हुए यहांतक लिखदिया कि अग्नि दूतही यज्ञसे यमके प्रति हवि लेजाता है, इस लेखसे यह स्पष्ट सिद्ध करदिया कि श्राद्धान्न भोजन कर्त्ताओं से दूत का काम नहीं हो सक्ता। इनकी इस दुर्बलता के हेतु इनका विचार छोड़कर अब हम व्यवसायात्मकमति पं० भीमसेन के श्राद्ध विषयक लेखों की समीक्षा करते हैं॥

व्यवसायात्मक मति का विशेषण हमने पं० जी को इस अभिप्राय से दिया है किः—

व्यवसायात्मिकाबुद्धिरेकेहकुरुनन्दन। वहुशाखा ह्यनन्ताश्चवुद्धयोऽव्यवसायिनाम्॥ गी० २। ४१

अर्थ—हे कुरुनन्दन निश्चयात्मिक बुद्धि एकही है बहुत शाखा-वाली अनन्त बुद्धियें अनिश्चयात्मक लोगों की होती है। इस पर पं० भीमसेनजी यह लिखते हैं कि "दृढ़ प्रतिज्ञावाले धर्मात्मा लोगों की (इह) इसलोक में (व्यवसायात्मक) निश्चयात्मक बुद्धि (एका) एकही होती है, वे लोग अपने धर्मयुक्त दृढ़ निश्चित विचार को कभी नहीं लौटते" भी० से० गी० भा० पृ० ९८॥

समीक्षा—हमको अभी तक यह निश्चय नहीं हुआ कि उनके धर्मयुक्त दृढ़ निश्चित विचार क्या हैं, जिनको वह नहीं लौटते ? उक्त पं० जीने गीता का भाष्य करते समय "पतन्तिपितरो ह्येषां लुप्तपिण्डोदकक्रियाः" गीता १।४२ इसके अर्थ यह किये हैं कि (लुप्तपिण्डोदकक्रियाः) अन्न जल देने का जिनका व्यवहार छूटगया है ऐसे (पितरः) रक्षक वा पितृपितामहादि लोग (पतन्ति) दुःख विशेष नरक में गिरते हैं। इस श्लोक में पिण्ड शब्द आया है सो मनुस्मृति के अ० ११ में पिण्ड नाम ग्रास का है।

अब इस विचार को यों बदला है कि यहां से पिण्ड देने से पितृ लोक में पहुंच जाते हैं, (१) उक्त श्लोक में पितर के अर्थ रक्षक के किये थे और पिता पितामहादि जीवित पितरों के किये थे "अब यमलोक में रहने वाले मृतक पितरों के करते हैं। और यहांतक दृढ़ प्रतिज्ञाकीजाती है कि स्थूलदेहधारी जीवित मनुष्यों का पितर मानना सर्वथा युक्ति प्रमाण शून्य है" ब्रा० स० खं० १।३ पृ०९२।

(२) पहले जिन श्राद्ध विषयक मनु के श्लोकों को

प्रक्षिप्त बतलाते थे अब उनको अलौकिक पितरलोक के भण्डार मानते हैं। (३) पहले यम को एक आचार्य्य मानते थे अब यम प्रेतलोक का राजा मानते हैं। (४) पहले कठकी तृतीया वल्ली में जो श्राद्ध शब्द आया है उसको श्रद्धापूर्वक सत्कार करना मानते थे। अब मुर्दों के निमित्त जो यहां से भोजन पहुँचाने का प्रकार है उसको श्राद्ध मानते हैं। (५) पहले पितृयाण और देवयान को कर्म प्रधान और ज्ञान प्रधान दो मार्ग मानते थे अब पितर और देवताओं के जाने के मार्ग विशेष मानते हैं। इत्यादि अनेक धर्म युक्त दृढ़ निश्चित विचारों को लौटकर आप व्यवसायात्मक मति कभी नहीं कहला सक्के. पण्डित साहब पहले विचारों को परिवर्तन करने का कारण यह बतलाते हैं "मैं अन्योंके तुल्य पहले भी आर्य्य समाजी नहीं था" आ० म० १-२ पृ० ७३ समीक्षा-यदि आप अन्यों के समान पहले आर्य्यसमाजी न थे तो आर्य्यसिद्धान्त का पोथा, ईश, केनादि आठ उपनिषद्, मनुभाष्य, गीता भाष्यादि पुस्तक कौन आकर लिख गया? अथवा उस समय आपका अधिष्ठातृ देवता कोई और था? वह सनातनधर्म की कौन बात है जो आपने अपने पुस्तकों में खण्डन नहीं की। फिर आप कैसे कहते हैं कि मैं अन्य लोगों के तुल्य पहले भी आर्य्यसमाजी नहीं था, यदि आपका तात्पर्य्य यह है कि मेरे दिल में आर्य्यसमाज न था किन्ही कारणों से लिखता था तो इसका क्या प्रमाण है कि अब आप हृदय से सनातन धर्मी हैं। और जो आप यह लिखते हैं कि

"मैं आर्य्यसमाज को वेद शास्त्रानुकूल आस्तिक बनाना चाहता था सो जब इसका सुधारना असाध्य देखा तो छोड़ दिया"। ब्रा० १-२ पृ० ७३

समीक्षा-(१) आपको आ० स० के सुधार की धुन तब से समझें कि जब आप अपने ग्रंथों पर यह लिखा करते थे कि श्री दयानन्द सरस्वती स्वामिनां शिष्येण भीमसेन शर्म्मणा (२) अथवा जब गीतादि भाष्यों पर स्वामी जी का नाम छोड़कर केवल अपना ही नाम लिखने लगे तब से सुधार की धुन समझें? (३) जब पशु बध यज्ञ की आपको धुन लगी तब से सुधार की धुन समझें? (४) सन् १८९० के आ० सि० भा० १० अं० ७।८।९ में आपने अपनी यह सफाई दी कि यज्ञ विषय में मेरा विचार साध्य कोटी में है स्वामीजीके और सिद्धान्तों को मैं ठीक मानता हूं तब से सुधार की धुन समझें? (५) अथवा जब आपने तटस्थ बनकर यह लिखा कि "इतने काल तक वे लोग मेरे शरीर को भी विचार कोटी में ही समझें" तब से सुधार की धुन समझें? (६) वा जब स्वामीजी आपको स्वप्नमें आकर मिले और सब आर्य्यसमाजियों में सबसे बड़ा पण्डित होने का सार्टिफिकेट आपको दे गए" तब से सुधार की धुन समझें "अथवा जब आपने यह लिखा कि पौराणिक मूर्तिपूजा गङ्गास्नान से मुक्ति, तीर्थावतारादि वेद वाह्य अंशों को मैं वैदिक नहीं मानता वा मूर्तिपूजादि वैदिक धर्म नहीं, इस कारण उसके मान्य होने का मैं अनु-

मोदन नहीं करता " आ० मि० भा० १० अं० ७ तब से सुधार की धुन समझें (८) अथवा जब आपने यह लिखा है कि "मैं स्वामीजीका काम करता हूं इसलिये स्वामी जीका शिष्यहूं " तबसे सुधारकी धुन समझें। (९) वा आर्य्यसमाज के हितका विचार करते हुए देहली महामण्डल के महोत्सवपर आ० स० ने आपको ता० १२।८।१० को तार देकर बुलाया, इस स्थान में आपने अपनी सब भूलें स्वीकार करके स्वपत्र में प्रकाशित करदीं तबसे सुधार की धुन समझें ? अथवा

(१०) यदिमामप्रतीकारमशस्त्रंशस्त्रपाणयः ।
धार्त्तराष्ट्रारणेहन्युस्तन्मेक्षेमतरंभवेत् ॥ गी० १।४६

यह श्लोक लिखकर कहा कि जैसे अर्जुन ने कहा था कि मुझे खाली हाथ आगे से हाथ न उठाते हुए दुर्योधनादि मुझे मार डालें तो कल्याण है पर मैं आगे से हाथ न उठाऊंगा "इसी प्रकार मैं भी कहता हूं कि आर्य्यसमाजस्थ लोग मुझको अत्यन्त तंग करें, सीमा से भी अधिक दुःख पहुचावें तो भी मैं आर्य्यसमाज का प्रतिपक्षी जीवन भर न बनुंगा और प्रतिपक्षियों को सहायता भी कदापि नहीं दूंगा किन्तु आवश्यकता होने पर आ० स० को ही सहायता दूंगा, मैं प्रथम से आ० स० में रहकर सब प्रकार के कार्य्य वा सहायता, आर्य्यसमाज से मुझको मिली और मुझ से भी समाज को सहायता मिली, और अब यदि मैं

स्वयं प्रति पक्षी बनूं वा प्रतिपक्षियों को सहायता दूं तो कृतघ्नता दोष मुझको होगा। अब रहा यज्ञादि विषय का विचार सो सब आर्य्य लोगों को जैसा अच्छा लगे विचार करें और मानें, मैं इस विषय में प्रतिपक्ष के प्रकार से आगे कुछ नहीं लिखुंगा। इस लिये आप अवश्य ही पिछली धृष्टता को क्षमा कीजिये" आ० सि० भा० १० अं० १२

आपका भीमसेन शर्म्मा सरस्वती प्रेस इटावा॥

इस लेखमें पूर्वोक्त दृढ़ प्रतिज्ञाओंसे अपनी धृष्टताकी क्षमा मांगी, तबसे सुधार की धुन समझें? (११) अथवा जब आपने अपनी सब पूर्वोक्त प्रतिज्ञाओं पर पानी फेरकर पण्डित गोपीनाथ के साथ सनातन पक्ष में मिलकर दिग्विजय के लिये चढ़ाई की, तबसे सुधार की धुन समझें? (१२) इतने में भी सन्तुष्ट न रहकर जब आपका सौदा सर्वथा ही आर्य्यसमाज में फीका पड़ गया "फिर अपने ही लेखों को खण्डन करने के अभिप्राय से लेखनी उठाई" तब से आ० स० के सुधार की धुन समझें? कहां तक लिखें आपके विचारों का सार और इस धुन का पार पाना दुर्घट है॥

इसके पार पाने में दुर्घट घट्ट घटनापटीयसी बुद्धि आप ही की रहे, हम यहां इतना अवश्य दर्शा देते हैं कि "सूर्य्याचन्द्रमसौधातायथापूर्वमकल्पयत्" इत्यारभ्य प्रलयान्त यह उदाहरण केवल आपके विचार कोटी के शरीर का ही मिलता है जिसने गीता.

उपनिषद्, धर्मशास्त्रादि अनेक शास्त्रों का भाष्य करके पश्चिमावस्था में यह पश्चात्ताप किया हो कि यह मैंने सब मिथ्या लिखे, और अकस्मात् उन मन्तव्यों का ग्रहण कर लिया हो कि जिनको वह यावदायुषं खण्डन करता चला आया हो। और फिर अपने आपको शास्त्रों की मीमांस करने वाला, धर्म की मर्य्यादा बनाने वाला, भूलों को राह बतलाने वाला कहे॥

आप अपने श्रीमुख से कुछ ही कहें लोग तो आपको "नायं लोकोऽस्तिनपरो नचसुखंसंशयात्मनः" इस गीता के श्लोक से ही स्मरण करेंगे। इतना ही नहीं प्रत्युत "यदि मैं स्वयं प्रतिपक्षी बनूं वा प्रतिपक्षियों को सहायता दूं तो कृतघ्नता दोष मुझको होगा" आ० मि० १० । १२ इस प्रतिज्ञा को भंग करके बाल लालनार्थ वक्ष्यमाण उत्तर देने से आपको अपूर्व पुरुष ही मानेंगे। वह उत्तर यह है आ० म० १ । ४ शङ्का समाधान में लिखा है॥

शङ्का—अनुमान तीन वर्ष हुए तब तुमने आर्य्यसिद्धान्त के टाटिल में छपाया था कि हमको चाहें आर्य्यसमाजी लोग कैसा ही बुरा कहें वा लिखें पर हम कदापि उनके साथ द्वेष नहीं करेंगे हम सदा उनका भला ही चाहेंगे इत्यादि। परन्तु अब तुम बड़े समारोह से इन लोगों का खण्डन करते हो सो क्या तुमने अपनी लिखी प्रतिज्ञा से विरुद्ध नहीं किया॥

समाधान—हमारा यह विचार जैसा पूर्व था वैसा ही अब है। हमने अब तक भी ब० आ० स० के साथ द्वेष

वा विरोध नहीं किया न करेंगे। और हमने यह नहीं लिखा वा छापा था कि हमको वेद शास्त्र से विरुद्ध मन्तव्य व० आ० स० का वा स्वामीदयानन्दजी का ज्ञात होगा तो हम उसको भी प्रकाशित न करेंगे॥

समीक्षा—यह उत्तर वाल लालनार्थ नहीं तो और क्या है पण्डित जीने अपने समान सब लोगों को संशय सागर की लहर में निमग्न देखकर यह समझा है कि कुछ न कुछ लिख दो न लिखने से तो अच्छा ही है और नहीं तो द्वेषाग्नि के धूम से दूषित नयन वाले आग्रह मात्र के सनातनी तो इसको समर्थन करेंगे ही, पर यह नहीं सोचा कि हम अपनी प्रतिज्ञा समर्थन में यह क्या लिखते हैं॥

प्रतिज्ञा यह थी कि "स्वयं प्रति पक्षी न बनेंगे प्रतिपक्षियों को सहायता न देंगे, यदि देंगे तो कृतघ्नता का दोष लगेगा," अब उत्तर यह है कि हम शास्त्र की मीमांसा करते हैं आर्य्यसमाज वा स्वामीदयानन्द सरस्वती जीके साथ कोई विरोध नहीं। "पौराणिक मूर्त्तिपूजा, गंगास्नान से मुक्ति, तीर्था वतारादि वेद वाह्य अंशो को मैं वैदिक नहीं मानता, वा मूर्त्तिपूजा भी वैदिक धर्म नहीं, इस कारण उसके मा न्य होने का अनुमोदन मैं नहीं करता। इत्यादि कारण तो पौराणिक मेरे अनुकूल नहीं। आ० सि० भा० १० अं० ७।८।९ क्यों पण्डित साहब अब तो आपके लेखों में उक्त बातों का भी अनुमोदन होने लगा और यदि नहीं तो क्या कारण है कि अब आपकी सारी मीमांसा आर्य्यसमाज के प्रतिपक्ष में क्यों होती

है ? पौराणिक पक्ष के प्रति पक्ष में क्यों नहीं ? आपकी प्रतिज्ञाओं में तो यह भी है कि इससे आगे मैं आ० स० के प्रति पक्ष में कुछ नहीं लिखुंगा, क्या अब भी आप कुछ नहीं लिखते, ? और यदि आपका दोषदर्शी होकर ही भलाई करने का स्वभाव है तो क्या ऐसा प्रेम सनातनधर्मियों से भी पालते हैं ? सचतो यह है आप अपने सौदे को सौ वर्ष तक छिपाएं वा किसी से बिगाड़ें और किसी से बनाएं, अपने आपको शास्त्रज्ञ कहकर सौ प्रकार के गीत गाएं, पर अब आपकी महिमा किसी से छिपी नहीं ॥

हां अब आपकी मीमांसा का सौदा सनातनियों से बनगया है इस लिये अब उनके भले बुरे की मीमांसा से आपका क्या काम । अब तो आप अपने पूर्व लेखों पर चौका फेरने से ही चतुर कहलायंगे, आर्य्यसमाज को ब० आ० स० बतायंगे, और आर्य्यसमाज छोड़ने की एक नई भूमिका बनायंगे। इत्यादि भीमसेनी विचारों के सारासार की अधिक समीक्षा करने से ग्रंथ ग्रंथसाहब के समान बृहत् होता है अतएव इस समीक्षा की समाप्ति करके हम पं० भीमसेन के श्राद्ध विषयक आधुनिक विचारों की समीक्षा करते हैं इस विषय में आप अभिमान पूर्वक यह लिखते हैं कि "अब हम मंत्र संहितादि के प्रमाणों द्वारा सिद्ध करेंगे कि श्राद्ध जीवितों का नहीं किन्तु मृतकोंकाहोताहै" ब्रा०स०१-३पृ० ९३ और यहां यह भी लिखा है कि "जीवित मनुष्यों का पितर मानना सर्वथा युक्ति प्रमाण शून्य है" ब्रा० स० १-२पृ० ९२

पहलेआप "देवपितृकार्याभ्यां न प्रमदितव्यम्" तै० शिक्षा

वल्ली में देव के अर्थ अध्यापक और पितृ के अर्थ मनन शील ज्ञानी के कर आए हैं फिर कैसे कहते हैं कि जीवित मनुष्यों का पितर मानना सर्वथा युक्ति प्रमाण शून्य है । क्या उस समय के युक्ति और प्रमाण अब पुराने हो गए ॥

मृतक श्राद्ध में संहिता का आप यह मंत्र प्रमाण देते हैं:—

उदन्वतीद्यौरवमापीलुमतीतिमध्यमा । तृतीयाह प्रद्यौरितियस्यांपितरआसते ॥ अ० १८ । २ । ४८

इसके यह अर्थ करते हैं कि तीन प्रकार का द्यौ लोक है एक उदन्वती द्यौ है जिसमें यह नीलापन दीखता है । दूसरी मध्यमा उस नीलेपन से ऊपर पीलुमती द्यौ है । तीसरा भाग जो सबसे ऊपर है वह प्रद्यौ कहलाता है जिस में पितर लोग रहते हैं, इन्हीं पितरों का श्राद्ध होता है । स्थूल देहधारी पितर पृथिवी में रह सक्ते हैं तृतीयाकाश में नहीं इससे जीवितों का पितर होना और उनकाश्राद्ध मानना दोनों अंश खण्डित हो जाते हैं ब्रा म० १।३पृ०९४

समीक्षा—पण्डित साहब की प्रतिज्ञा यह है कि जिनका वर्णन यहां तृतीयाकाश में कियागया है वही पितर हैं, उन्हीं का श्राद्ध होता है । पर पण्डित साहब को इतनी प्रतिभा नहीं कि आगे के मंत्र ४७ में यह लिखा है कि "अधिक्षयन्तिपृथिवीमुत" जो पितर पृथिवी में रहते हैं । अब बतलाएं कि यदि इनके अशरीरी पितर देवलोक मेंही रहते थे तो वेदने पृथिवी में रहने वालों को पितर क्यों कहा?

और पुष्ट प्रमाण यह है कि अथर्व० १८।२।२९ मंत्रमें हमने पितरों में दस्युओंका मिलजाना पीछे दिखलाया है उससे स्पष्ट सिद्ध होगया कि पितर जीवित हैं जिनमें उनकी आकृति के दस्यु मिलजाते हैं।

और जो प० भीमसेनजी जीवितमृत की परिभाषा में यह लेख लिखते हैं "कि जो मृत हैं वे भी जीवित और जो जीवित हैं वे भी मृत हैं"। ब्रा०स० १-३ पृ० ९४ इसमें तो पण्डित साहब ने अपूर्व फ़िलासफ़ी छांटी है यदि ऐसाही है तो जीवितों के श्राद्ध से रोष क्यों? फिर आगे जाकर यह लिखते हैं कि "आत्मावात्तिचत्तु" न मरता है न जन्म लेता है किन्तु भूतात्मा मरता जन्मता है। इसकी पुष्टिमें यह प्रमाण देते हैं कि "अधा मृता पितृषुसंभवन्ति" अथर्व० १८।४।४८ और मरे हुए प्राणी (भूतात्मा) पित्रयोनि में उत्पन्न हों॥ ब्रा०स० १-३-९४॥

समीक्षा—उक्त वेद वाक्य के तो यह अर्थ हैं कि जो लोग मृत होते हैं वह पितृनाम ज्ञानी पुरुषों की योनि में जन्मलें, पितृ शब्द का यहां कोई नया अर्थ नहीं, तैत्तिरीयोपनिषद् की शिक्षावल्ली में इस अर्थको प० साहब मान आए हैं अब रही यह बात कि क्षेत्रज्ञ का जन्म प० साहब नहीं मानते और भूतात्मा का मानते हैं, यही भाव आपने इस वेद वाक्य से निकाला है, भला वेद वाक्य में क्षेत्रज्ञ और भूतात्मा कहां हैं? लो वेद को जानेदो इसी बात को बतलाओ कि क्षेत्रज्ञ तो आप जीवात्मा को मानते हैं, गीता० १३।१ में आप इसके अर्थ जीवात्मा के कर आए हैं फिर उस क्षेत्रज्ञ जीवात्मा का जन्म क्यों नहीं होता? यदि आपका

आशय यह है कि भूतात्मा लिंग शरीर विशिष्ट को कहते हैं और क्षेत्रज्ञ शुद्ध चेतन को कहते हैं तो बतलाइये "तदन्तर प्रतिपत्तौरंहतिसंपरिष्वक्तः प्रश्ननिरूपणाभ्याम्" ब्र० सू० ३।१।१ में जीवात्मा का जन्म क्यों लिखा है, क्या अब आप व्यासजी से भी बढ़गए जो क्षेत्रज्ञ के जन्मका निषेध करते हैं अथवा सनातनी बनतेही शङ्करमत की हवा लगगई जिससे जीवात्मा के जन्म मरण को भी जलांज्जली देबैठे, पर क्या अब आप अपने लेखों को मिटा सक्ते हैं, और उनको फेर फार के शङ्करमत से मिला सक्ते हैं कदापि नहीं। पर यहां फेर फार होही क्या सक्ती है स्वामी शङ्कराचार्य्य तो उसीको जीव मानते हैं जो लिङ्ग शरीर विशिष्ट है फिर आपने क्षेत्रज्ञ के जन्मका निषेध कहां से निकाल लिया, मालूम होता है कि जैसे २ आप पश्चिमावस्था में पहुंचते जाते हैं वैसेही पूर्व २ बातों को भूलते चले जाते हैं इसलिये आपकी फ़िलासफ़ी बड़ी टेढ़ी होती चली जाती है क्यों पं० साहब भूतात्मा के अर्थ तो बतलाइये कि भूतात्मा शब्द के क्या अर्थ हैं भूतानां आत्मा—भूतात्मा अर्थात् भूत नाम प्राणियों का आत्मा? अथवा भूत पृथिव्यादि तत्व उनका आत्मा? इन विकल्पों में भूतात्मा के अर्थ परमात्मा वा जीवात्मा के ही होते हैं, फिर यह फ़िलासफ़ी आपने कहांसे निकाली कि जीवात्मा का जन्म नहीं होता भूतात्मा का होता है। आगे आप लिखते हैं कि मैत्रेयी उपनिषद् में इसका अच्छे प्रकार से वर्णन है मालूम होता है कि आपने मैत्रेयी उपनिषद् का पाठ किया है वरन ऐसा भूतात्मा कहांसे निकल आता कि जो मरता जन्मता है और क्षेत्रज्ञ नहीं, अस्तु आप लिखते हैं कि

हम उस भूतात्मा का श्राद्ध करते हैं। तो अब बतलाओ कि उस का तो आप जन्म मरण मानते हैं जन्म समय में जन्मा और मृत्यु काल में मरजायगा फिर श्राद्ध किसको पहुंचेगा? अधिक क्या आपके क्षेत्रज्ञ और भूतात्मा में भेद करने से भान यह होता है कि आप दर्शनशास्त्र को कभी देखते ही नहीं, इसलिये मनमानी फ़िलासफ़ी घड़लेते हैं जैसाकि यह लिखा है "कि इस कुतर्क को पहले से ही निर्मूल काट देने के लिये हम अपने साध्य पक्षस्थ प्रतिज्ञा का स्पष्ट व्याख्यान कर देते हैं" ब्रा० स० १-३-९८

समीक्षा-इस लेख से तो आपने भाषा का पाण्डित्य और तर्क का पाण्डित्य प्रकट कर दिया जो निर्मूल के लिये फिर काटना लिख दिया, अर्थात् भावाभाव प्रतियोगी रूप से अपना अर्थ ही विगाड़ दिया और साध्य पक्षस्थ प्रतिज्ञा लिखकर तो तर्क का तर्पण कर दिया। क्यों पण्डितजी साध्य प्रक्षस्थ प्रतिज्ञा के क्या अर्थ हैं? साध्य का जो पक्ष अर्थात् जिसमें साध्य रहता है उस पक्ष में रहने वाली प्रतिज्ञा? क्या प्रतिज्ञा भी साध्य के समान पक्ष में रहा करती है जो आपने साध्य पक्षस्थ प्रतिज्ञा लिखा? अधिकक्या इस समीक्षण से समय व्यर्थ जाता है यह तो हम प्रथम ही लिख आए हैं कि आप दर्शन शास्त्र का दर्शन नहीं किया करते, इस लिये आपके लेख पौराणिक दिव्य दृष्टि से देखने योग्य होते हैं जैसा कि आप यह लिखते हैं कि "आर्य्यसमाज का श्राद्ध ही मुर्दों का श्राद्ध है जो चारवाक मत से मिलता है और

हम लोग सूक्ष्म भूतात्मा चेतन मात्र का श्राद्ध मानते करते हैं" ब्रा० स० १ । ३ । ८५ ॥

समीक्षा—यदि आप चेतन मात्र का श्राद्ध करते हैं तो "येअग्निष्वात्तायेअनग्निष्वात्ता" यजु० १९ । ६० "येअग्नि दग्धा येअनग्निदग्धा" अथर्व० १८ । २ । ३५ इत्यादि मंत्रों में अग्नि से दाह क्या उस चेतन मात्र का मानते हो? यह बात तो मोटी समझ वालों की समझ में भी आती है कि अग्निष्वात्तादि पितर आपके मत में स्वर्ग में रहते हैं, स्वधारूप अन्न का भोजन करते हैं फिर यह चेतन मात्र का श्राद्ध कैसे हुआ? यह हम पहले भी लिख आए हैं कि यदि अग्निष्वात्तादि शब्दों का लक्ष्यार्थ लेकर मृत जीवों का श्राद्ध सिद्ध करते हो तो जहां २ तात्पर्य्यानुपपत्ति हो वहां २ सभी जगह लक्षणा क्यों नहीं करते? अस्तु दर्शन शास्त्र के अभ्यास से विना लक्ष्यार्थ का विचार तो सूक्ष्म है इसको जाने दो पर यह बतलाओ कि:—

"येनिखाता येपरोप्ता येदग्धा येचोद्धिता" इत्यादि मंत्रों के जो ये अर्थ करते हो कि मरने पर जिनको खोदके गाढ़ दिया, जो बन वा जंगल में छोड़ दिये गए, जो अग्नि में जला दिये गए, ब्रा० स० १ । ३ । ९८ क्या यह भी चेतन मात्र थे? जिनको गाढ़ दिया गया, जला दिया गया, जंगल में फेंक दिया गया, यह तो स्थूल दर्शी की भी समझ में आता है कि इन पृथिवी में गाढ़े हुए और अग्नि में जलाए हुओं को ही आपका अग्नि देवता इकट्ठे करके लाता है और इन्हीं को श्राद्ध का भोजन खिलाता है, अब बतला

ओ कि मुर्दों का श्राद्ध यह हुआ या जिसको आ० स० बतलाता है वह हुआ। आप "अग्निष्वात्ता" शब्द पर बहुत बल देते हैं और अर्थ यह करते हैं कि अग्निनास्वादिता अग्निष्वाता, पर आपको यह मालूम नहीं कि इस अर्थ करने से षत्व नहीं होता, अस्तु। पर आपके चेतन मात्र का श्राद्ध तो इस अर्थ से भी सिद्ध नहीं होता, अब बतलाओ कि पाणिनीय व्याकरण से, संहिता से, तर्क से, किसका अर्थ विरुद्ध हुआ, और जो आप बार २ शतपथ की शरण लेते हैं क्या आप भूल गए, आ०सि० भा०१० अं०१२ में आप यह लिखआए हैं कि स्वामीजी से पौराणिकों का सिद्धान्त इसलिये भिन्न है कि "पौराणिक लोग सब ब्राह्मणों, सब शाखाओं को और सब उपनिषदों वा आरण्यकादि अनेक वा अपरिमित पुस्तकों को वेद मानते हैं" इस लेख में आपने अपने मुख से ही सब ब्राह्मण ग्रंथों को वेदवत् मानना पौराणिक लोगों का मन्तव्य ठहराया है, फिर बार २ शतपथ को स्वतः प्रमाण बनाकर हमारे गले क्यों मढ़ते हो। और यदि शतपथ का कथन वेदानुकूल है तो सिद्ध करो? यह वही शतपथ है जिसमें मत्स्यकी कथामें यह लिखा है कि मत्स्य ने प्रलयकाल में सब ब्राह्माण्ड को अपनी पीठपर उठाकर बचाया और मत्स्य के सींग में रस्सा डालकर हिमालय की चोटी वाले वृक्षके साथ जाबांधा। ऐसी गप्पों के श्रद्धालु तो आजकल आप ही बने हैं जो इन सबको सिद्ध करने के लिये कटिबद्ध हैं, अस्तु, फिर एवंविध शतपथ के वेद विरुद्ध स्थलों का हम को उपालम्भ क्यों?

आप लिखते हैं कि "शतपथ० २-३-४-२-३ में पितरों के लिये प्रत्येक महीने में एक बार और मनुष्यों के लिये प्रतिदिन सायं प्रातःकाल दोबार भोजन प्रजापतिने नियत कियाहै" ब्रा०स०१-३-९९ इससे आपने हमारे जीवित श्राद्ध पक्षमें तो ये आपत्ति दी कि जीवित पितर ऐसे कब हो सकते हैं कि जो एक महीनेमें एकदिन ही खाकर रहें। और अपने पक्षका समाधान यह किया है कि पितृ योनिमें ऐसा सामर्थ्य होजाता है जो महीनेमें एक दिन खाने से महीने भर की तृप्ति रहे। यहां आप इतनी छोटी और थोड़ी तृप्ति सेही तृप्त क्यों होगए, आपके यहां तो १२ वर्ष की तृप्ति लिखी है उसके आगे यह एक महीने वाली शतपथ की तृप्ति क्या अस्तित्व रखती है, अस्तु ऐसे अर्थवादों के अर्थ से व्यर्थ ग्रंथ बढ़ता है, हम आपके संहिता विषयक बल का ही अधिक समीक्षण करते हैं।

संहिता विषय के जो आपने "ये अग्निष्वात्ताः" "ये अग्नि दग्धाः" "ये निखाताः" इत्यादि मंत्र प्रमाण दिये हैं इनके अर्थाभासों का खण्डन तो हम पं० ज्वालाप्रसाद मिश्र की समीक्षा में सम्यग् रीति से कर आए हैं, आपका प्रथम मंत्र "उदन्वती द्यौ" के तीन प्रकार के स्वर्गों का समाधान करना है।

स्वर्ग नरक वाची शब्द देश विशेष के वाचक नहीं किन्तु दशा विशेष के वाचक होते हैं। जैसा कि केनोपनिषद् के अन्त में "स्वर्गे लोके" के आपने यह अर्थ कियें हैं (स्वर्गे) सुख स्वरूप (लोके) सूक्ष्म बुद्धि व ज्ञान दृष्टि से देखने जानने योग्य। इस स्थल में

आपने सुख की दशा विशेष का नाम ही स्वर्ग माना है और फिर कठोपनिषद् के १२वें श्लोक में इस बात को स्पष्ट कर दिया कि जिसमें सुख विशेष हो ऐसे स्थान विशेष को भी स्वर्ग कह सक्ते हैं। जैसे कि "जिसमें दुःख की सामग्री का प्रायः अभाव तथा सुख सामग्री की अधिकता हो ऐसे विशेष स्थान सब पृथिव्यादि में हो सक्ते हैं" आ० स० १।३। भा० १० यहां तो आपने सब स्थान कहके पितृ लोक को भी भीतर सम्मिलित कर दिया कि वह भी पृथिवी लोक में ही हो सक्ता है किसी अन्य स्थान में नहीं। फिर आपका पितृ लोक आकाश में कहां जावना? यदि आप यह कहें कि जिस समय हमने यह उपनिषद् भाष्य किया था उस समय हमको लोक लोकान्तर नहीं सूझते थे अब पौराणिक धर्म की दिव्य दृष्टि से सूझने लगे हैं तो इसका उत्तर–यह है कि शब्दार्थ करने का साधन जो व्याकरण है वहतो आपका उस समय भी यही था और अब भी वही है फिर यह आप कब कह सक्ते हैं कि लोकवाची शब्द दशा विशेष के अर्थ नहीं दे सक्ते, देखो अथर्व० १८।३।२ में सायणाचार्य यह अर्थ करते हैं कि "लोक्यतेऽनुभूयते जन्मान्तर कृत धर्माधर्मफलं सुखदुःखात्मकम् अस्मिन्निति लोकः" अर्थ–लोक्यते नाम अनुभव किया जाता है और जन्मों से किया हुआ धर्माधर्म का फल जिसमें, उसको लोक कहते हैं। इस अर्थ में दशा विशेष के अर्थ लोक शब्द देता है, हमको आपके समान यह आग्रह नहीं कि स्थान विशेष के अर्थ लोक शब्द नहीं देता किन्तु यह अर्थ भी देता है, पर योग्यता के अनुसार अर्थों का निर्णय होता है जैसाकि

"सप्रजापतिरात्मनोवपामुत्खिदत्" इसके यह अर्थ नहीं हो सके कि ब्रह्मा ने अपनी चर्बी को उखाड़ डाला किन्तु तात्पर्य्य विषयीभूत जो अन्यार्थ है उसी की प्रतीति यहां उचित है, सो यहां आपके पशुयज्ञ के स्वाध्यायी लोग तात्पर्य्य विषयीभूत पशु प्राशस्त्य लेते हैं अर्थात् ब्रह्मा ने हवन के लिये वपा नाम अपने मेद को उखाड़ डाला, इस अर्थवाद वाक्य में यह तात्पर्य्य है कि यज्ञ में पशु डालने की श्रेष्ठता है। अस्तु यह उदाहरण आपके मत का है विवक्षितांश यह है कि योग्यता के अभाव में तात्पर्य्य विषयी भूतार्थ का ही बोध होता है अन्यार्थ का नहीं, एवं तीन प्रकार के द्यौ का भी यहां योग्यतानुसार ही अर्थ लिया जायगा॥

यह बात सर्व सम्मत है कि पितृ शब्द रक्षाकरने, पालनकरने केही अभिप्राय से आता है फिर ऐसे पितरों के निवासकी योग्यता ऐसे प्रद्यौ में कैसे पाई जाती है जिसको आप सबसे ऊपर अन्तरिक्ष का तीसरा भाग सूर्य्य के समान प्रकाश वाला मानते हैं। पितरों के निवास की योग्यता वक्ष्यमाण अर्थों में पाई जाती है। प्रकर्षेण दीव्यतीति-प्रद्यौः, अर्थात् जो अत्यन्त प्रकाश वाली दशा है उसमें पितर रहते हैं। इसी अभिप्राय से पितृयाणमार्ग को चन्द्रलोक की प्राप्ति कहते हैं अर्थात् वह चन्द्रलोक के समान प्रकाशवाली दशा में रहते हैं, और यही अर्थ आपने भी गी०८।२५ में किये हैं जैसे कि "चान्द्रमसंज्योतिप्राप्यनिवर्तते" चन्द्रमा सम्बन्धि सोम तत्व प्रधान सर्वोत्तम स्वर्गादि नामक सुख को प्राप्त होकर

संसार मेंही निवृत्ति हुआ रहता है किन्तु शरीरान्त के पश्चात् मुक्त नहीं होता। क्यों पण्डितजी यहां आपका अन्तरिक्ष का तीसरा भाग कहां गया, यहां तो पितृयाण के यात्रियों को सर्वोत्तम सुख में ही प्राप्त कराके छोड़ दिया अन्तरिक्ष के तीसरे भाग में क्यों न पहुंचाया। इस प्रकार पितरों के निवासस्थान की योग्यता से उक्तार्थ ही पाए जाते हैं अन्तरिक्ष का तीसराभाग नहीं। एवं तीन प्रकार का द्यौ उत्तम, मध्यम, मन्दावस्था के अभिप्राय से कहा गया है, मध्यमा द्यौ पीलुमती कहलाती है अर्थात् उसका प्रद्यौ की अपेक्षासे मध्यम प्रकाश है। "उदन्वती द्यौ" एक प्रथमावस्था की द्यौ है उसका जल के समान प्रकाश है जैसाकि जल शुभ्रवर्ण का होता है, पर इन तीनों अवस्थाओं में से (पितर) ज्ञानी लोगों की प्रद्यौ अवस्था है, राजसों की मध्यमा द्यौ अवस्था है, और तामसों की अवमा द्यौ अवस्था है अर्थात् मन्दावस्था है। उक्त तीन प्रकार की अवस्थाओं में से प्रद्यौ को पं० भीमसेनजी ने यमराज का पितृलोक बनाकर अतिभयानक बनादिया।

उक्त प्रकारसे इनके श्रीमुखसे निकले हुए आक्षेपों का इन्हींके श्रीमुखसे समाधान कियागया। अब औरलो अथर्व० १८। ४। ७८ मंत्र में आप "स्वधापितृभ्यःपृथिवीसद्भ्यः" इस मंत्र की प्रतीक देकर पण्डितजी ने अपने प्रद्यौ अन्तरिक्ष के तीसरे भागमें रहने वाले पितरों को फिर उठाकर पृथिवी पर फेंक दिया, अस्तु पितर आकाश में रहें वा पाताल में रहें वा पृथ्वी में रहें हमें इससे क्या, हमने तो पं० जी के मृतकश्राद्ध का बल देखना था सो आप

गन्धमात्र भी नहीं निकाल सके ॥

सप्तविंशति मन्तव्ये मृतकश्राद्ध खण्डनं समाप्तम् ॥

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(२८) इस में स्वामीजीने विद्वानों का सत्कार पदार्थ विद्या से उपयोग और अग्निहोत्रादिकों से जल वायु की शुद्धि इत्यादि अनेक कर्म प्रधान यज्ञ माने हैं, वास्तव में वैदिक यज्ञ यही थे इसी अभिप्राय से गीता में लिखा है किः—

एवंवहुविधायज्ञाविततात्रह्मणोमुखे। कर्मजान्विद्धितान्सवार्नेवंज्ञात्वाविमोक्षसे ॥ गी० ४। ३२

अर्थ—एवं बहुत प्रकार के यज्ञ ब्रह्मणोमुखे नाम वेद में कथन कियें गए हैं उन सबको कर्म प्रधान ही समझो, उक्त यज्ञों के यथार्थ ज्ञान से तुम मुक्त हो सक्के हो। वास्तव में यज्ञ यह थे जिनको अब पौराणिक लोगों ने हिंसा प्रधान बना दिया, जैसाकि "हृदयस्याग्रे वद्यति" इत्यादि वाक्यों में यह लिखा है कि पहले पशु का हृदय काटे फिर अन्य अंगों को काटे, पर वेद में इसका गंधमात्र भी नहीं पाया जाता, प्रत्युत निषेध पाया जाता है देखोः—

"मुग्धादेवाउतशुनायजन्तोतगोरङ्गैः पुरुधायजन्त" अथर्व० १७। ५। ५ अर्थ—वे मूर्ख यजमान हैं जो कुत्तों से लेकर गौओं के अंगों तक यज्ञ में डालते हैं ॥

निन्दित से निन्दित यहां कुत्ता लिया और उत्तम से उत्तम गौ, इससे यह सिद्ध किया कि किसी प्राणी मात्र का यज्ञ में बध नहीं

करना चाहिये। इसी लिये जिन ग्रंथों में पशुवध यज्ञ लिखे हुए हैं उनका निषेध महाभारत में इस प्रकार है "धूर्तैप्रकल्पितंह्येतन्नै तद्वेदेषुकल्पितम्" अर्थ—यह पशुयज्ञ सब धूर्त्तों ने कल्पना किये हैं वेदों में नहीं। उक्त भाव श्रीस्वामीजीने अपने (२८) मन्तव्य में प्रकाशित कर दिया जिससे भविष्यत् में कोटी २ प्राणियों के प्राण बचेंगे॥

(२९) इसमें यह लिखा है कि वेद विद्या विहीन दुष्टाचारी मनुष्यों का नाम दस्यु है, और आर्य्य वह हैं जो श्रेष्ठ हैं।

(३०) में आर्य्यवर्त्त देश की सीमा का वर्णन है इसमें कोई पूर्वोत्तर पक्षकी आवश्यकता नहीं। एवं (३०) से (४६) तक सब स्पष्ट मन्तव्य हैं जिनमें व्याख्या की आवश्यकता नहीं।

(४७) इस मन्तव्य में नियोग का वर्णन है "जो विवाह के पश्चात् पति के मरजाने आदि वियोग में हुआ करता है"। आदि शब्द के अर्थ यहां देशत्याग आश्रमत्याग के हैं, "अथवा नपुंसकत्वादि स्थिर रोगों में स्त्री वा आपत्काल में पुरुष स्ववर्ण वा अपने से उत्तम वर्णस्थ स्त्री वा पुरुष के साथ सन्तानोत्पत्ति करना" नपुंसकत्वादि रोगों से तात्पर्य्य उन रोगों का है जिनसे मनुष्य स्पर्श के योग्य नहीं रहता।

इस विषय में बहुत लोग विप्रतिपन्न हैं कोई इसको व्यभिचार बतलाता है, कोई इसको अनाचार बतलाता है, कोई इसको देश काल के अनुकूल अकर्तव्य बतलाता है, कोई इसको सामाजिक मन्तव्य बतलाता है एवं विध अनेक संशयों को दूर करने के लिये हम इसकी सविस्तार व्याख्या करते हैं!

पहले उन लोगों का उत्तर देते हैं जो अपने आपको वैदिक कहकर हमसे विरोध करते हैं।

कुहस्विद्दोषाकुहवस्तोरश्विनाकुहाभिपित्वं करतःकुहोषतुः। कोवांशयुत्राविधवेवदेवरं मर्यंनयोषाकृणुतेसधस्थआ॥ ऋ० १०।४०।२

इस मंत्रमें (कोवांशयुत्राविधवेव देवरं) यह वाक्य सनातन धर्मियों को नियोग से नहीं निकलने देता। सायणाचार्य्य इसके यह अर्थ करते हैं कि "शयुत्राशयनेविधवेव व यथा मृतभर्तृकानारीदेवरंभर्तृभ्रातरंअभिमुखीकरोति" अर्थ-शयन में विधवा नाम मरे हुए भर्ता वाली स्त्री जिस प्रकार देवर को वर लेती है, इस प्रकार हे अश्विनी कुमारो तुमको किसने वर लिया। इस कथन से सायणाचार्य्य ने यह स्पष्ट कर दिया कि विधवा स्त्री देवर के साथ नियोग कर सक्ती है, पं० ज्वालाप्रसाद मिश्र इसके यह अर्थ करते हैं कि "हे अश्विनौ तुम दोनों रात्रि में कहां थे और (वस्तोः) नाम दिन में कहां थे जिससे न रात्रि में न दिन में तुम्हारा दर्शन हमें मिला, स्नान भोजनादि की प्राप्ति कहां की कहां निवास किया सर्वथा तुम्हारी आगमन प्रकृति नहीं जानी जाती (कोवांशयुत्रा विधवा इव देवरम्)शयन में देवरको विधवावत् कौन यजमान तुमको परिचरण करता हुआ क्योंकि परकीय पति होने से दुराराध्य देवर को मृतभर्तृका यत्न से आराधन करती है (इस कर्म को निन्दितजान छिपकर बड़े यत्न से उससे मिलती है) तद्वत् तुमको किस यजमान ने आराधान किया यथा एकान्तस्थान

में मृतभर्तृका नारी मनुष्यको अपने शरीर के साथ संबन्धकर परिचरण करती है तद्वत् तुम्हारी किसने सेवा की जो हमें दर्शन नहीं प्राप्त हुए, इस मंत्र में अल्प देवर कर महान्त अश्विनी कुमार उपमेय होते हैं और विधवा शब्द से यजमान उपमेय होता है द० ति० भा० पृ० १४६ समीक्षा—पं० ज्वालाप्रसाद मिश्र ने तो बिना ननु नच मे इस बात को मान लिया कि विधवा नाम उसी का है जिस का पति मर चुका हो, और जो अश्विनी कुमारों को देवरस्थानी बनाया और यजमान को विधवास्थानी, इस उपमान उपमेय पर तो पं० जी ने अपने पाण्डित्य की समाप्ति करदी, धन्य हैं ऐसे देव और उपासकों को। अस्तु विवक्षितांश यहां यह है कि सायणाचार्य्य और पं० ज्वालाप्रसाद मिश्र ने विधवा स्त्री और देवर के सम्बन्ध का दृष्टान्त इस मंत्र में स्वीकार किया, पर पं० भीमसेन शर्म्मा जिनको अब नई ही सनातनधर्म की हवा लगी है उन्होंने सनातन सायण की शरण छोड़कर यह अर्थ किये हैं कि जिस स्त्री का वाग् दान के अनन्तर पति मर गया हो उस स्त्री का विधवा शब्द से यहां ग्रहण है, इस बात को पुराने सनातनधर्मी सभी भूल गए थे जिसको अब पण्डित जी ने निकाला,

पं० जी कहते हैं कि कन्या भी विधवा होती है, सायण और पं० ज्वालाप्रसाद मिश्र ने तो "विधवेवदेवरम्" इस वाक्य में विधवा नारी के अर्थ किये हैं और पं० भीमसेन "यस्याम्रियतकन्यायावाचासत्वेकृतेपतिः" इस श्लोक का प्रमाण देकर यह सिद्ध करते हैं कि जिस कन्या का वाग दान करने के अनन्तर

पति मर जाता है वह भी विधवा कहलाती है। यह भीमसेनी परिभाषा अब निकली है कि कन्यात्व और वैधव्य यह दोनों धर्म एक धर्म्मी में रह सक्ते हैं पर यह कठिनाई पड़ेगी कि जिन मनु के श्लोकों में इनके मतानुकूल विधवा विवाह का निषेध लिखा है उनके अर्थ भीमसेनी परिभाषा में कन्या विवाह निषेध के होजावेंगे।

"विधवेवदेवरम्" इस वाक्य के कारण उक्त मंत्र में सनातन धर्मियों को बड़ी फेर फार करनी पड़ती है, अश्विनी कुमारों को देवर बनाना पड़ता है, विचारे यजमानों को विधवा स्त्री बनाना पड़ता है। मंत्र के अर्थ सीधे यह हैं कि (अश्विनौ) हे विवाहित स्त्री पुरुषो तुमने (दोषा) रात्रि को कहां निवास किया और (वस्तोः) नाम दिन में कहां निवास किया, (कुहाऽभितीत्वम्) नाम कहां तुमने खान पान किया और (कोवांशयुत्रावविधवेवदेवरम्) नाम विधवा और देवर के समान तुम्हारा शयन स्थान कौन है, अर्थात् जैसे विधवा देवर की सहधर्मिणी होती है इस लिये उनका शयन स्थान और खानपानादि व्यवहार पृथक् नहीं होता इस प्रकार विवाह सम्बन्ध से तुम्हारा भी पति पत्नि भाव स्थिर हो गया, इस लिये तुम्हें भी पृथक् नहीं रहना चाहिये, इस भाव को दृढ़ करने के लिये प्रश्नकी रीति से रात्रि दिन का निवास और खानपानादि व्यवहार पूछा गया है, जैसे कि विवाह के मंत्रों में प्रतिज्ञाएं हैं, उन प्रतिज्ञाओं के दृढ़तार्थ यह मंत्र है। जो इस में वादी यह प्रश्न करते हैं कि रात्रि दिन का निवास स्थान किसी स्त्री से पूछना सभ्यता की बात नहीं? इसका उत्तर यह है कि जैसे विवाह की

प्रतिज्ञाएं ईश्वर गृहस्थ सम्बन्ध की दृढ़ता के अभिप्राय से करवाता है उसमें कोई असभ्यता नहीं समझी जाती, इस प्रकार यहां भी असभ्यता का दोष नहीं, प्रत्युत असभ्यता तो यह है कि जो बिचारे अश्विनी कुमार देवताओं को विधवा रूपी यजमानों के शयन स्थान में सुलाने की चेष्टा की गई है। और जैसे इसी मंत्र में "मर्यंनयोषाकृणुतेसधस्थआ" इस वाक्य में मर्य नाम मनुष्य को और योषा नाम उसकी स्त्री जिस प्रकार शयन में सेवन करती है, अर्थात् जिस प्रकार स्वपत्नी अपने पति को सेवन करती है इस प्रकार तुम भी इस गृहस्थ धर्म का पालन करो। हमारे सिद्धान्त पर जो यह प्रश्न किया गया है कि यह कौन पूछता है कि तुम दोनों दिन रात को कहां रहे? इसका उत्तर यह है कि जो "मर्यंनयो षाकृणुते" इस वाक्य को कहता है वही पूछता है अर्थात् उपदेश रूप से यह ईश्वर की उक्ति है इस लिये कोई दोष नहीं। दूसरा मंत्र यह है कि जिसमें आधुनिक सनातनधर्मी नियोग से भयभीत होकर भिन्न २ भांति वाले हो जाते हैं॥

उदीर्ष्वनार्यभिजीवलोकंगतासुमेतमुपशेषएहि। हस्तग्राभस्यदिधिषोस्त वेदं पत्युर्जनित्वमभिसंब भूथ॥ ऋ० १०। १८। ८

इस मंत्रमें "दिधिषु" शब्द आया है जिसके अर्थ दूसरे पति के हैं इस भयसे पं० भीमसेन ने यह लिखा है कि "वेदे रूढ़ार्थो न कस्यापि विदुषोऽभिमतोऽपितुर्यौगिकार्थः सर्वमीमां

सादिशास्त्रकारानुमत:" ब्रा० स० १-११-४६७ अर्थ-वेद में (रूढ़ार्थः) नाम किसी वस्तु विशेष का ग्रहण संज्ञामात्र से किसी विद्वान् को अभिमत नहीं किन्तु (यौगिकार्थः) नाम जो शब्द के अवयवों से अर्थ कियाजाता है वह सब मीमांसादि शास्त्रकारों को अभिमत है अर्थात् यहां दिधिषु शब्द से दूसरा पति नहीं लियाजाता किन्तु धारक व पोषक लियाजाता है, उक्त लेखसे पं० भीमसेन ने अपनी सम्पूर्ण सनातन पुज़ीशन पर पोचा फेर दिया, क्योंकि यौगिकार्थ करने से न आपके ब्रह्मा, विष्णु, महेश, यह देव त्रयी रहेगी और न वरुणादि देव विशेष रहेंगे न यमपुरी का राजा यम रहेगा. फिर तो वरुणादि शब्द अपने अवयवार्थों से वरुणादि देवताओं से दूर चले जावेंगे, इस प्रकार पं० भीमसेन के माने हुए कर्मकाण्ड का गन्धमात्र भी न रहेगा। पर क्या करें अर्थी दोषं न पश्यति, इस न्यायानुकूल पं० जी को वेदों के सब अर्थ यौगिक मानने में स्वमत का दोष दृष्टि नहीं पड़ा, और अभ्युपगम विरोध की पं० जी ने यहां किञ्चन्मात्र भी अपेक्षा नहीं की, अर्थात् यह नहीं सोचा कि अमरकोष में दिधिषु के अर्थ नियुक्त पति के हैं, फिर हम स्वमत विरुद्धार्थ क्यों करते हैं। अमरकोष द्वितायकाण्ड मनुष्यवर्ग श्लो० २३ में दिधिषु पति का वर्णन है।

पं० ज्वालाप्रसाद मिश्र ने यहां स्वामीजी के अर्थपर यह आक्षेप किया है कि जब पति मरा पड़ा है तब यह उपदेश उसको कैसे हो सक्ता है कि तू इसको छोड़कर दिधिषु पति के सन्मुख हो, मिश्रजी के विचार में वेद स्थायी दृढ़ उपदेशों को लौकिक लज्जा

और भयसे छोड़देता है यदि ऐसाही होता तो' विधवेवदेवरम्' यह मंत्रमें दृष्टान्त क्यों दिया जाता।

और "उदीर्ष्वनार्यभिजीवलोकं" इसवाक्यमें जीवलोककी लक्ष्य रखकर यह क्यों कथन कियाजाता कि तूं यहां से जीवलोक का ध्यान धरके उठ, क्योंकि यह कथन भी तो आपके विचार में प्रेम को कम करता है, आपका सनातन प्रेम तो तभी स्थिर रहता है कि "इयंनारीपतिलोकंवृणाना" अथर्व० १८।३।१ इस मंत्रके सायण भाष्यानुकूल उस विचारीका मृत पति के साथ अग्निमें प्रवेश कर दियाजाय।

सायणाचार्य्य इस मंत्रके भाष्यमें लिखते हैं कि प्राचीनधर्म को पालनकरती हुई स्त्री मृत पति के साथ मरण को प्राप्त होती है। इस अर्थ को स्मृति से इस प्रकार दृढ़ करते हैं कि:—

भर्तारम् उद्धरेन्नारी प्रविष्टा सहपावकम्।
व्यालग्राही यथा सर्पं बलाद् उद्धरते बिलात्॥

अर्थ—मृत भर्त्ता के साथ चितामें प्रविष्ट हुई नारी उसके उद्धार करने की इच्छा करे, जिस प्रकार सांपके पकड़ने वाला सांप को बिलसे निकाल लेता है इस प्रकार वह बलसे उद्धार करे।

इत्यादि प्रेमपालन तो आपके मतमें तभी हो सक्ता है जब इसका अनुष्ठान किया जाता सो अब आपका यह वैदिक अनुष्ठान राजधर्म से विरुद्ध है इसलिये प्रेम पालन तो मनोरथ मात्र है फिर जब उक्त प्रेम में ऐसी लाचारी है तो स्वामीजी का यह कथन कि तू इस

मृत पति को छोड़ कर दिधिषु पति के अभिमुख हो क्यों बुरा लगता है ।

इस मंत्रके सत्यार्थ यह हैं कि हे नारी (जीवलोकं) नाम जीवन लोक का विचार के (उदीर्ष्व) नाम इस पति के पाससे उठखड़ी हो जो यह प्राण रहित मृत पड़ा हुआ है (हस्तग्राभस्यदिधिषो) नाम यह नियुक्तपति जो तुम्हारा हस्त ग्रहण करने वाला है इस पति के (जनित्व) नाम स्त्रीत्वभाव को (संवभूथ) नाम सन्मुख हो। अर्थात् मृत पति के अनन्तर अपने जीवन का विचार करके दिधिषु पति की शरण को प्राप्त हो ।

जो पं० ज्वालाप्रसाद मिश्र इसमें यह आशङ्का करते हैं कि श्मशान भूमि में यह मंत्र पढ़ा जाता है उस समय नियोग का कौनसा अवसर है ? इसका उत्तर यह है कि यह मंत्र सिद्ध वस्तु प्रतिपादकत्वेन नियोग की विधि का बोधक है फिर इसपर यह प्रश्न नहीं हो सक्ता कि यह शोक समयमें नियोगका विधान करता है ॥

और सनातनधर्म के मन्तव्यानुकूल भी उक्त प्रश्न कुछ अस्तित्व नहीं रखता क्योंकि उन्होंने इस मंत्र का अन्त्येष्टि कर्म में विनियोग किया है और यह उनके मत में नियम नहीं कि जो मंत्र जिस कर्म में विनियुक्त हो अर्थ भी वही रखता हो, जैसेकि "इदं विष्णुर्विचक्रमे" यह मंत्र शकट मार्गस्थ सुवर्ण पर आहुति देने में विनियुक्त है और अर्थ अवतार के देता है एवं "उदीर्ष्व नारी" यह मंत्र अन्त्येष्टि कर्म में विनियोग वाला होकर अर्थ नियोग के दे तो क्या दोष है ? उक्त प्रकार से नियोग विषय में दो पुष्ट प्रमाण दिये

गए (१) "विधवेवदेवरम्" (२) "दिधिषुपतिः"

(३) "यापूर्वंपतिंवित्त्वाऽथाऽन्यंविन्दतेपरम्" अथर्व० १ । ५ । २७ ॥

(४) "समानलोकोभवतिपुनर्भुवापरः पतिः" अथर्व० १ । ५ । २८ ॥

अर्थ-(३) जो पूर्व पति के वियुक्त होने के अनन्तर अन्यपति को लाभ करती है ॥

अर्थ-(४) (पुनर्भू) स्त्री का दूसरा पति (समानलोकः) नाम समान गुणों वाला (भवति) होता है ॥

उक्त मंत्रों की प्रतीकों को वैदिक नियोग के खण्डन करने वाले आधुनिक सनातनियों का विधाता भी अन्यार्थ वा उपचारार्थ नहीं कह सक्ता । फिर कैसे कहा जाता है कि वैदिक नियोग में कोई वेद मंत्र प्रमाण नहीं ॥

इयंनारीपतिलोकंवृणानानिपद्यत उपत्वामर्त्यप्रेतम् । धर्मंपुराणमनुपालयन्ती तस्यैप्रजां द्रविणां चेहधेहि अथर्व० १८ । ३ । १ ॥

अर्थ-मृत पति को छोड़कर पतिलोक की इच्छा वाली जो यह स्त्री है हे परमात्मन् इसको सन्तति और धन दो । इस मंत्र में सन्तति की प्रार्थना इस बात को सिद्ध करती है कि वह सन्तति नियुक्त पति से ही अभिप्रेत है न कि मृत पति से, मृत पति में सन्तति की योग्यता नहीं ॥

सायण इससे सती की रसम निकालते हैं, और पं० ज्वाला प्रसाद मिश्र इसके यह अर्थ करते हैं कि मृत पति का धन और प्रजा इसकी है, पर यह नहीं सोचते कि यहां तो भविष्यधन और भविष्य प्रजा के लिये प्रार्थना है फिर कैसे कहा जा सक्ता है कि प्रथम पति की सन्तान और धन इसको दो। क्या सनातनधर्म्म के दायभागानुकूल प्रथम पति की सन्तति इससे कोई छीनता था जो इस मंत्र ने अपूर्व विधान किया। पं० भीमसेन इसके यह अर्थ करते हैं कि जो इसके पास सन्तति और धन है वह नाश न हो किन्तु स्थिर रहे॥

और सायण यह अर्थ करते हैं कि इस लोक और परलोक के लिये इसको सन्तति और धन दो। सच्चाई यह है कि "तस्यै प्रजांद्रविणञ्चधेहि" इसके लिये प्रजा और धन धारण कराओ अर्थात् दो। इस वाक्यार्थ में सब सनातनधर्मी खण्ड २ हो जाते हैं कोई परलोक के लिये धन की प्रार्थना मानता है, कोई पहले पति के धन और सन्तति मिलने की प्रार्थना करता है, कोई धन सन्तति को स्थिर रखने की प्रार्थना करता है। पर उनके मतानुकूल इस अनिष्ट चिन्तन को कोई स्मृति पथ में नहीं लाता कि विधवा के लिये सन्तति की प्रार्थना उनके मत में ऐसी ही अनिष्ट है जैसे कोई कन्या को कहे कि पुत्रवतीभव। फिर कैसे कहा जाता है कि इस मंत्र की सङ्गति स्वामी जीके मत में नहीं लगती। स्वामी जीके मत में तो उक्त मंत्र नियोग को विधान करता है और नियोगाभिप्राय से विधवा के लिये भी सन्तति की प्रार्थना की जाती है। ननु इस मंत्र में "धर्मंपुराणमनुपालयन्ती"

यह लिखा है कि जो प्राचीन धर्म को पालन करती है। धर्म का पालन तो सती होने से अथवा पति मरणानन्तर यावदायुषं तुलसी की माला पहनकर रहना अन्यपति की इच्छा न करना यही धर्म का पालन हो सक्ता है फिर इस मंत्र से नियोग के अर्थ कैसे निकलते हैं ?

उत्तर—पहली बात तो यह है कि 'धर्मंपुराणमनुपालयन्ती' यह कहकर फिर इसके लिये सन्तान की प्रार्थना की गई है इससे पाया जाता है कि यहां धर्म का पालन नियोग धर्म के अभिप्राय से आया है॥

दूसरी बात यह है कि यदि यह शङ्का की जाय कि धर्म का पालन तो पतिव्रतधर्म कहलाता है नियोग कौन धर्म हुआ ? इसका उत्तर यह है, म० भा० आ० प० अ० १०३ श्लो० १० में यह लिखा है कि:—

तयोरुतपादयापत्यं सन्तानाय कुलस्यनः
मन्नियोगान्महावाहो धर्मंकर्त्तुमिहार्हसि॥

अर्थ—इनमें नियोग से सन्तति उत्पन्न करो, इस धर्म करने के लिये तुम योग्य हो॥

इससे आगे श्लोक १३ में भीष्मजीने सत्यवती से यह कहा है—

असंशयं परोधर्मस्त्वया मातर उदाहृतः।

अर्थ—इसमें संदेह नहीं कि हे मातः तुमने यह नियोग रूपी परंधर्म मुझको कहा। इत्यादि

महाभारतमें तो अध्यायोंके अध्याय नियोगको धर्म कहते हैं,

फिर तुम इसको अधर्म कैसे कह सक्ते हो और इन वाक्यों में ननु नच कैसे कर सक्ते हो, क्योंकि यह वाक्य तुम्हारे मतमें साक्षात् व्यास भगवान् के मुख से निकले हैं जो चौबीस अवतारों में से एक जीता जागता अवतार है। यहां यह भी याद रहे कि नियोगका वियोग करनेके लिये महाभारतादि पुस्तकों से सनातनभाइयों को पहले वियुक्त होना पड़ेगा, पर यह वियोग दुर्घट काम ही नहीं अपितु असम्भव है॥

अदेवृघ्न्यपतिघ्नीहैधि शिवा पशुभ्यः सुयमा सुवर्चाः। प्रजावती वीर सूर्देवृकमास्यो नेममग्निं गार्हपत्यं सपर्य॥ अ० १४। २। १८

इस मंत्र में पहले तो पं० ज्वालाप्रसादमिश्र ने स्वामीजीकी यह ग़लती निकाली है कि स्वामीजीने ह्रस्व अकार के स्थान में दीर्घ आकार लिखा है, इसका उत्तर तो मिश्रजीको मिलजाता यदि मिश्र स्वामीजीकी ऋग्वेदादिभाष्य भूमिका देखते, वहां यथावस्थित ह्रस्व अकार है, जब प्रथम पुस्तक में यह पाठ लिखा गया तो फिर सत्यार्थप्रकाशमें स्वामीजीका दोष क्या। पर इनको इस बात मे क्या इन्होंने तो छिद्रान्वेषी होकर वैदिकधर्म के एकत्व को छिन्न भिन्न करना है॥

हमारे सनातनभाइयोंको यहां यहभी स्मर्ण रहे कि हम पौराणिक व्यासके समान स्वामीजीको चौवीस अवतारों में सम्मिलित करके ऐसा सर्वज्ञ नहीं मानते कि वह मात्राकीभी अशुद्धि न करते हों। इस मंत्र के वादीकृत अर्थों में और स्वामीजीके अर्थों में और

कोई भेद नहीं केवल "देवृकामा" शब्द में विवाद है सो इस बात से निवृत्त होजाता है कि जब निरुक्तकार देवर को दूसरा वर मानते हैं तो फिर नियोगाभिप्राय से यदि कामना लीजाय तो क्या दोष है ?

और जो पं० ज्वालाप्रसादमिश्रने इस मंत्र के अर्थ में "भ्रातृकामा" शब्द लिखकर "देवृकामा" के साथ मेल किया है यह सनातनधर्म के अर्थों से अत्यन्त चिन्तनीय है क्योंकि जिसमें यमयमीकी कथा भाई बहनकी "भ्रातृकामा" के अर्थ भी "देवृकामा" के समान ही देती है तो फिर अत्यन्त भेद प्रदर्शनार्थ उक्त दृष्टान्त क्यों ? यदि यह कहा जाय कि उक्त यमयमीकी कथा भी भाई बहनके संयोग प्रतिषेध के लिये है तो फिर इस मंत्रार्थका क्या उत्तर ?

अघातागच्छानुचरायुगानियत्रजामयः कृणवन्न जामि । उपबर्बृहिवृषभायबाहुमन्यमिच्छस्वसुभगेपतिंमत् ॥ ऋ० १० । १ । १० । १०

सायणाचार्य्य के अनुयायी इसके यह अर्थ करते हैं कि यमकी बहन जो यमी थी उसने जब यमसे पतिभाव की प्रार्थनाकी तो यम ने यह उत्तर दिया कि ऐसे युग आयेंगे जिनमें (जामयः) नाम भगनियें (अजामि) नाम और स्त्रियों का काम करेंगी, अर्थात् स्वस्त्रीवत् व्यहार करेंगी । इसलिये हे सुभगे इस समय तू मेरे को अन्यपति की इच्छाकर । पं० ज्वालाप्रसादमिश्र भी इसके यही अर्थ करते हैं ॥

यदि आजकल विनयपूर्वक किसी सरल सनातनधर्मी पण्डित से पूछाजाय कि भगवन् वह उत्तर युग आगए हैं अब यमके वचन का अनुष्ठान क्यों नहीं कियाजाता, तो वह उत्तर यही देता है कि हिन्दुओं से भिन्न इतर जातियों में ऐसा होता है। फिर प्रश्न यह उत्पन्न होता है कि वैदिक अनुष्ठान तो फिर इतर जातियों में ही हुआ नकि वेदाभिमानी पौराणिकों में ॥

ननु-तुम इस पर क्या आक्षेप करते हो तुम्हारे मतमें भी तो यह दोष समान ही है, क्योंकि तुम भी तो इस कथा के अर्थ भाई बहन से भिन्न कुछ नहीं कर सक्ते। प्रत्युत "अन्यमिच्छस्वसुभगे पतिंमत्" इतनी प्रतीक लिखकर तुम्हारे स्वामीजीने इसके अर्थ और भी बुरे कर दिये कि असमर्थपुरुष अपनी स्त्री से यह कहे कि तू मेरे से भिन्न किसी अन्यपतिकी इच्छाकर, इसमें तो एक नहीं दो दोष आए-(१) बहन का भाई से पतिभाव की प्रार्थना करने का (२) प्रकरण विरुद्ध नियोग के अर्थ करने का ॥

उत्तर-पहली बात जो यह कही गई है कि तुम भी यम यमी की कथा के दोष से दूर नहीं हो सक्ते? इसका उत्तर यह है कि यह यम यमी सूक्त भाई बहन के अभिप्राय से नहीं लिखा गया किन्तु यमी पुरुष की यमों में दृढ़ता बोधन करने के अभिप्राय से लिखा गया है। जो स्त्री उक्त पुरुष को यमों से गिराना चाहती थी उसका नाम यहां यमी है। "यमस्यस्त्रीयमी" व्याकरण से यह अर्थ लाभ होता है। यहां "ङीसप्रत्यय है" व्याकरण से भाई बहन के अर्थ यम यमी शब्द से किसी प्रकार भी सिद्ध नहीं होते। यम से पतिभाव की प्रार्थना करने के अभिप्राय से उसको

यमी कथन किया गया है अर्थात् "यमस्यस्त्रीयमी" इस लिये इसको यमी लिखा ॥

यम शब्द के अर्थ यहां "यमोविद्यतेयस्यसयमः मर्थाद्यच से यह अर्थ हो जाते हैं कि जो यमों वाला हो उसकोयम कहते हैं" यम यह हैं:—

अहिंसा सत्यस्तेयब्रह्मचर्य्यापरिग्रहायमा । यो० स० । पा० । सू० । ३० ॥

अहिंसा-प्राणियों का हनन न करना ॥

सत्य-सत्यवाणीवाला होना ।

स्तेय-चोरी न करना ।

ब्रह्मचर्य्य-स्त्री स्पर्श न करना ।

अपरिग्रह-आवश्यकता से अधिक वस्तु पास न रखना । उक्त पांच यम हैं यह जिस में घटते हो उसको यम कहते हैं, ऐसे दृढ़ व्रतधारी पुरुष का इस सूक्त में वर्णन है ॥

इस भाव को स्पष्ट करने के लिये हम यहां सम्पूर्ण सूक्त के अर्थ लिखते हैं ।

ओचित्सखायं सख्या ववृत्यां तिरः पुरूचिदर्णवं जगन्वान् । पितुर्नपातमादधीत वेधा अधिक्षमि प्रतरं दीध्यानः ॥ १ ॥

अर्थ—पूर्वोक्त दृढ़ व्रती यम को प्रलोभन करने वाली यमी स्त्री (तिरःपुरूचिदर्णवं जगन्वान्) जो एक बड़ेभारी निर्जन देश

समुद्र के किसी एक द्वीपको प्राप्तथी (चित्सखायं) उस पूज्य यमं के सन्मुख (सख्यावव्रतां) नाम मैत्रीवृत्ति के भाव से जो स्थिरहुई, और जाकर कहा कि परमेश्वर ने हम दोनों को सुन्दर पुत्रकी सन्तानोत्पत्ति के लिये ध्यान किया है, अर्थात् मुझे और तुम्हें सन्तानोत्पत्ति के लिये बनाया है ।

नते सखा सख्यं वष्ट्ये तत्सलक्ष्मा यद्विषुरूपा भवाति । महस्पुत्रासो असुरस्य वीरा दिवो धर्त्तार उर्विया परिख्यन् ॥ २ ॥

अर्थ—हे यमी (तेसखा) नाम ब्रह्मचर्य्य अवस्था में तुम्हारे समान धर्मवाला होने से तुम्हारा सखा मैं तुम्हारे साथ (सख्य) नाम सहवासरूपी मैत्रीभाव की (वष्टि) नाम कामना (न) नाम नहीं, अर्थात् मैं तुम्हारी पत्नीभाव से कामना नहीं करसकता, क्योंकि (सलक्ष्मा) नाम ब्रह्मचर्य्य के चिन्होंवाली होने से (यद्विश्वरूपा) नाम विषमरूपवाली (भवाति) है । यह लेट लकार का प्रयोग है अर्थात् मैं (यम) नाम ब्रह्मचर्य्य प्रधान पांचयमों से सम्पन्न हूं और तू ब्रह्मचारिणी है इस लिये मैं तुम्हें स्वीकार नहीं करसकता । ऐसा असुर करसक्ते हैं कि जो (उर्विया) नाम निन्दित से निन्दित स्त्रियों से रमण करना (परिख्यन्) नाम कथन करते हैं । सार यह निकला कि यम नियम सम्पन्न ब्रह्मचारी और यती लोकों का यह काम नहीं ।

उशन्ति घा ते अमृतास एतदेकस्य चित्त्यजसं मर्त्यस्य । निते मनो मनसि धायस्मे जन्युः पतिः

तन्व माविविश्याः ॥ ३ ॥

अर्थ—यमी कहती है कि (अमृतास) नाम देवलोक (ते) तुम्हारे अर्थात् तुम्हारे देवलोगभी (एतत्) नाम इस कामकी (उशन्ति) इच्छा करते हैं, (एकस्यचित्मर्त्यस्य) नाम मरण धर्मा जो यह पुरुष है उसके लिये (त्यजसं) नाम यह त्याग इष्ट नहीं, इस लिये तुम अपना मन मेरे मनमें धारण करो, (जन्युः) नाम प्रजा उत्पन्न करने वाला जो पति उसभाव को ग्रहण करके तुम (तन्वं) नाम मेरे शरीरको (आविविश्याः) नाम संभोगादि भावों मे स्वीकार करो ।

सायणाचार्य्य ने इसके यह अर्थ किये हैं कि यमी यह कहती है कि हे यम प्रजापति आदिकों ने भी लड़की और भगिनी आदिकों को भी अगम्य नहीं समझा फिर तुम क्यों मुझे अगम्या समझते हो । ब्रह्मा और ब्रह्मा की लड़की की पौराणिक कहानी का इस मंत्र में गंधमात्र भी नहीं पाया जाता, फिर न जाने उस समय के भाष्यकारों ने ऐसे निन्दित अर्थों को क्यों स्वीकार किया।

नयत्पुराचकृमाकद्धनूनमृतावदन्तोअनृतंरपेम । गन्धर्वो अप्स्वप्या च योषा सानो नाभिः परमं जामितन्नौ ॥ ४ ॥

अर्थ–(यत्) जो (पुरा) पूर्वकाल में (नचकृमा) नाम हमने पूर्वकाल में नहीं किया (कद्ध) कत् ह नाम कदापि (नूनं) निश्चय करके (ऋतावदन्तो) नाम सत्य कथन करने वाले हम (अनृतंरयेम) नाम झूंठ नहीं कहते अर्थात् यह कदापि नहीं हुआ कि ब्रह्मचारी

और यति ब्रह्मचर्य्य व्रत भङ्ग करके संसारी हो जायं ॥

(गन्धर्वः) नाम परमात्मा "गाम्धरतीति गन्धर्वः, उणादि प्रकृति प्रत्यय से उक्तार्थ की सिद्धि हो सक्ती है अथवा गवांरश्मीनां धारयिता गन्धर्वः" एवं सूर्य्य का नाम गन्धर्व है, (अप्सु) नाम जलों में जो गन्धर्व है और (अप्याच योषा) जलों में होने वाली उसकी योषा नाम स्त्री (सानो नाभिः) वह हमारा (परमं) परम उत्पत्ति स्थान है। हे (जामि) कुलस्त्री (तत्) इस लिये (नौ) हम दोनों का स्त्री पुरुष भाव रूपी सम्बन्ध नहीं हो सक्ता क्योंकि (गन्धर्वः) नाम परमात्मा रूपी पिता से (अप्या) नाम परमात्मा रूपी माता से हमारी उत्पत्ति है अर्थात् ब्रह्मचर्य्य व्रत धारण करने के समय जो हम दोनों में द्विजन्मा होने का धर्म आया है उसका परमात्मा ही पिता और परमात्मा ही माता गिना जाता है। इस लिये उक्त ब्रह्म व्रतधारी हम दोनों का भ्राता भगिनी भावका सम्बन्ध है, इस लिये हे यमी तू मेरे लिये अगम्या है, इस मंत्र से यह भी सूचित कर दिया कि जिस प्रकार भाई के लिये बहन अगम्या है इस प्रकार ब्रह्मचारी पुरुष के लिये स्त्री मात्र अगम्या है ॥

सायणादि सनातनी लोग जो इस सूक्त में यम यमी के अर्थ भाई बहन के करते हैं तो वह गन्धर्व पिता और अप्या माता किसको बनाते हैं क्योंकि किसी भाई बहन का गन्धर्व पिता और अप्या माता नहीं यदि यह कहा जाय कि यह अलङ्कार से कथन किया गया है तो फिर इसका क्या प्रमाण है कि इस सूक्त में भाई बहन की कथा है ॥

गर्भेनुनौ जनिता दम्पती कर्देवस्त्वष्टा सविता विश्वरूपः । न किरस्य प्रमिनन्ति व्रतानि वेदना वस्य पृथिवी उतद्यौः ॥ ५ ॥

अर्थ–यमी कहती है कि (त्वष्टा) नाम परमात्मा (गर्भे) नाम गर्भ में (नौजनिता) हम दोनों को जो उत्पन्न करने वाला है उसने हम को गर्भ में स्त्री पुरुष बनाया है उस परमात्मा के कर्मों को (प्रमिनन्ति) नाम हनन करना (नकि) नहीं अर्थात् उसके कर्मों का कोई नाश नहीं कर सक्ता, इस प्रकार हमारे स्त्री पुरुष भाव को पृथिवी द्यौ लोक जानते हैं ॥

को अस्य वेदप्रथमस्याह्नः कईददर्शकइह प्रवोचत् । बृहन् मित्रस्य वरुणस्य धामकदुब्रव आह नो वीच्यान्हन् ॥ ६ ॥

अर्थ–(को अस्यवेद) नाम प्रथम दिन का हाल कौन जानता है (कई ददर्श) नाम किसने देखा है (कइह प्रवोचत) नाम किसने कथन किया है अर्थात् कोई भी नहीं जान सक्ता, इस लिये हे यम फिर तुम क्या कहते हो कि पहले किसी ने ऐसा काम नहीं किया।

यमस्य मा यम्यं काम आगन्त्समानेयोनौसहशेय्याय । जायेवपत्येतन्वं रिरिच्यां विचिद् बृहेव रथ्येव चक्रा ॥ ७ ॥

अर्थ–यमी कहती है कि हे यम तुम्हारी कामभिलाषा मुझ पर

हो (समानेयोनौ सहशेय्याय) नाम एक स्थान में एक शय्या पर सोने के लिये, फिर पूर्ण मनोरथ वाली मैं (जायेवपत्ये) नाम जैसे स्त्री अपने पति के लिये प्रीति से अपने शरीर को प्रकाश कर देती है अथवा रथ के अवयव भूत चक्रों पर जैसे रथ अपने आप को रख देता है इस प्रकार मैं भी अपने आपको आपके अर्पण करूंगी।

न तिष्ठन्ति न निमिषन्त्येते देवानां स्पश इह ये चरन्ति । अन्येन मदाहनो याहि तूयं तेन विवृहि रथ्येव चक्रा ॥ ८ ॥

अर्थ—फिर यम बोला कि सूर्य्य चन्द्रमादि जो देवताओं के दूत विचरते हैं वह सब जानते हैं इस लिये मैं इस अनुचित कर्म को नहीं करता ।

छटे मंत्र में जो यह था "को अस्य वेद" यह उसका उत्तर है इस आठवें मंत्र में यम का आशय यह है कि यद्यपि हमको कोई मनुष्यादि प्राणी नहीं देखता तथापि सूर्य्य चन्द्रमादिकों का नियन्ता सर्वान्तरयामी सर्वकाल में देखता है, इस लिये ब्रह्मचर्य्य व्रत भङ्गरूप अनुचित कर्म करना मैं उचित नहीं समझता ।

रात्रीभिरस्मा अहभिर्दशस्येत्सूर्यस्य चक्षुर्मुहुरुन्मिमीयात् । दिवा पृथिव्या मिथुना सबन्धू यमीर्यमस्यविभृयादजामि ॥ ९ ॥

अर्थ—इस मंत्र में ईश्वर यह कथन करता है कि (रात्रीभिः) और (अहोभिः) नाम दिन रात से (अस्मै) इस यम के लिये सब

यजमान यज्ञ का भाग (दशस्येत) देवें, और (सूर्य्यस्य चक्षुः) नाम सूर्य्य सम्बन्धि चक्षु (मुहुः) बारंबार (उन्मिमीयात) नाम उदय हो अर्थात् यम के चक्षु इन्द्रिय बारंबार दिव्य दृष्टि को प्राप्त हों, और यह यमी यम के अजामि नाम भ्रातृ भाव को धारण करे अर्थात् यद्यपि वास्तव में यह यम की भगिनी नहीं तथापि यमने जो इसको भगिनी कह दिया है इस लिये यह भगिनी भाव को दृढ़ रखे ॥

यह उक्त मंत्र न यम की ओर से है और न यमी की ओर से किन्तु मध्यस्थ की ओर से पाया जाता है इस लिये इस मंत्र में ईश्वर का उपदेश सिद्ध होता है और प्रयोजन इसका यह है कि जब अहिंसा, सत्य स्तेय, ब्रह्मचर्य्य, अपरिग्रह इन पांच नियमों के सेवन करने वाले यम की दृढ़ता दिखलाने के अभिप्राय से यह यम यमी की कथा है। इस लिये ईश्वर ने यह कथन किया कि सब यजमान उक्त दृढ़ व्रतधारी यम को यज्ञोंका फलदें अर्थात् उसको पूज्य समझें ॥

सत्य भी यही है कि इस व्रत के तुल्य अन्य कोई व्रत नहीं है और इसके भङ्ग के बराबर और कोई दुर्गति नहीं है। इस आशय को प्रबोधचन्द्रोदय नाटक में एक कवि ने इस प्रकार ग्रंथ कियाहै

सवैया

डार पटम्बर अम्बर डार सुदीर्घ जा बनबास करें हैं।
माहिं अरण्य करें तपसा अरु भोग महानल पार परें हैं।
धन्य यमी जिनके यम से डर कांपत भूप न पांव कुएं हैं।
नारी सुघुम्मन घेर विषय पड़ फेरि रसातल मांहिगए हैं॥

इस भाव को यह यम यमी सूक्त कथन करता है कि यम व्रत धारण करने से जिससे राजा महाराजा सब कांपते हैं वह यदि गिर जाता है तो उसकी अत्यन्त अधोगति हो जाती है एवं उक्त व्रत की दृढ़ता के लिये यम यमी सूक्त है जिसको बिगाड़कर सायणादि आधुनिक भाष्यकारों ने भाई बहन की कथा वर्णन करके वेदोंका महत्व नष्ट करादिया, इस निम्नलिखित दशवें मंत्र के सायणादि भाष्यकार यह अर्थ करते हैं कि उत्तर युग आयंगे जिनमें बहनें भाइयों को पति वनालेंगी, यह अर्थ करके और भी अनर्थ करादिया।

पं०ज्वालाप्रसादमिश्र ने स्वामीजीकृत नियोग के अर्थों का खण्डन करते हुए इस मंत्रके अर्थ और भी विगाड़ दिये हैं कि (यमी कहती है यम से हम दोनों समागम करें) यम इस मंत्र से उत्तर देता है कि हे यमी वे उत्तर युग आवेंगे जिन युगों में (जामयः) भगनियां (अजामिकृण्वन्) भगिनी से भिन्न सम्वन्धित कर्मों को करेंगी, भाव यह है कि कलियुगान्त मेंही यह संकरता होगा जिसकाल में भगिनी से भिन्नस्त्री योग्यकर्मों को भगिनियें करें गी।

समीक्षा—पण्डित साहिवने वैदिक अर्थों मे लाभ उठाने का उपाय तो कलियुग में अच्छा सोचा, पर यह नहीं सोचा कि जब कलियुग में यह विधि हो जावेगी तो अगम्या गमन का विचार कैसे रहेगा, सच है इनको क्या? इनको तो विधवा विवाह व नियोग से द्वेष है और कोई कितना ही बड़ा अनर्थ क्यों न हो इनको नहीं दुखता, अन्यथा यम यमी सूक्त में भाई बहन के उक्तार्थ

कास्वीकार निरुक्त में भाई बहन विषयक इस कथा के लापनका स्वीकार इत्यादि अनुचित सब वातों का स्वीकार और "अन्य मिच्छस्वसुभगेपतिंमत्" इस प्रतीक में नियोगार्थ का अस्वीकार क्यों?

आघाता गच्छानुत्तरा युगानि यत्रजामयः कृणव न्नजामि। उपबर्ब्रृहि वृषभाय बाहुमन्य मिच्छस्व सुभगे पतिंमत् ॥ १० ॥

अर्थ—यम कहता है कि हे यमी (आगच्छानुत्तरायुगानि) नाम उत्तर युग आयेंगे जिनमें (जामयः) नाम कुलीन स्त्रियें (अजामि) नाम अकुलीन स्त्रियों का काम करेंगी अर्थात् उत्तर युगों में (यम व्रतधारी) नाम ब्रह्मचारी तथा यती लोगों को स्त्रियें मोहित कर लेंगी, इस समय ऐसा नहीं हो सक्ता, इस लिये "अन्यमिच्छस्व सुभगेपतिंमत्" ब्रह्मचारी कहता है कि हे सुभगे मेरे से भिन्न अन्य पति की इच्छा कर॥

स्वामी जी का अर्थ इस लिये युक्त है कि यह उपलक्षण है अर्थात् जैसे ब्रह्मचारी वा यती यम नियम सम्पन्न होने से यह कहता है कि "अन्यमिच्छस्वसुभगे पतिंमत्" इस प्रकार सामर्थ्य रहित क्लीव भी यह कहता है कि "अन्यमिच्छस्वसुभगे पतिंमत"

जैसेकि:-

मृतेनष्टे परिव्रजिते क्लीवेच पतिते पतौ। पञ्चस्वा

पत्सुनारीणां पतिरन्यो विधीयते। प०स्मृ० ४। ३०

जो लोग इस श्लोक में पतौ इस सप्तमी के अर्थ फेरना चाहते हैं वह पराशर माधव अपने सनातन टीका को पढ़ें और इस में शेखरकार का समाधान भी पढ़ें॥

यह पराशर स्मृति का कथन है इसमें पति के क्लीब होने पर नियोग का विधान किया गया है, इस लिये स्वामी जीके लेख में कोई प्रकरण विरोध नहीं। उपलक्षण की रीति से इस दशम मंत्र में नियोग विषय में क्लीव का भी ग्रहण हो सक्ता है इस लिये कोई दोष नहीं॥

और जो जामि शब्द के अर्थ सायणाचार्य्य और आधुनिक सनातनी भगिनी के करते हैं यह सर्वथा वेदाशय से विरुद्ध है, क्योंकि उणादिगण में या प्रापणे से इस शब्द की सिद्धि की गई है "यातीति जामि" जो प्राप्त हो उसका नाम जामि है आदि जो य है उसको जकार हो जाता है और मि प्रत्यय हो जाता है, और उक्त कथा में यम ब्रह्मचारी को प्राप्त होने से उस स्त्री का नाम "जामि" कहा गया, यदि सनातनी लोग यहां योग्यता का ध्यान रखते तो भाई बहन के अर्थ कदापि न करते, क्योंकि योग्यता बल से सैंधवमानय इत्यादिवत् उसी का ग्रहण होता है जिसकी योग्यता पाई जाती है जैसे कि भोजन काल में कोई सैंधवमानय कहता है तो नमक का ग्रहण होता है और प्रस्थान के लिये कटिबद्ध होकर सैंधवमानय कहता है तो घोड़े का ग्रहण होता है, इसी प्रकार उनके अमरकोष के कथनानुकूल यदि जामि

के अर्थ भगिनी और कुलस्त्री दोनों के माने जायें तब भी योग्यता बल से यहां कुल स्त्री का ही ग्रहण होता है भगिनी का नहीं। इस प्रकार मीमांसा करने से इस सूक्त में भगिनी का वाचक कोई शब्द नहीं पाया जाता। और जो पं० ज्वालाप्रसाद मिश्र यह लिखता है कि निरुक्त में भी जामिके अर्थ भगिनी के किये गए हैं यह बात निरुक्त को न समझकर कथनकीगई है निरुक्त यह है।

आगमिष्यन्ति तान्युत्तराणि युगानि यत्र जामयः करिष्यन्त्यजामि कर्माणि। जाम्यतिरेक नाम बालिशस्य वा समान जातीयस्य वोपजनः। उप धेहि वृषभायबाहुमिच्छस्व सुभगे पतिंमदिति व्याख्यातम्॥ निरुक्त नैगमकाण्ड अं० ४ पा० ३ खं० ४।

अर्थ—उत्तर युग आयंगे जिनमें (जामयः) कुलीन स्त्रियें (अजामि कर्माणि) नाम अकुलीन स्त्रियों के कर्मों को करेंगी। और जामि मूर्खकाभी नाम है। यम कहता है कि हे यमी-कुलस्त्री तू (समान जातीयस्य पुंसः) नाम समान जातीवाले पुरुष के उपजने नाम समीप में स्थिति को धारण कर अर्थात् तेरे जैसे बल वीर्य्य वाला जो समान जातीय पुरुष है उसको तू प्राप्त हो। जाति नाम सामान्य का है और "समानानांभावः सामान्यं" समानो का जो गुणकर्म हो उसका नाम यहां जाति है। इसलिये यम ब्रह्मचारी ने यह कहा कि समान जाति वाले अर्थात् जो तुम्हारी तरह ब्रह्मचर्य्य व्रतभङ्ग करना चाहता हो उसको जाकर प्राप्त हो।

और इसी प्रकार क्लीबभी यह कहसक्ता है कि तू अन्य पुरुष को प्राप्त हो, इसलिये यह कहा "अन्यमिच्छस्व सुभगे पतिं मत्" इस निरुक्त के लेख से भाई बहनके नाम का गन्धमात्र भी नहीं पाया जाता, फिर न जाने हमारे सनातन भाइयों को इस अपूर्व अर्थकी सूझ किस मार्ग से सूझी ।

ननु तुम कहते हो कि इस में सहोदर भाई बहन की कथा का गन्धमात्र नहीं तो फिर मंत्र ११ में भ्राता और स्वसा शब्द क्यों आए हैं ?

समाधान—भ्राता और स्वसा शब्द वहां आरोपित भ्रातृ भगिनीभाव के अभिप्राय से आए हैं, और इस आरोपित भ्रातृ भगिनी भाव में अगम्यागमन के दोष को दर्शाने के अभिप्राय से ईश्वर ने इस सूक्तमें ११ मंत्र से १४ मंत्रतक लिखा है ।

किंभ्राताऽसद्यदनाथं भवाति किमुस्वसा यन्नि-र्ऋतिर्निगच्छात् । कामभूताबह्वे तद्रपामि तन्वा मे तन्वं संपिपृग्धि ॥ ११ ॥

अर्थ–यमी फिर बोली तुमने जो भगिनी भाव आरोप करके मुझे छोड़ दिया है, वह क्या भाई है जिसके होने पर बहन अनाथा होती है और वह क्या बहन है जिसके होने पर भाई दुखी हो, इस लिये तुम मुझ से सम्बन्ध करो ॥

नवाउते तन्वा तन्वं संपपृच्यां पापमाहुर्यः स्वसारं निगच्छात् । अन्येनमत्प्रमुदः कल्पयस्व न ते

भ्राता सुभगे वष्ट्येतत् ॥ १२ ॥

अर्थ-यम यमी को बोला कि हे यमी मैं तुम्हारे शरीर के साथ सम्बन्ध नहीं करता, क्योंकि मैं तुमको भगिनी कह चुका, जो भाई बहन के साथ संग करता है उसको शिष्ट लोग महापापी कहते हैं, इस लिये हे यमी तुम अन्य की इच्छा करो ॥

वतो वतासियमनैवते मनो हृदयं चाविदाम। अन्याकिलत्वां कक्ष्येव युक्तं परिष्वजाते लिबुजेववृक्षम् ॥ १३ ॥

अर्थ-यमी यम को बोली हे यम (वतो) नाम तुम बड़े दुर्बल हो, (वत) नाम बड़ा खेद है जो तू मेरी इच्छा नहीं करता, ज्ञात होता है कि तुम किसी और बन्धन मे युक्त हो, जैसे कि घोड़ा अपनी रासों से बंधा हुआ होता है वा बृक्ष किसी लता के बंधन से बंधा हुआ होता है ॥

अन्यमूषुत्वं यम्यन्य उत्वां परिष्वजाते लिबुजेव वृक्षम्। तस्यवा त्वं मन इच्छासवात वाधा कृणुष्वसंविदं सुभद्राम् ॥ १४ ॥

अर्थ-यम यह बोला कि हे यमी तू (अन्यं उ) नाम अन्य पुरुष को (परिष्वज) मिल और अन्य पुरुष तुमको (परिष्वजाते) मिले, दृष्टान्त यह है कि जैसे लिबुजा नाम लता बृक्ष से संग करती है इस प्रकार तू अन्य पुरुष का संग कर और उसके मन को वशीभूत करने की तू इच्छा कर, और वह तुम्हारे मन को

वशीभूत करने की इच्छा करे इससे तू (सुभद्राम्) नाम कल्याण को अनुभव कर। इस प्रकार यम व्रतधारी यम ने उसके प्रलोभन कर्तृ यमी स्त्री को यह उत्तर दिया ॥

इस सूक्त पर प्रति पक्षी लोग बहुत आक्षेप किया करते हैं पर हमारे विचार में इस प्रकार मीमांसा करने से इस में कोई दोष नहीं आता ॥

इति नियोग विषयः

(४८) "स्तुति" जिससें गुणों का कीर्तन किया जाता है वह स्तुति कहलाती है। इस में यथावस्थित गुणों का कीर्तन किया जाता है, इस का फल गुणी में प्रेम की दृढ़ता है। इस वैदिक मन्तव्य में पौराणिक स्तुति से भेद यह है कि इस में यथावत् गुणों की स्तुति की जाती है. न कि पौराणिक स्तोत्रों के सम असम्भव गुणों की ॥

वैदिक मंत्र इस विषय में निम्न लिखित हैं:—

विष्णोनुकं प्रावोचं वीर्याणि यः पार्थिवानिविममे रजांसि। यो अस्कभायदुत्तरं सधस्थं विचक्रमा णस्त्रेधोरुगायः॥ अथर्व० ७। ३। १।

अर्थ–(विष्णो) नाम व्यापक परमेश्वर के (नु) शीघ्र (वीर्याणि प्रावोचं) नाम बलों को कथन करता हूं (यः पार्थिवानि विममे) नाम जिस विष्णु परमात्मा ने पार्थिव द्रव्यों को बनाया है, और (रजांसि) नाम रजोगुण सम्बन्धि लोकों को बनाया है और (अस्कभायत्) नाम जो सब को स्वाश्रित करता है वह विष्णु

(विचक्रमाणस्त्रेधा) नाम तीन प्रकार से गति करता हुआ, अर्थात् जगत् की उत्पत्ति स्थिति प्रलय रूप गति करता हुआ (उर्गायः) महात्मा लोगों से स्तुति किया जाता है। उस विष्णु के वीर्यों को मैं कथन करता हूं ॥

प्रतद् विष्णुस्तवते वीर्य्याणि मृगो न भीमः कुचरो गिरिष्ठाः परावत आ जगम्यात् परस्याः ॥ २
यस्योरुषत्रिषु विक्रमणेष्वधिक्षियन्ति भुवनानि विश्वा। उरु विष्णो विक्रम स्वोरुक्षायाय नस्कृधि घृतं घृतयोने पिब प्रप्र यज्ञपतिं तिर ॥ ३ ॥

अर्थ—(प्रतद्विष्णुः) इस मंत्रका भाव आर्य्यमन्तव्यप्रकाश के तृतीय समुल्लास में लिखागया है, पर इस अथर्व के मन्त्र के उत्तरार्द्ध में भेद है इसलिये हम फिर व्याख्या करते हैं।

(प्रतद् विष्णुः) नाम वह विष्णु यहां वैदिक होनेसे लिङ्ग का विपर्यय है अर्थात् "सविष्णु" के स्थान में "तद् विष्णु" है। (प्रस्तवते) नाम स्तुति किया जाता है वह विष्णु (मृग॰) नाम सिंहः है पर (न भीमः) नाम भयानक सिंह नहीं, अर्थात् "सिंहो माणवकः" के समान उसको उपचार से सिंह कहा गया है, (कुचरः) पृथिवी में विचरता हुआ (गरिष्ठाः) गिरिके शिखर परभी स्थिर है अर्थात् सर्वव्यापक होने के कारण उसके पृथिवी में रहने और पर्वत शिखरमें रहने का निरोध नहीं आता। और वह विष्णु (परस्याःपरावत) नाम दूरसे दूर देशसेभी (आजगम्यात्)

नाम हमारे पास आता है। अर्थात् सर्व व्यापक होनेसे उसमें देशकृत परिच्छेद नहीं। जिस विष्णु के (त्रिषुविक्रमणेषु) नाम उत्पत्ति स्थिति प्रलय का हेतु जो शक्ति उसमें सम्पूर्ण भुवन स्थिर हैं। और फिर वह कैसा है जो पृथिवी, अन्तरिक्ष, और द्यौ लोक में अपनी (पाद) नाम स्वरूपभूत शक्ति को स्व सत्ता से दृढ़ रखता है, फिर वह विष्णु कैसा है कि जो (घृतयोनि) नाम दीप्ति की योनि है घृ—भासे से घृत शब्द सिद्ध होता है जिसके अर्थ दीप्ति के हैं अर्थात् वह स्वतः प्रकाश है। उससे प्रार्थना है कि हे घृत योने तू सम्पूर्ण दीप्तिवाले पदार्थों को (पिब) नाम ग्रहणकर और (प्रयज्ञपतिंतिर) नाम प्रकर्षेण यजमान को बढ़ा।

उक्त दूसरे मंत्र से आधुनिक सनातनी नृसिंहावतार निकालते हैं जिसका समाधान हम आर्य्यमन्तव्यप्रकाश के द्वितीय और तृतीय समुल्लास में कर आए हैं। यहां इतना और लिखते हैं कि इसके सायण में नृसिंहावतार का गन्धमात्र भी नहीं।

इदं विष्णुर्विचक्रमे त्रेधा निदधेपदा। समूढमस्य पांसुरे॥ ४॥

अर्थ—(विष्णुः) व्यापक परमेश्वर ने (इदंविचक्रमे) नाम इस विश्वको बनाया और (त्रेधानिदधेपदा) नाम तीन प्रकार से इस प्राप्तप्रकृति को रक्खा अर्थात् परमात्माका साधनरूप जो यह प्रकृति है इसको तीन प्रकार से रक्खा। पृथिवीरूपसे, अन्तरिक्षरूपसे, और द्यौरूपसे। (समूढमस्यपांसुरे) नाम इसके स्वरूप में यह सम्पूर्ण विश्व स्थिर है।

यह मंत्र यजुर्वेद में भी आया है महीधर इसके बावनावतारके अर्थ करते हैं, यहां स्तुति विषय में यह दुबारा इस अभिप्राय से लिखागया है कि स्तुतिविधायक पूर्वोक्त तीन मंत्रों में इसकी सङ्गति तभी रहती है जब यह निराकार का प्रतिपादक मानाजाय। यजुर्वेद और अथर्ववेद में भेद इतना है कि वहां "त्रेधानिदधे पदम्" है और यहां "त्रेधा निदधे पदा" है जिसके अर्थ प्रकृति के स्पष्टरीति से हो सकते हैं, यदि पद के अर्थ पैर भी माने जायें तबभी विष्णुके पदके अर्थ विष्णु के स्वरूप के होते हैं। जैसा कि निर्विशेषवादी मधुसूदन स्वामी ने संक्षेप शारीरक की टीकामें यह लिखा है :—

पदत्वं चाविद्यातिरोधानापनयनाय सर्वपद नीयत्वेन स्वरूपस्य द्रष्टव्यं। तद्विष्णोः परमं पदमिति श्रुतेः।

अर्थ—(पद) नाम विष्णु के स्वरूप का है क्योंकि अविद्या रूपी जो तिमिर उसके दूर करनेवाला व्यापक परमात्मा का स्वरूपही हो सक्ता है अथवा सब लोगों का प्राप्य होने से विष्णु के स्वरूप को पद कहागया है और यह बात "तद्विष्णोपरमं पदम्" इस श्रुति में प्रसिद्ध है। इस प्रकार पद नाम विष्णु के स्वरूप का होसक्ता है। यदि कोई यह प्रश्न करे कि उस स्वरूप को उसने तीन प्रकार से कैसे रखा? तो इसका उत्तर यह है कि पृथिवी, अन्तरिक्ष, द्यौ, इसलोक त्रय में व्यापक होनेके अभिप्राय से उसमें तीन प्रकार से रखना उपचार से कथन किया गया है

अथवा "तद्विष्णोःपरमंपदम्" इस मंत्र मे पद शब्द के अर्थ योग्यता के बलमे स्वरूप के हैं और "त्रे धानिदधेपदम्" यहां योग्यता के बल से प्रकृति के हैं।

त्रीणि पदा विचक्रमे विष्णुर्गोपा अदाभ्यः। इतो धर्माणि धारयन्॥ ५॥

अर्थ—(विष्णुर्गोपा) नाम रक्षा करनेवाला विष्णु (त्रीणिपदा विचक्रम) नाम तीन प्रकार मे संसार की उसने स्थिति की और इस से सब धर्मों को स्थिर किया।

विष्णोः कर्माणि पश्यत यतो व्रतानि पस्पशे इन्द्रस्य युज्यः सखा॥ ६॥

अर्थ—हे उपासको तुम (विष्णोः) व्यापक परमात्मा के (कर्माणि) नाम गति रूप क्रियाओं को (पश्यत) नाम देखो (यतो) नाम जिन कर्मो मे वह परमात्मा (व्रतानि) नाम तुम्हारे कर्त्तव्यों को (पस्पशे) नाम बांधता है अर्थात् स्थिर करता है. फिर वह परमेश्वर कैसा है (इन्द्रस्ययुज्यः सखा) नाम प्रजा पालनकर्ता राजा का योग्य सखा है अर्थात् जो धर्म पूर्वक प्रजा पालन करता है उसको सहायता देता है॥

तद्विष्णोः परमंपदं सदापश्यन्ति सूरयः। दिवीव चक्षुराततम्॥ ७॥

अर्थ—(तद्विष्णोः) नाम पूर्वोक्त व्यापक परमात्मा के (परमंपदं) नाम स्वरूप को (सदा पश्यन्ति सूरयः) सदा बुद्धिमान लोग

उसको ज्ञान से देखते हैं फिर उसका स्वरूप कैसा है (दिवीवचक्षुराततम्) नाम इस आकाश मण्डल में सूर्य्य के समान प्रकाशवान है, इस प्रकार व्यापक परमात्मा के गुण कीर्तन का नाम स्तुति है। इस स्तुति के करने से यद्यपि परमात्मा में कोई हर्षादि उत्पन्न नहीं होते क्योंकि वह प्राप्त काम है तथापि स्तोता का उसके वर्णन से उस में अत्यन्त प्रेम होता है॥

(४९) "प्रार्थना" उसको कहते हैं जो न्यूनता होने पर दूसरे से याचना के अभिप्राय से मांगना। इसका फल निरभिमानता, नम्रता, पुरुषार्थ, कर्तव्य में रुचि आदि अनेक होते हैं॥

पर अपनी योग्यता से बिना मांगने मात्र से किसी फल की प्राप्ति होना प्रार्थना का फल आर्य्य सिद्धान्तों में नहीं माना गया।

यों तो अनेक प्रकार की प्रार्थनाएं हैं, बुद्धि की प्रार्थना है, बल की प्रार्थना है, तेज की प्रार्थना है, एवं अनेक न्यूनताओं के लिये अनेक ही प्रार्थनाएं हैं पर हम अथर्व वेद का एक ही मंत्र लिखकर इस विषय को समाप्त करते हैं॥

दिवोविष्ण उतवा पृथिव्या महो विष्ण उरोरन्तरिक्षात्। हस्तौ पृणस्व बहुभिर्वसव्यैराप्रयच्छ दक्षिणादोत सव्यात्॥ अथर्व० ७। ३। ८।

अर्थ—हे विष्णो! (दिवो) नाम द्यौ लोक से (उतवा पृथिव्या) नाम पृथिवी लोक से (महो) नाम महर्लोक से अथवा (उरोरन्तरिक्षात्) नाम विस्तृत अन्तरिक्ष से (हस्तौपृणस्व बहुभिर्वसव्यैः) नाम बहुत धनों से अपने हाथों को भरकर (आप्रयच्छ) नाम हम

को दो । इसका नाम प्रार्थना है यहां हस्तादिकों का भरना उपचार से कथन किया गया है, अर्थात् जैसे लोक में प्रभूत धन हाथ भर २ कर दिया जाता है इस प्रकार आप हमको दें, इसका फल धन की न्यूनता देखकर धन में उद्योग, पुरुषार्थ परमात्मा से सहायतादि अनेक फल हैं ॥

(५०) "उपासना" ईश्वर के गुणों को धारण करने का नाम उपासना है, अर्थात् जैसे ईश्वर के अपहत पाप्मादि धर्म हैं वैसे अपने भी बनाना । इसी अंश में उपासक ईश्वर की समीपता को लाभ करता है अन्य किसी स्थान विशेष में नहीं । "उपास्यते ऽनया इत्युपासना" अर्थात् जिससे परमात्मा के समीप ठहरा जाय । इससे ज्ञान की बृद्धि होती है जैसे कि:—

भिद्यते हृदय ग्रन्थि च्छिद्यन्ते सर्वसंशया क्षीयन्ते चास्य कर्माणि तस्मिन्दृष्टे परावरे॥ मु० २।२८

उपासक के हृदय की ग्रन्थि खुल जाती है और उसके सब संशय दूर होजाते है मन्दवासनारूपी कर्मों का क्षय होजाता है उस परब्रह्म के देखने से अर्थात् उसको साक्षात्कार करने से। और वह साक्षात्कार उपासनारूप भक्ति सेही होसक्ता है अन्यथा नहीं, जैसा कि:—

आत्मावारे द्रष्टव्यः श्रोतव्यो मन्तव्यो निदिध्यासितव्यः । बृ० ४ । ५ । ६ ॥

तमेवधीरो विज्ञाय प्रज्ञां कुर्वीत। बृ० ४ । ४ ।२१

सोऽन्वेष्टव्यः स विजिज्ञासितव्यः छा०८।७।१

इत्यादि उपनिषद् वाक्यों में कथन किया गया है।

अर्थ—उस परमात्मा का (द्रष्टव्यः) नाम चित्तवृति लगाकर ईक्षण करना योग्य है, एवं श्रुति वाक्यों से श्रवण और युक्तियों से मनन, वार २ चित्त की एकाग्रता से निदिध्यासन उपासना रूप भक्ति का साधन है॥

उसी को जानकर (प्रज्ञांकुर्वीत) नाम ज्ञान की वृद्धि करे। वही विवेचना और जिज्ञासा करने योग्य है॥

इत्यादि वाक्यों से पाया जाता है कि उसका साक्षात्कार उपासना रूपी भक्ति से होता है, इसका फल ज्ञान की उन्नति आदि हैं, आदि शब्द से यहां तात्पर्य्य निष्पापता रूप तद्धर्मतापत्ति रूप मुक्ति का है। क्रिया प्रधान होने से यह विषय अनुष्ठान साध्य है इस लिये इस उपासना रूप भक्ति का आनन्द अनुष्ठान करने से ही प्राप्त होता है और वह आनन्द ऐसा है कि जिसके आगे संसार के सब आनन्द तुच्छ हैं, यहां तक कि जब उपासक की चित्तवृत्ति रूप धारा उस निरवधिकानन्दाम्बुधि में प्रवेश कर जाती है उस समय उसको वाह्य वस्तु किञ्चनमात्र भी भान नहीं होती, और तो क्या उसको अपना आप भी भान नहीं होता और नाहीं ईश्वर में द्वैतापत्तिभान होती है, केवल एक चिन्मय वारिधि परिपूरित महा सागर ही प्रतीत होता है इसी पद में जाकर उपासक लोगों ने यह कहा है कि:—

"त्वं वा अहमस्मि भगवोदेवते अहंवैत्वमसि" तू मैं और मैं तू है ॥

यह उपासक का परम पद है जिसको:—

"तद्विष्णो परमंपदं सदा पश्यन्ति सूरय:" इत्यादि वेद मंत्र कथन करते हैं जिसको प्राप्त होकर उपासक को परमधाम की प्राप्ति हो जाती है, यही परमपद है, इसी परमपद मे भूले हुए लोगों के लिये ब्रह्म दर्शन यह कहता है:—

"मृत्यो स मृत्युमाप्नोति य इह नानेव पश्यति" बृ० ४।४।१९ ॥

वह मरण से भी मरण को प्राप्त है जो उस ब्रह्म में नानापन देखता है इसी आशय को लेकर:—

'यत्र त्वस्य सर्वमात्मैवाभूतत्केनकं पश्येत्' बृ०२।४।१५

जहां उसके लिये सब परमात्मा ही है वहां कौन किसको देखे इस अवस्था में जाकर "पिताऽपिताभवतिवेदावेदा:" इत्यादि कथन हैं, क्योंकि उस समय वह कृतार्थ हो जाता है उसके लिये कोई प्रयोजन नहीं रहता। इसी पद के अभिधायि वाक्यों को लोग भूल से जीवब्रह्म की एकता के वाक्य समझ जाते हैं, इसी पद के अभिधायि वाक्यों को लोग पाप पुण्य के अभाव बोधक समझते हैं वास्तव में यह वाक्य उपासक के परम धाम की अवस्था का कथन करते हैं जैसा कि:—

भोग निवृत्त भए जबही तब एक परेश्वर मांहि

समावे । राग रुद्वेष रतीन रहे इक देव परावर में मनलावे । भेद प्रतीति मिटे शम से तज दृश्य तदा जगदीश ही भावे । मोक्ष यही नहिं और कछू मुनि कोविद वेद इसी विधि गावे ॥

इत्युपासना विषयः समाप्तः

इत्यार्य्य मन्तव्यप्रकाशे वेदार्थ संग्रहोनाम

सप्तमः समुल्लासः समाप्तः

ओ३म्

अथार्य्यमन्तव्यप्रकाशे सगुणनिर्गुणोपासनाविरोध निरूपणं नाम अष्टमः समुल्लासः प्रारभ्यते ।

परमात्मा के गुणों के साथ उसकी उपासना करने का नाम सगुणोपासना है, जैसेकि "सत्यं ज्ञानमनन्तंब्रह्म" तै० २। १। १ "विज्ञानमानन्दंब्रह्म" बृ० ३। ९। २८

"यस्य भूमिः प्रमान्तरिक्षमुतोदरम्" अथर्व० १०। ४। ७। ३२ इत्यादि वेदमंत्र और उपनिषद् वचन उसपरमात्मा को सगुण कथन करते हैं और "निष्कलं निष्क्रियंशान्तंनिरवद्यं निरञ्जनम्" "अस्थूलमनणवह्रस्वमदीर्घम्" "अपाणि पादो जवनो ग्रहीता पश्यत्यचक्षुः स शृणोत्य कर्णः सवेत्ति वेद्यं नच तस्यास्ति वेत्ता तमाहुरग्रं पुरुषं महान्तम्" इत्यादि वचनों में परमात्मा को निराकार कथन कियागया है । अब प्रश्न यह होता है कि एक कूटस्थ नित्य वस्तु में परस्पर विरोधी दो धर्म कैसे रह सक्ते हैं ? आधुनिक सनातनी लोग तो इस बात को प्रत्युत मण्डन करते हैं कि परस्पर विरोधीधर्म उसमें रहसक्ते हैं जैसा कि पं० अम्बिकादत्तव्यासने अपनी मूर्त्तिपूजा में ईश्वर को विरुद्ध धर्माश्रयत्व कथन किया है, पर सनातन समय के सनातनीस्वामी रामानुजादिकों ने निर्गुण सगुण वाक्यों का विषय विभाग से अविरोध निरूपण किया है जैसाकिः—

सत्यं ज्ञानमनन्तं ब्रह्मेत्यनेन सविशेषमेव प्रति पाद्यत इति विज्ञायते। नच निर्गुण वाक्य विरोधः प्राकृत हेय गुण विषयत्वात् तेषां ॥

श्री० भा० पृ० ३५६

अर्थ—ब्रह्म सत्य है ज्ञान है अनन्त है, इस कथन से ब्रह्म सविशेष नाम सगुण प्रतिपादन किया गया, एवं सगुण निरूपण करने से निर्गुण वाक्यों का उसके साथ विरोध इसलिये नहीं कि निर्गुण वाक्य ब्रह्म में प्रकृति के गुणों का निषेध करते हैं जैसा कि "निष्कलं निष्क्रियं शान्तं" इत्यादि, इसप्रकार स्वामी रामानुज ने श्रीभाष्य में निर्गुण सगुण वाक्यों के विरोध का परिहार किया है। माया वादी वेदान्ती ब्रह्ममें गुणोंका सम्बन्ध अध्यास से मानते हैं इस लिये उनके मतमें सगुणकाल में भी निर्गुण ही है जैसा कि जिस कालमें शुक्ति में रजतकी प्रतीति होती है उसकाल मेंभी शुक्ति रजतसे रहित ही है ॥

ननु "द्वे वाव ब्रह्मणोरूपे मूर्तञ्चैवाऽमूर्तञ्च" बृ० २।३।१ इस वाक्य में ब्रह्म के मूर्त्त और अमूर्त्त दोनोंरूप कथन कियेगए हैं इससे पाया जाता है कि ब्रह्म में सगुण और निर्गुण दोनों धर्म रह सक्ते हैं!

इसका उत्तर यह है कि इस बचन का उपक्रम करके पांचों भूतोंको दो विभागों में विभक्त किया है पृथिवी, अप, तेज, को मूर्त्तरूप में रक्खा है और वायु आकाश को अमूर्त्तरूप में रक्खा है, इस प्रकार पांच भूतोंकोही मूर्त्ताऽमूर्त्त कथन कियागया है।

और जो "ब्रह्मणो रूपे" कथन कियागया है वह इस अभिप्राय से है कि रूप्यते निरूप्यते येन तद्रूपं, उक्त भूत पंचक ब्रह्म का निरूपक है इस अभिप्राय से उसको ब्रह्मका रूप कथन कियागया है अन्यथा ब्रह्मके मूर्त्ताऽमूर्त्तरूपका उपक्रम करके ये न कहाजाताकि

अथात आदेशो नेति नेति नैह्ये तस्मादिति नेत्यन्यत्परमस्ति ॥ बृ० २ । ३ । ६

इस वाक्य में रूपका निषेध न किया जाता, इसनिषेध से पाया जाता है कि यहां पांचभूतों के ही दो रूप कथन किये गये हैं न कि ब्रह्मके । और यदि यहां ब्रह्मके रूप से अभिप्राय होता तो नेति नेति इस निषेध का विषय कौन रहता ! यदि यह कहा जाय कि रज्जु आदिकों में सर्पादि प्रत्यय के समान मूर्त्तरूपका प्रतिषेध है तोभी तत्व यही निकलता है कि मूर्त्तरूप कल्पित है। इसप्रकारभी ब्रह्मका मूर्त्तरूप तात्त्विक नहीं बन सक्ता। और यदि यह कहाजाय कि उपासनार्थ ब्रह्मका मूर्त्तरूप माना गया है तब भी ठीक नहीं, क्योंकि 'असद्देवसभवति असद्ब्रह्मेतिवेदचेत्' तै० २ । ६ । १ वह स्वयं नष्ट हो जाता है जो ब्रह्म को असत् मानता है, और युक्ति यह है कि यदि अगतिक गति से ब्रह्मका कल्पित मूर्त्तरूप मानभी लिया जाय तब भी:—

"प्रक्षालनाद्धिपंकस्य दूरादस्पर्शनंवरम्" इस न्याय से पहले कीचड़ को लगाना फिर धोना इस में क्या फल ? और "यतो वाचो निवर्तन्त अप्राप्यमनसासह" तै० २। ४।१. इत्यादि वाक्य ब्रह्म को मन वाणी का अविषय कथन करते

है फिर असमूर्त रूप वाला कैसे हो सक्ता है ॥

इसी अभिप्राय से "न चक्षुषा गृह्यते नापि वाचा नान्यैर्देवैस्तपसा कर्मणा वा" मु० ३ । १ । ८ ॥

"स एष नेति नेत्यात्मा ऽगृह्यो न हि गृह्यते" बृ० ३।९।२६

"यत्तदद्रेश्यमग्राह्यम्" मु० १ । १ । ६ "यदा ह्येवैष एतस्मिन्नदृश्येऽनात्म्येऽनिरुक्तेऽनिलयने" तै० २ । ७ । १ ।

"ततस्तु तं पश्यते निष्कलं ध्यायमानः" मुँ० ३। १।८।

"परात्परं पुरुष मुपैति दिव्यम्" मुँ० ३ । २ । ८ ।

"यः सर्वाणि भूतान्यन्तरो यमयति"

(१) न वह आखों मे देखा जाता है, न वाणी से कथन किया जाता है न और इन्द्रियों से ग्रहण किया जाता है अर्थात् अत्यन्त सूक्ष्म है ॥

(२) वह ये स्थूल नहीं, ये स्थूल नहीं अर्थात् इन्द्रिया गोचर है।

(३) जो यह अदृश्य है, अग्राह्य है, जब इस अदृश्य में और अनिरुक्त में अनिलयने अर्थात् जिसका कोई आश्रय नहीं वह स्वयं सब का आश्रय भूत है ॥

(४) इस लिये उस निष्कल ब्रह्म को योगी लोग ध्यान से देखते हैं ॥

(५) वह पुरुष प्रकृति से भी परे है जिस पुरुष को जीव मुक्ति अवस्था में प्राप्त होते हैं ॥

(६) जो सब भूतों के अन्तर व्यापक होकर नियमन करता है वह परब्रह्म है ॥

इस प्रकार उसको सर्वथा निर्विशेष ही कथन किया गया है वह सविशेष केवल अपने सत्यादि गुणों से कहलाता है नकि मूर्त्तरूपादिकों से ॥

उभयलिङ्गाधिकरण में महर्षि व्यास ने यही निर्णय किया है, जिसको सदस द्विवेचन करने वाला कोई आचार्य्य भी छोड़ नहीं सक्ता । इसी अभिप्राय से आरम्भणाधिकरण में स्वामी शङ्कराचार्य्य ने "स एषः नेति नेत्यात्मा" वृ० ३ । ९ । २६ । और "अस्थूलमनणु" इत्यादि वाक्य लिखकर उसको कूटस्थ नित्य सिद्ध किया है, और जो इस सूत्र के अन्तिम भाष्य में यह लिखा है कि "सूत्रकारोऽपि परमार्थाभिप्रायेण तदनन्यत्वमित्याह व्यवहाराभिप्रायेणतु स्याल्लोकवदिति महा समुद्रस्थानीयतां ब्रह्मणः कथयति। अप्रत्याख्यायैव कार्यं प्रपञ्चं परिणाम प्रक्रियांचाऽऽश्रयति सगुणेषूपासनेषूपयोच्यतइति" शं० भा० २ । १ । १४ ।

जो इस भाष्य में यह कहा है कि सूत्रकार ने परमार्थ के अभिप्राय से जगत् और ब्रह्म को एक सिद्ध किया है और व्यवहार के अभिप्राय से समुद्र स्थानीय ब्रह्म को कथन किया है और परिणाम प्रक्रिया को आश्रयण किया है. इसका उपयोग सगुणोपासना में है। इस प्रकार सगुण शङ्कर के मत में ही बन सक्ता है क्योंकि उनके मत में जल तरङ्गादिवत् यह सब प्रपञ्च ब्रह्म का ही विवर्त है। एवं सगुण निर्गुण का विरोध परिहार उनके मत में ब्रह्म परिणाम व ब्रह्म में सगुण रूप अध्यस्त

होने से माना गया है, जो तर्क से उपासना में कोई उपयोग नहीं रखता। तर्क यह है कि यदि यह सब ब्रह्म का ही परिणाम है तो उपास्य उपासक दोनों ही ब्रह्मरूप हैं फिर उपासना किसकी? यदि सगुण रूप अध्यस्त है फिर अध्यासोत्पन्न वस्तु की उपासनार्थ कौन बुद्धिमान् यत्न करेगा अर्थात् शुक्ति रजत से जब कोई बुद्धिमान् व्यवहार सिद्धि नहीं चाहता तो फिर ऐसा मन्दमति कौन होगा जो अध्यस्त सगुण रूप से फल सिद्धि चाहे। एवं सगुण निर्गुण की मीमांसा करने से यही सार निकलता है कि जो सत्यादिगुण परमात्मा में हैं उनसे सगुण, और प्रकृति के गुणों से रहित होने से निर्गुण, कहलाता है। इसी अभिप्राय से आर्य्यधर्म आविर्भाव कर्ता श्री १०८ महर्षि दयानन्द सरस्वती ने ५१ मन्तव्य में सगुण निर्गुण की व्याख्या की है॥

तत्व यह है कि मिथ्या सगुण सागर की लहरों में डूबती हुई भारत की नौका को बचाना उक्त महर्षि का ही कर्तव्य था, और मिथ्या सगुण के सहारे सारासार को छोड़कर भूले हुए पथिकों को रास्ता बतलाना उक्त महर्षि का ही मन्तव्य है॥

इसी मन्तव्य से ग्रन्थकर्त्ता को यह फल मिला है जो सदसद्विवेचन करके आर्य्यमन्तव्यप्रकाश का ग्रन्थन किया गया है। इस फल की उपलब्धि के विषय गुरु विनय में निम्न लिखित छन्द हैं:—

आगम और निरागमका, जिनभेदकहासबतत्व बताया।मायिकरूपमिटायदिया,उनएकअखण्ड

कोमगडदिखाया । यज्ञदयादिदिये जिसने, तज हिंसकयज्ञसुयज्ञरचाया।सोशुभस्वामीदयानिधि के, पदपंकज से मुनि ने फलपाया ॥

प्रामारायं निगमस्य येन कथितं, मिथ्यावचः खरिडतम् । सत्यासत्यवचोविरोध हनने, यस्य प्रमाणंवचः॥सर्वंवेदवचोविचार्य्यमननं,यस्मिन्मते दृश्यते । तं वन्देगुरुवैदिकंमुनिरहं श्रौत प्रमाण प्रियम् ॥

इत्यार्य्यमुनिनोपनिबद्धे, आर्य्यमन्तव्यप्रकाशे

अष्टमः समुल्लासः समाप्तः

समाप्तश्चायं ग्रन्थः

॥ शुद्धाशुद्धपत्रम् ॥

अशुद्धम	शुद्धम	पृ०	पं०	अशुद्धम्	शुद्धम	पृ०	पं०
मंत्रों	मन्त्रों । सर्वत्र	१	४	ब्रह्म:	ब्रह्म	३५	१२
मंत्र	मन्त्र । जानो	१	६	मुष्टर्गन्धि	मुष्टुगन्धि	३६	१
मूर्त्तिमान	मूर्त्तिमान्	२	८	क्रत	क्रत्	३७	१४
अंतर्यामी	अन्तर्यामी	३	७	विद्य	वेद्य	३७	१७
अंगुली	अङ्गुली	३	१८	रुद्रातीर्थानि	रुद्रास्तीर्थानि	३८	१
अथ	अग्र	६	१	चौरादि	चोरादि	३८	११
वस्तुनियंत्रति	वस्तुनियन्त्रति	६	१८	रुद:	रुद्र:	३८	१२
चन्द्रसूर्य्य	चन्द्रसूर्य्यौ	१५	१८	वाची	वाचि	४०	३
मननशीला	मननशील	१८	६	धर्मोपदेशक	राज पुरुष	४५	५
भगवान	भगवान्	१८	१०	यहां	...	४१	७
अजायत:	अजायत	१८	२३	मनोर्थ	मनोरथ	४३	८
लोका	लोकान्	२१	१	माजम	राजम	४४	२
अकल्पयन	अकल्पयन्	२२	७	रह	वह	४४	३
परमात्म	परमात्मा	२३	६	और	ओर	४४	४
दृष्टा	द्रष्टा	२३	८	जिसके	जिसका	४४	३
विस्तरयन्त	विस्तारयन्त:	२३	१८	दृष्टा	द्रष्टा	४६	८
दारिष्टान्त	दारिष्टान्तिक	२३	२१	ज्ञाशन	शासन	५१	२
आत्यवर्ग	आदित्यवर्गं	२५	१६	रोदंमानं	रोदमानं	५२	२२
करता है	कराता है	२६	१७	तन्मेकथन	तन्मेकथय	५३	६
वगल के	मङ्गल के	३२	६	अवयव	अवयवा	६०	१६
महामोहो-	महामहोपा-			औपनिषद्	औपनिषद	६४	८
पाध्याय	ध्याय	३२	२१	मानते हैं	मानता है	६६	२२
समास:	समासा	३४	१३	द्वितिय	द्वितीय	७१	१६

शुद्धाशुद्धपत्रम्

अशुद्धम्	शुद्धम्	पृ०	पं०
द्वितिय	द्वितीय	७२	६
स्वार्दे	स्वार्थे	८०	२१
वेधस	वेधस्	८३	९
प्रथमं	प्रथमः	८३	१९
भगवान	भगवान्	८८	९
द्रष्टव्य	द्रष्टव्यः	९३	३
इत्यादि	इत्यादि	१०५	१०
द्रष्टा	द्रष्टा	१०९	४
श्रेयान	श्रेयान्	१०९	८
वंदं	वेद	११०	१७
मनोर्थं	मनोरथ	११२	१
प्रतिगंश्च	प्रतिसर्गश्च	१२०	१७
देना	देवा	१४५	२१
परिदेहि	परिधेहि	१५६	१४
परिदेहि	परिधेहि	१५६	९
मक्कत	मक्कन	१६१	३
छवि वाला	...	१६२	१०
ने	न	१६४	५
कर्या	कार्या	१७३	२२
व	...	१८६	८
प्रकृति	प्रवृत्ति	१८६	१७
०तीत्वम्	पीत्वम्	१८८	११
का	को	१९२	४
द्रविणां	द्रविणं	१९३	१५
तयोरुत	तयोरुत्	१९५	१४
मातर	मातर्	१९५	१९
कमास्यो	कामास्यो	२९६	९
नुचरा	नुत्तरा	१९७	१३
को	से	११७	२०
यमो	यम	११८	१८
पूर्वकाल्नभं	...	२०१	१९
रयेम	रंपम	२०१	२१
धाहरण	धारण	२०२	११
दम्यति	दंपति	२०३	११
नियमों	यमां	२०५	११
ग्रंथ	ग्रंथन	२०५	१८
होगा	होगी	२०६	१६
से उठाने	को मिटाने	२०६	१८
विक्रणि	विक्रमणि	२१३	७
गरिष्ठा	गिरिष्ठा	२१३	१८
निरोध	विरोध	२१३	२०
निरञ्जम्	निरञ्जनम्	२२२	१०
यता	यतो	२२४	२१

down of Maypoles and the forbidding of sports on Sunday afternoon. Yet the ban on ' Sabbath ' games substantially survived the Restoration. In spite of the Anglican and liberal reaction of 1660, the Puritans left their sad mark on the ' English Sunday ' in permanence.

The horrible mania for persecuting witches, common to Catholic and Protestant lands during the period of the religious wars, was less bad in England than in some countries, but touched its highest point in the first half of the Seventeenth Century. It was caused by a sincere belief in the reality of witchcraft held by all classes, including the most educated, and it only receded as the governing class in the later Seventeenth and early Eighteenth Century gradually reached a point of scepticism on the subject that induced them to stop the witch-hunt, in spite of the continued credulity of the mass of the population. The two worst periods in England were during the first half of the reign of the credulous James I, and during the rule of the Long Parliament (1645–1647) when 200 witches were executed in the eastern counties, chiefly as a result of the crusade of Matthew Hopkins the witch-finder. The government of Charles I and of the Regicide Republic and Protectorate were both honourably marked by a cessation of this foolish atrocity.

In England before the Restoration it would have been difficult to find more than a handful of men who openly avowed a disbelief in the miraculous sanctions of the Christian faith, in one or other of its forms. But there were many Englishmen in whom a dislike of the pretensions of the pious, whether Anglican priests, or Puritan ' saints,' was stronger than positive enthusiasm for any religious doctrine. In this limited, English sense of the word, ' anti-clericalism ' has again and again been the decisive make-weight in the balance between religious parties in England. Anti-clericalism had been the chief motive force in the destruction of the mediaeval Church under Henry VIII. In his daughter's long reign it had nerved the national resolution against the Spain of the Inquisition, while at home it had no quarrel with the modest and unprovocative clergy of Elizabeth's tame Church. But when, under Charles I's patronage, Bishops and clergy raised their heads

again in social and political life, and even occupied offices of State once more as in the Middle Ages, the jealous laity took alarm. The anti-clerical feeling of great nobles, angry at the presence of clergymen in the Council Chamber and the Royal Closet, and of the London mob howling against Bishops in Palace Yard (1640–1641), joined itself in a blind alliance with Puritanism, then at the apex of its influence, and enabled the Long Parliament to break the Laudian Church.

After the triumph of the Parliamentary armies came the 'rule of the saints,' with their canting piety used as a shibboleth to obtain the favour of the dominant party, their interference with the lives of ordinary people; their closing of the theatres and suppressing of customary sports. Anti-clerical feeling, thus provoked, reacted so violently as to become one of the chief causes of the Restoration of 1660. A generation later it was one of the chief causes of the anti-Romanist Revolution of 1688. For many generations to come, hatred of Puritanism took its place beside hatred of Romanism in the instincts and traditions of the chapel-burning mobs, as well as of the great majority of the upper class.

The Cromwellian revolution was not social and economic in its causes and motives; it was the result of political and religious thought and aspiration among men who had no desire to recast society or redistribute wealth. No doubt the choice of sides that men made in politics and religion was to some extent and in some cases determined by pre-dispositions due to social and economic circumstance; but of this the men themselves were only half conscious. There were more lords and gentlemen on the side of the King, more yeomen and townsfolk on the side of Parliament. Above all, London was on the side of Parliament. Yet every class in town and country was itself divided.

The stage of economic and social development which had been reached in the England of 1640 was not the cause, but it was a necessary condition, of the political and religious movements that burst forth into sudden blaze. The astonishing attempt of Pym, Hampden and the other Parliamentary leaders to wrest power from the Monarchy in good earnest, and to govern the State through an elected debating

assembly of several hundred members, and the degree of success which that bold innovation actually attained in politics and war, pre-supposed not only an old Parliamentary tradition but the existence of a powerful bourgeoisie, gentry and yeomanry, long liberated from ecclesiastical and feudal control, and long accustomed to share with the monarchy in the work of government. So too the rapid rise to national importance, and for a while to national predominance, of innumerable sects such as Baptists and Congregationalists could not have occurred except in a society where there was much personal and economic independence in the yeomen and artisan classes, and in a country where for nearly a century past the individual study of the Bible had been a great part of religion, and the chief stimulant of popular imagination and intellect. If there had been newspapers, magazines and novels to compete with the Bible in manor-house, farm and cottage, there would have been no Puritan revolution—and John Bunyan would never have written *Pilgrim's Progress.*

Indeed, the Puritan Revolution was itself, in its basic impulse, a 'Pilgrim's Progress.' 'I dreamed [wrote Bunyan], and behold I saw a Man clothed with rags, standing in a certain place, with his face from his own house, a Book in his hand, and a great burden upon his back. I looked, and saw him open the book and read therein ; and as he read, he wept and trembled ; and not being able longer to contain, he broke out with a lamentable cry, saying "*What shall I do ?*" '

That lonely figure, with the Bible and the burden of sin, is not only John Bunyan himself. It is the representative Puritan of the English Puritan epoch. When Bunyan was a young man in the years that followed Naseby, Puritanism had come to its moment of greatest force and vigour, in war, in politics, in literature, and in social and individual life. But the inner pulse of the machine that drove all that tremendous energy tearing its way athwart the national life

> 'To cast the Kingdoms old
> Into another mould,'

the prime motive force of it all was just this lonely figure of the first paragraph in *Pilgrim's Progress*—the poor man

seeking salvation with tears, with no guide save the Bible in his hand. That man, multiplied, congregated, regimented, was a force of tremendous potency, to make and to destroy. It was the force by which Oliver Cromwell and George Fox and John Wesley wrought their wonders, being men of a like experience themselves

But it would be a mistake to suppose that this earnestness of personal and family religion was confined to the Puritans and the Roundheads The Memoirs of the Verney family and many other records of the time show us Cavalier households as religious as the Puritan, though not so wearisomely obtrusive with scripture phrases for every common act of life. Many of the small gentry and yeomen, particularly in the northern and western half of England, felt, like humble and patient Alice Thornton, that the Church of England was that 'excellent, pure and glorious church then established, which for soundness in faith and doctrine, none could parallel since the Apostles' time.' As her biographer has said :

Her account of the religious life of the family must dispel any illusion that to be Church of England, as opposed to the Nonconformists, meant that religion was to be taken any more lightly. The whole family was called to prayers by a little bell at six in the morning, at two in the afternoon and again at nine at night (Wallace Notestein, *English Folk*, p 186)

Many families in all ranks of life who fought and suffered for the Church and the Prayer Book, by those sufferings learnt a love of the Church of England which had not been so consistently felt and expressed before the Civil War as it was after the Restoration. And that love for the Church as Laud had refashioned it continued, until the Nineteenth Century, to be combined with a family and personal piety and a study of the Bible that was common to all English Protestants who took their religion seriously.

But there are other things in *Pilgrim's Progress* besides the most perfect representation of evangelical religion. The way of the Pilgrims, and of the reader withal, is cheered by the songs, the rural scenery, the tender and humorous human dialogues. It is the England of Izaak Walton's *Angler*. It is still in great measure the England of Shakespeare, though it is the scene of a soul's conflict that afflicted the contemporaries of Shakespeare less often than those of

Bunyan. But the human background has little changed. We should feel no incongruity if Autolycus displayed his wares to the Pilgrims on the footpath way, or if Falstaff sent Bardolph to bid them step aside and join him in the tavern.

The country through which the Pilgrims travel and the ways along which they have to pass, are the countryside, the roads and the lanes of the English East Midlands with which Bunyan in his youth was familiar. The sloughs, the robbers, and the other accidents and dangers of the road were real facts of English Seventeenth Century travel. We must indeed except the dragons and giants ; but even those Bunyan got from no more alien source than *Sir Bevis of Southampton* and other old English ballads, legends and broadsides that used then to circulate among the common people, instead of the flood of precise newspaper information that has killed the imaginative faculty in modern times

In those days men were much left alone with nature, with themselves, with God. As Blake has said :

> Great things are done when men and mountains meet
> These are not done by jostling in the street

The principle, thus poetically expressed, of the effect of quiet contact with nature upon human achievement and quality, is true not only of the mountains that nursed Wordsworth's genius, but also of the far-stretched horizons of the fenland and of Cambridgeshire, over which the rising and setting sun and the glories of cloudland were often watched by solitary men—Squire Cromwell for instance, and the yeomen farmers who became his Ironsides. In the wide spaces of the East Anglian countryside each of these men had felt himself to be alone with God, before ever they joined to form a regiment. And that same principle is true of the meadows, the lanes and the woodland fens of Bedfordshire, the nurse of Bunyan and all the strivings and visions of his youth.

Fortunately most of the common people who kept the sheep in Shakespeare's countryside, or wandered by Izaak Walton's streams, fishing-rod in hand, were untroubled by Bunyan's and Cromwell's visions of heaven and hell ; but, saint and sinner, happy fisherman and self-torturing fanatic, all were subject to the wholesome influences of that time

and landscape. Their language was the crisp pure English from which the translators of the Bible drew their style, now irrecoverable. As to the songs of the common people, they are well described in a dialogue by Izaak Walton.

PISCATOR: I pray, do us a courtesy that shall stand you and your daughter in nothing, and yet we will think ourselves something in your debt It is but to sing a song that was sung by your daughter when I last passed over this meadow, about eight or nine days since.
MILK-WOMAN: What song was it, I pray? Was it 'Come shepherds, deck your herds?' or 'As at noon Dulcina rested?' or 'Phillida flouts me?' or 'Chevy Chace?' or 'Johnny Armstrong?' or 'Troy Town?'
PISCATOR: No, it is none of those, it is a song that your daughter sung the first part, and you sung the answer to it
MILK-WOMAN. Come, Maudlin, sing the first part to the gentleman with a merry heart, and I'll sing the second when you have done.

So the song is sung. it is 'Come, live with me and be my love.' When it is finished, *Venator* says:

Trust me, master, it is a choice song, and sweetly sung by honest Maudlin I now see it was not without cause that our good Queen Elizabeth did so often wish herself a milkmaid all the month of May

Such were simple country-folk under the Puritan Commonwealth, most of them little disturbed by its interfering rigours and stern aspirations.

Here is a letter of June 1653 by that charming girl Dorothy Osborne, reporting to her lover what she saw and heard one morning near the 'open field' of a village:

You ask me how I pass my time here. The heat of the day is spent in reading or working, and about six or seven o'clock I walk out into a common that lies hard by the house where a great many young wenches keep sheep and cows and sit in the shade singing of ballads. I talk to them and find they want nothing to make them the happiest people in the world, but the knowledge that they are so Most commonly when we are in the midst of our discourse, one looks about her and spies her cows going into the corn, and then away they all run as if they had wings at their heels.

Not all the year round could maids 'sit in the shade singing of ballads,' and Queen Elizabeth only desired to be a milkmaid in the month of May! There was much

hardship, poverty and cold in those pleasant villages and farms ; but the simplicity and beauty of the life with nature was an historical reality, not merely a poet's dream.

The great generation of men who between them produced the high English tragedy of Roundhead and Cavalier, were not brought up on the Bible and on the influences of the country life alone—though such a limitation would almost be true of Bunyan The age of Milton, Marvell and Herrick was an age of poetry and learning often in close alliance. Not only were simple and beautiful songs being written and set to music and sung by all classes, but in cultivated households more elaborate and scholarly poems circulated in manuscript before they found their way into print or passed into oblivion. When the music of Lawes was married to the immortal verse of Milton's *Comus* for the private theatricals of Lord Bridgewater's family (1634), English domestic culture touched perhaps the highest mark to which it ever attained. And the learning of the time, classical as well as Christian, was very widely spread

Political and religious controversy was conducted in books and pamphlets forbiddingly learned to the modern eye, yet in spite of their heavy display of erudition, they caught the eager audience to which they made appeal Even the famous pamphlet in favour of tyrannicide, entitled *Killing no Murder*, written by a Republican and reissued by the Cavaliers with the very practical object of inducing someone to assassinate Cromwell, is made up of learned citations of classical as well as Biblical authorities Even under Puritan rule, what the Greeks and Romans had said about tyrannicide counted with ordinary readers as much as the views of Hebrew Judges and prophets.

There were in fact a great many students among the upper and middle classes both of town and country. Every reader had in some sort to be a student, for, apart from poetry and the stage, there was hardly any literature that was not serious. Fiction scarcely existed except in ballads for the common folk, and in the heavy ' tomes ' of French romances like *Grand Cyrus*, which seem to us as dull as sermons, but in those days pleased cultivated young ladies like Dorothy Osborne

Professor Notestein has in our day unearthed the diaries

of a Yorkshire yeoman named Adam Eyre, who at one time served in the Parliament's army, but by 1647 had come home to his farm in the Dales. No doubt he read and thought more than the majority of his class, but the range and character of his reading throws light on the intellectual habits of the time and shows why yeomen were quite capable of choosing a side for themselves, in politics and religion, often different from that of the neighbouring gentry.

> Adam had a carpenter in to furnish his study with shelves and his friends (yeomen like himself) were always borrowing from those shelves Rarely did he return from a visit to one of the larger towns without bringing home a book , sometimes he had a whole package sent to him, and he went through them with care 'This day I rested at home, and spent most of the day reading,' such is a typical entry He began to make a table of a book called *The State of Europe* He read *A Discourse of the Council of Basel*, 'wherein as in all the actions of men is little save corruption,' a comment that gives us an inkling of Adam's philosophy of history He read Lilly's queer books of prophecy, and Walter Raleigh's *History of the World*, a best seller of the century , he dipped into Erasmus' *Praise of Folly* and James Howell's *Dendrologia* (a political allegory of events from 1603-40). He owned Dalton's Country Justice, a practical manual concerning the duties of Justices of the Peace and other local officials
>
> A larger part of his reading was in religious books, pleas for presbytery, arguments for independency or congregationalism, volumes of sermons by this or that famous preacher. The number of religious books he covered is astonishing. 'This day I rested at home all day and had various thoughts by reason of the variety of men's opinions I find in reading' Surely it was the beginning of wisdom to reflect upon the variety of opinions Adam was not a deeply spiritual man ; he read these books because religion was in the air It filled the news-letters and pamphlets [1] of the day, as strikes and sports items crowd our dailies Religion was involved with village squabbles in the West Riding as with factions at Westminster. (W Notestein, *English Folk*, pp 250-251)

Such was the reading of this Cromwellian yeoman. In the manor-houses of the gentry a larger proportion of poetry and of classical learning circulated, or settled down on the

[1] There was a spate of printed pamphlets between 1640 and 1660, but few printed newspapers News was conveyed by news-letters written in London, and sent down in manuscript to subscribers in the country who circulated them among their neighbours This continued to be the chief way of spreading news till after the end of the century

library shelves, besides the sermons and pamphlets. No doubt most yeomen, most squires, and most merchants read very little, but many of them read a great deal. The Civil War was a war of ideas, and the ideas had been spread in print and in manuscript, as well as by the voice of the preacher and the talk of men.

The Civil Wars of Charles and Cromwell were not, like the Wars of the Roses, a struggle for power between two groups of aristocratic families, watched with disgusted indifference by the majority of the population, particularly by the townsfolk. In 1642 town and country alike rushed to arms. Yet it was not a war of town against country, though to some extent it became a struggle for London and its appendages against the rural North and West. Least of all was it a war between rich and poor. It was a war of ideas in Church and State.

Men chose their sides largely from disinterested motives and under no compulsion. They made their choice on account of their own religious and political opinions, and most of them were in such an economic and social position as to be able to exercise that choice with freedom. In the rural districts, feudal dependence was mainly a thing of the past, and the great consolidated estates were mainly a thing of the future. It was the golden age of the small squire and the yeoman, who prided themselves on their political independence, whereas the tenant farmers on the large estates a hundred and two hundred years later were proud to follow their landlords to the poll, in the interest of Whig or Tory. But in 1642 many yeomen drew sword against the neighbouring squires.

In the towns also it was an age of independence and individualism. Corporate life had decayed ; a man's municipal loyalty to his town was already less important than his national loyalty to a party or a sect which he chose for himself Personal opinions were strongly held in a society composed chiefly of small masters and their apprentices, so the inhabitants of the towns took free and intelligent interest in the land's debate.

But on the outbreak of the Civil War it was easier for the majority to seize power and muzzle the minority in a town, than in a large country district. Thus the Roundheads

were able to suppress the Cavaliers at once in London, the seaports and the manufacturing cities. But in many shires of England a local civil war dragged on spasmodically for several years together, distinct from the campaigns of the main armies, though they too sometimes became involved in these regional struggles.

Where the local wars were conducted under the command of gentlemen who had known each other as neighbours and often as friends, though now differing in politics, there was little bitterness and much personal courtesy, especially in the first year or two. But some local wars had a fiercer character, where two sharply contrasted systems of society were at each other's throats. For example, in Lancashire the squires were many of them Roman Catholics, representing the old half-feudal world of the Pilgrimage of Grace ; a deep gulf of misunderstanding and hatred was fixed between them and their Puritan neighbours in the towns that had recently sprung up with new industries of woollens, fustian, cotton and linen.

But in the great majority of the counties of England the Royalists were Anglicans, decisively Protestant ; many of them had been opposed to Laud. Such a one was grand old Sir Edmund Verney, the King's standard-bearer, who died for his master at Edgehill but declared, ' I have no reverence for Bishops for whom this quarrel subsists.'

To speak in general terms, Royalism was strongest where the economic and social changes of the previous hundred years had been least felt. The King and the Church were best loved in rural regions and market towns furthest from the capital, and least connected with overseas commerce. Parliamentary and Puritan sympathy was strongest where recent economic change had gone furthest, as in London under the influence of the great Elizabethan trading companies ; in the seaports (including the King's own ships and dockyards) : and in the newer type of manufacturing town or district like Taunton, Birmingham and the clothing Dales on both sides of the Pennines. The squires who had most business connection with London, or with trade and industry anywhere, tended most to the Roundhead side in politics and religion. The London area, including Kent,

Surrey and Essex, was at once seized for Parliament, and the Royalist minority there was never able to raise its head. The same happened in the counties of East Anglia, organized in the 'Eastern Association' and held in the firm grip of Colonel Oliver Cromwell—the region whence in the previous generation the majority of the Puritan emigrants to New England had been drawn, and where the first Ironsides were now enlisted among the Bible-reading yeomen.

Cromwell himself was a man of good family, related to several of the most important people in the House of Commons. He was a gentleman farmer, owning a small estate near Huntingdon which he worked himself until, in 1631, he sold his land to buy leases of rich river pastures near St. Ives This sale of his patrimony shows that he regarded land as a means of making a livelihood, rather than as an hereditary possession and a matter of social and family pride He preferred to be a hard-working farmer and business man, mixing on equal terms with common folk, whose champion he became, in various local quarrels, rather than to be a mere squire. This point of view is characteristic of the kind of business agriculturist who was likely to be a Puritan and a Roundhead, while the old-fashioned, west country squires, who took a more feudal attitude to life and society, were the typical Cavaliers. Even the great landed magnates of the Puritan party, like the Earls of Bedford and Manchester, were deeply interested in increasing their fortunes and estates by modern capitalistic methods. The Puritan, high or low, was taught by his religion to idealize business, enterprise and hard work. The Cavalier was usually of a more easy-going and enjoying nature

The Civil War was not therefore a social war, but a struggle in which parties divided on political and religious issues, along a line of cleavage that answered, roughly and with many personal exceptions, to certain divisions of social type. In the events that followed the War, during the Roundhead Commonwealth (1649–1660), the class cleavage became more marked. The gentry as a whole became more and more alienated from the Roundhead cause and its leaders. Meanwhile democratic ideas of the equality of men irrespective of their rank and wealth affected the

political happenings of the period. But these 'levelling' ideas were more political than social. The theorists in the ranks of the New Model Army advocated manhood suffrage for Parliament, but not a socialist redistribution of property. Only the small sect of 'Diggers,' under Winstanley, claimed that the land of England belonged to the people of England and had been stolen by the squires. They were quickly suppressed by the army chiefs When the Diggers warned the Regicide Government that the political revolution would not stand its ground unless it was based on a social revolution, they spoke the truth, as the Restoration shortly afterwards showed.

Even the idea of political democracy was almost confined to the Radicals of the triumphant army. There was no movement in that direction among the mass of the people, and if a general election had been held on a wide franchise it would have resulted in a Cavalier Restoration

But although there was no breaking up of estates into smaller units of land on a democratic basis, a certain amount of land passed for a short time from Cavalier to Roundhead ownership. This consisted chiefly of the Church and Crown lands sold to meet the needs of the Revolutionary government, as the monastic lands had been sold a century before. The purchasers were for the most part men of the advanced Republican party. But all these lands went back to Church and King at the Restoration, so that no 'new aristocracy' was founded out of them. And indeed the soldiers and merchants who held them for a decade on this insecure tenure had made little attempt to set up as country gentlemen in their new estates, which they had bought chiefly as commercial speculations.

Otherwise the amount of land that changed hands was remarkably small The Cavalier squire had the government of the county taken out of his hands, and had to pay heavy fines for 'malignancy.' But severe as these fines were, they were paid by cutting of woods, borrowing, economy and various arrangements with family and friends.[1] For the

[1] One of Charles I's wealthiest and most loyal supporters, the last Earl of Southampton (owner of Bloomsbury property that went to the Russells by the marriage of his daughter Rachel) was fined £6466 for the part he had taken in the Civil War, a sum reckoned to be a tenth of all his landed property He paid it, retired to his country estates for awhile, and emerged as a very wealthy nobleman

squires were ready to make great sacrifices to avoid parting with their lands. Recent detailed research into ownership land-holding in several Midland counties in the Seventeenth Century, shows how little private land changed hands under the Commonwealth. Indeed, small estates were more freely sold after the Restoration, from economic causes which then became prevalent ; but it is indeed possible that the Parliamentary fines may have permanently embarrassed some small estates and helped to compel their sale in a later generation.

In any case it does not appear to be true that, as has sometimes been conjectured, the 'Whigs' of Charles II's reign were a new type of landowner who had risen in the county during the Commonwealth period. The older squirearchy suffered much indignity and distress and was put to many mean shifts, but it was not uprooted. When in the autumn of 1654 the Cavalier diarist, John Evelyn, made a sporting tour among his friends' country houses in the Midlands, from the 'pleasant shire of Nottingham, full of gentry,' to Cambridge and Audley End, he noted many 'noble seats' and says nothing of the ruin or absence of their proprietors, or of any changes of ownership.

The nobility were even more in eclipse than the squirearchy, for hardly any of the House of Peers followed the fortunes of the Roundhead party in the regicide period. Under the rule of Saints and Soldiers, Lords ceased to count for much in England. Dorothy Osborne, ever sensible and ever gay, remarked on the folly of her cousin in choosing a wife because she was an Earl's daughter, 'which methought was the prettiest fancy and had the least sense in it, considering that it made no addition to her person, and how little it is esteemed in this age, if it be anything in a better.' The 'better age' of the Restoration brought back, sure enough, a respect for Earls and a more general desire to marry their daughters.

On the other hand, many important results of the victory of the Parliamentary armies survived the Restoration. One of these was the increased power of London and of the

at the Restoration This is very far from rooting out a class, or forcing property to change hands by fines *The Russells in Bloomsbury*, Miss Scott Thomson, Chap II.

merchant community in high politics. Another was the triumph of the English Common Law over its rivals.

In Tudor times, to strengthen the Royal Prerogative and meet the real needs of that age, there had been a great increase in the number and the power of independent Courts each administering its own legal system with little regard to the procedure and principles of the Common Law. But the Parliaments that opposed James and Charles I, instructed by Edward Coke, the greatest of English lawyers, endeavoured to uphold the supremacy of the Common Law, and in 1641 were able to enforce it by legislation ; the Star Chamber, the Ecclesiastical Court of High Commission and the jurisdiction of the Councils of Wales and of the North were then abolished. The Admiralty Court had already been compelled to accept the control of the Common Law in the development of the important commercial law of England.

Thus the English judicial system escaped the fate of being broken into fragments. The only dualism left was the independence of the Court of Chancery , but even that ceased to be a weapon of Royal Prerogative, and became a complementary system of Judge-made law, ingeniously dovetailed into the principles enforced in the ordinary Courts.

The victory of the Common Law involved the abolition of torture in England long before other countries, and paved the way for a fairer treatment of political enemies of government when brought to trial. Above all, the victory of the Common Law over the Prerogative Courts preserved the mediaeval conception of the supremacy of law, as a thing that could not be brushed aside for the convenience of government, and could only be altered in full Parliament, not by the King alone This great principle, that law is above the executive, was indeed violated during the revolutionary period of the Commonwealth and Protectorate But it re-emerged at the Restoration, and was confirmed at the Revolution of 1688, which was effected against James II precisely to establish the principle that law was above the King. That mediaeval idea of the supremacy of law as something separate from and independent of the will of the Executive, disappeared in continental countries. But in England it became the palladium of our liberties and

had a profound effect on English society and habits of thought.

Under the Commonwealth and Protectorate, constitutional law was trodden underfoot in the exigencies of Revolution, but even during that period the common law and the lawyers were very strong, strong enough unfortunately to prevent the fulfilment of a loud popular demand for law reform, a crying social need which Cromwell vainly endeavoured to supply. The lawyers were too many for him. Even he was not wholly a dictator : the soldiers on one side, the lawyers on the other, at once supported him and held him in check. When at the Restoration the army was disbanded, the lawyers were left victorious.

It may well be imagined that there was scant building of manor-houses between 1640 and 1660. But the peaceful generation that preceded the Civil War had been, on the whole, a prosperous period for the gentry, great and small, who had continued the work of the Elizabethan age in filling the English countryside with more and yet more lovely and commodious dwellings.

Certain changes were taking place in the structure of the houses newly built. The lofty, raftered hall, the essential feature of the country house from Saxon to Elizabethan times, went out of fashion. 'Dining-rooms' and 'drawing-rooms' were now built of one storey's height, as the various purposes of the old 'hall' were divided up among a number of different chambers of ordinary size. The courtyard in the centre of the older type of manor-house, where so much of the life of the establishment used to go on, also shrank or disappeared in the plans of the Jacobean mansion ; the yard was placed no longer in the middle of the house but behind it.

Cornices and pilasters decorated the exterior in classical style. Inside, the staircase and its landings were broad, and the baluster elaborately carved. On the walls, Jacobean panelling more and more displaced tapestry, hangings and wall paintings, for common use, though much fine tapestry was still manufactured and highly valued. Framed pictures and marble sculpture were becoming common, after the example set by the art-loving Charles I and his great subject

the Earl of Arundel. Rubens, Van Dyck and the homelier Dutch painters did much work for English patrons.

The plaster-work of the ceilings was elaborately decorative. On the floors, rushes were giving place to carpets and matting ; that meant fewer fleas and diminished the chance of the flea-borne Plague. Good carpets were now made in England, or imported from Turkey and from Persia. But in 1645 the Verneys at Claydon had 'leather carpets for dininge and drawinge rooms,' 'greene wrought velvet furniture' and 'stooles with nailes guilt' : most of the company still sat on stools, chairs being reserved for the elder or more honourable. The trestle table was giving place to solid tables with ornamental legs. Many magnificently carved beds and cupboards of the period still survive in their grandeur of polished and time-blackened oak.

Out-of-doors, it was a great age for gardens in England, as indeed it has been ever since. Bacon, after saying that 'God Almighty first planted a garden,' declared that without one 'building and palace are but gross handiworks.' The period of late Elizabeth and the early Stuarts saw the development of the flower garden as distinct from the garden of useful vegetables (to which the potato from America had now been added). Then, too, there was the well-loved orchard with its green walks, and the 'pleached bower' into which Beatrice stole

> Where honeysuckle ripened by the sun
> Forbids the sun to enter

The flower-garden proper was arranged in rectangles and squares, divided by broad walks, set in full view of the house. Box and lavender were trimmed into hedges and ornamental shapes.

Many trees, plants and flowers were introduced into England at this period, among many others the crown imperial, the tulip, the laburnum, the nasturtium, the everlasting, love-in-a-mist, honesty, the tulip tree, the red maple. The love of gardening and of flowers that now became so characteristic of the English, was in part taught them by Huguenot refugees from the low countries, settled in Norwich and in London. The Huguenot weavers of Spitalfields started the first gardening societies in England.

In the reign of Charles I, English books, such as *Paradisus*, praising and describing flowers, taught and popularized the fashion of gardening. (Eleanor Rohde, *Story of the Garden*, 1932.)

Besides the flowers of this period that are still with us, our ancestors had then a passion for herbs, which has not survived to the same extent. Herbs were much used for medicinal and for culinary purposes. Mazes and dials were laid out by plantations of herbs and flowers. These verses of Andrew Marvell, the lesser of Cromwell's two poet secretaries, tell of a side of life that was not destroyed by the wars of Roundhead and Cavalier :

Here at the fountain's sliding foot,
Or at some fruit-tree's mossy root,
Casting the body's vest aside,
My soul into the boughs does glide ;
There, like a bird, it sits and sings,
Then whets and combs its silver wings,
And, till prepared for longer flight,
Waves in its plumes the various light.

How well the skilful gardener drew
Of flowers, and herbs, this dial new ,
Where, from above, the milder sun
Does through a fragrant zodiac run,
And, as it works, the industrious bee
Computes its time as well as we !
How could such sweet and wholesome hours
Be reckoned but with herbs and flowers !

The ideal family life of the period that ended in such tragic political division, has been recorded once for all in the *Memoirs of the Verney Family*. Their household at Claydon, Bucks, represented all that was best in the Puritan and Cavalier way of life, practised in unison by Sir Edmund Verney and by his son Ralph, till the obstinacy of the King and the violence of his enemies, forced even those two men of moderation to take opposite sides in civil war, without less love for one another and without any weakening of their common interest to maintain the family house and estate intact in evil times.

The picture we get of the Verneys at Claydon in the reign of Charles I shows the English country house as a centre not only of estate management but of domestic industry, in which the members of the family, as well as their army of servants and dependants of both sexes, have essential parts to play.

'A great house provisioned itself with little help,' writes the historian of the Verneys

'The inhabitants brewed and baked, they churned and ground their meal, they bred up, fed and slew their beeves and sheep, and brought up their pigeons and poultry at their own doors Their horses were shod at home, their planks were sawn, their rough ironwork was forged and mended. Accordingly the mill-house, the slaughter-house, the blacksmith's, carpenter's and painter's shops, the malting and brewhouse, the woodyard full of large and small timber, the sawpit, the out-houses full of all sorts of odds and ends of stone, iron and woodwork and logs cut for burning—the riding house, the laundry, the dairy with a large churn turned by a horse, the stalls and styes for all manner of cattle and pigs, the apple and root chambers, show how complete was the idea of self-supply'

The dovecots and the stew-ponds full of fish, and the decoy for water fowl were not less important. And game brought down by the hawk or the 'long gun' was the more valued in winter because otherwise the only meat was that which had been salted at the autumn slaughtering Skin diseases were a frequent result of the salt diet, at Claydon and in all other households high or low. For winter vegetables were scarce ; potatoes and salads were only beginning to come into use.

'The work with the needle and the wheel was a very necessary part of a lady's education, and as some of the poorer relations of the family resided in great houses as "lady helps" (the equivalents of the pages of the other sex) they were useful and welcome in carrying out these important household labours There are letters from five or six of these ladies, connected with the Verneys, well born, well bred, and as well educated as their neighbours, who seem to have been treated with great consideration.'

Among the employments of the female part of the household at Claydon were spinning at wool and flax, fine and coarse needlework, embroidery, fine cooking, curing,

preserving, distillery, preparing medicines from herbs at the prescription of the doctor or by family tradition, and last but not least the making of fruit syrups and home-made wines from currant, cowslip and elder, which played a great part in life before tea and coffee began to come in at the Restoration.

Ten of Lady Verney's children grew up. This large and affectionate family, in which no hand was idle, found time for long correspondence with absent members. In the Verney archives four hundred letters survive from a single year. Frequent journeys were taken by Sir Edmund and his children, on the King's or the Parliament's business, or on family and personal affairs. They were made on horseback at a good pace along the soft roads. In 1639 Sir Edmund rode 260 miles in four days with the King from Berwick to London. Much slower was the walking pace of the family 'coch—a sort of cart without springs, with leathern curtains against the weather, which most unluxurious luxury was used only by infirm persons or delicate women who could not ride'

Public conveyances were becoming common in the period of the Commonwealth, but were still expensive and slow. In 1658 'stage coaches' set out from the George Inn, Aldersgate, London, to various cities on the following terms:

To Salisbury in two days for 20 shillings
To Exeter in four days for 40 shillings.
To Plymouth for 50 shillings,
and to Durham for 55 shillings (no time of arrival guaranteed)
and every Friday to Wakefield in four days for forty shillings

The breeding and purchase of horses of every kind and for every purpose was an essential part of the Verneys' way of life at Claydon. In that part of England horses were gradually replacing oxen in cart and plough. Sir Edmund Verney's cart-horses were sent periodically to an estate he had in the fens to 'gather flesh at an easy charge.'

When we compare the life and letters of the Verneys in the reign of Charles I to the life and letters of the Pastons under Henry VI, we are aware of the general resemblance, but we are aware also of higher moral instincts and traditions,

of greater kindliness and less hard outlook on family relationships and on duty to neighbours. Long generations of peace and order in the countryside, and possibly other changes as well, had made life more gentle and more just. Sir Tobie Matthew, a courtier of Charles I who knew several foreign lands almost as well as he knew his own, and being a Roman Catholic convert was able to take an outside and critical view of his countrymen, writes in the preface to his Letters that the English had a monopoly of 'a certain thing called Good Nature,' and that 'England is the only Indies where this bottomless mine of pure gold is to be found.' 'No man is more remote than an Englishman from the doggedness of long-lasting and indelible revenge.' These good qualities were put to an exacting test when civil war came to every man's gate, a war more ubiquitous in its scope and area than the Wars of the Roses, but fought from less selfish and material motives.

BOOKS FOR FURTHER READING

Memoirs of the Verney Family in the Civil War (1892); Dorothy Osborne's *Letters*; Mrs Hutchinson's *Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson*, Lipson, *Ec Hist. Eng* , Darby, *Hist. Geog Eng*, chap xi, Margaret James, *Social Problems and Policy during the Puritan Revolution*, 1930, Godfrey Davies, *The Early Stuarts* (Oxford Hist. Eng), chap xi.

CHAPTER IX

Restoration England

Charles II, 1660–1685 James II, 1685–1688. (The Revolution, 1688–1689)
William III, 1689–1702

Politically, the Restoration of 1660 restored King, Parliament and Law in place of the 'forced power' of military dictatorship. Ecclesiastically it restored the Bishops and Prayer Book and the Anglican attitude to religion, in place of Puritanism. But socially—and its social aspect concerns us most in this work—the Restoration restored the nobles and the gentry to their hereditary place as the acknowledged leaders of local and national life. The Englishman's proverbial 'love of a lord,' his respectful and admiring interest in 'the squire and his relations,' again had full play. Indeed, as events were to prove, the social importance of the peer and the squire, of the gentleman and his lady, was much more completely 'restored' than the power of the King. The Englishman was, at bottom, something of a snob but very little of a courtier.

Under the Commonwealth, with its democratic ideals and its military realities, the majority of the hereditary 'upper class,' being Cavaliers, had suffered an eclipse without parallel in our social history. They had not been destroyed as a class, but had been put into cold storage. They had not lost their lands or more than a certain proportion of their wealth by fines. But their place in national and local government and in social importance had for awhile been usurped by successful soldiers, or by politicians who could adapt themselves to the rapid changes of a revolutionary era. Some of these, Algernon Sidney and Ashley Cooper, had been men of good family; others, like Colonels Pride and Birch, had been such 'plain russet-coated captains' as Cromwell loved, whom he had raised up with him to rule the land. At the Restoration many of the Roundhead leaders disappeared into obscurity or exile; but others, like Monk, Ashley Cooper, Colonel Birch and Andrew Marvell

retained their status in the Parliamentary or Governmental ranks. Once the Regicides had been disposed of, there was no proscription of former Roundheads, except only of such as obstinately continued to attend 'conventicles,' as the places of Puritan worship were now called.

Throughout the reign of Charles II, religious nonconformists suffered severe though intermittent persecution, under the laws of the 'Clarendon Code.' The victims were members of the middle and lower classes, chiefly residing in the towns. Many of them were wealthy merchants, more were industrious artisans ; and statesmen were soon complaining that religious persecution interfered seriously with trade. Very few of those who suffered belonged to the landowning gentry . among the squires, the Roundhead spirit suffered change into the Whig, which refused to hamper its worldly ambitions by too scrupulous an adherence to the proscribed Puritan religion. A common Whig type was that of the sceptical Shaftesbury or the blasphemous Wharton, although these attitudes were no less fashionable among Cavalier courtiers and Tory leaders of Parliament. There were, however, plenty of Whigs who were good Christians, though never High Churchmen , the Russells and other Whig families attended the Anglican worship with sincere piety, while they engaged silenced Puritan clergymen as private chaplains and tutors for their children. The distinction between the two Protestant religions was by no means absolute for all men.

After the Restoration, the members of the landowning class who attended conventicles and suffered persecution as Nonconformists were a mere handful. Anglicanism became distinctively the upper-class religion, far more completely than it had been in the days of Elizabeth or of Laud There were indeed still a certain number of Roman Catholic country gentlemen, especially in Lancashire and Northumberland ; they were shut out from all participation in local and national government by laws which the King was occasionally able to break for their benefit. Otherwise the upper class, the gentlemen of England, were socially united by common conformity to the Anglican worship. Henceforth the services of the parish Church were under the special patronage of the ladies and gentlemen in the

family pew ; the great body of the congregation were their dependants, the farmers and labourers of the village. Addison's Sir Roger de Coverley in church affords a pleasant example of the social side of rural worship as it remained for many generations to come :

My friend Sir Roger, being a good Church-man, has beautified the inside of his Church with several texts of his own choosing He has likewise given a handsome pulpit cloth and railed in the communion table at his own expense He has often told me that at his coming to his estate he found the Parishioners very irregular , and in order to make them kneel and join in the responses, he gave every one of them a hassock and a Common-Prayer book , and at the same time employed an itinerant singing-master, who goes about the country for that purpose, to instruct them rightly in the tunes of the Psalms As Sir Roger is landlord to the whole congregation, he keeps them in very good order, and suffers no body to sleep in it besides himself , for if by chance he has been surprised into a short nap at sermon, upon recovering out of it he stands up and looks about him, and if he sees anybody else nodding, either wakes them himself or sends his servants to them.

The dissenting congregations, on the other hand, alike in times of persecution and toleration, were made up of men who prided themselves on their independence, and who liked to feel that the chapel and its minister belonged to themselves. Socially at least they were 'at ease in Zion,' safe from the inquisitorial eye of the squire and his lady. Until the Wesleyan movement, dissenting congregations and meetings were almost confined to cities, market towns and industrial districts, though many villages had isolated families of Quakers and Baptists. Some of the Dissenters were poor artisans like John Bunyan ; others, especially in London and Bristol, were wealthy merchants who could have bought up the squires who persecuted them. And often such merchants did in fact buy out needy gentlemen, after accumulating mortgages on their land. In the next generation the dissenting merchant's son would be a squire and a churchman. Yet another generation, and the ladies of the family would be talking with contempt of all who attended meeting-houses or engaged in trade !

Thus the social character of English religious divisions

was stereotyped at the Restoration and continued with little change until the Victorian era.

Though the upper class was now substantially one in the form of its religious observance, it was divided politically into Whigs and Tories. The Tories, who were far the most numerous, sought to extirpate religious Dissent and to make the Anglican Church coextensive with the nation. But the Whig Peers and gentry, an able and wealthy minority, advocated the new doctrine of Toleration, at least for all Protestants. They derived their political power from alliance with the Puritans of the industrial and commercial regions, who were able to control the municipal and Parliamentary elections in many boroughs. The Tories, like the Cavaliers before them, were the section of the society that stood most whole-heartedly in the old ways of rural England. The Whigs, like their Roundhead fathers, were usually those members of the landowning class who were in close touch with commercial men and commercial interests. And therefore Whig rather than Tory policies stood to gain in the long run by the continuous process of economic change, as it moved with gradually accelerating momentum towards an agricultural and industrial revolution which would leave only too little of the ancient ways.

The Restoration world had turned back from that preoccupation with matters ecclesiastical which had characterized Cromwellian England. The popular reaction that overthrew the Puritans had been less religious than secular. *Hudibras* is not a work of Anglican piety. Indeed, the principal reason why the English witnessed the return of the old Church establishment with relief, was because it made less constant and obtrusive demands for professions of religious zeal upon the common occasions of life. The Puritans had made men 'eat religion with their bread,' till the taste of it sickened them.

For a generation after 1660 the Puritans were often bitterly persecuted, but more for political and social reasons than from genuinely religious motives. The object of the 'Clarendon Code' was to prevent the revival of the Roundhead party, and to avenge the wrongs suffered by Anglicans and Cavaliers. But the spirit of the persecution was not

ecclesiastical ; it was not a heresy hunt. The hard-drinking fox-hunters of the manor-house hated the Presbyterians of the neighbouring Town not because they held the doctrines of Calvin, but because they talked through their noses, quoted scripture instead of swearing honest oaths, and voted Whig instead of Tory.

In 1677 the Writ *De haeretico comburendo* was abolished, and all 'punishment by death in pursuance of any Ecclesiastical Censures' was abolished by law ; but in fact no heretic had been put to death in England since the Unitarians who had been burnt in the lifetime of Shakespeare. Puritanism in the day of its power had not made for orthodoxy ; Cromwell's England had abounded in strange doctrines and attenuated creeds, and had left to the restored Kings an island of 'a hundred religions.' Where religions are many and various, irreligion is less likely to be persecuted. But in Presbyterian Scotland, where sects had little hold and where the spirit of orthodoxy in doctrine was popular with the masses, a lad of eighteen was hanged for denying the authority of the Scriptures as late as the year 1697 ; whereas in England, any time after the Civil War, a reputation for 'atheism,' though it might be socially disadvantageous, no longer endangered a man's life or freedom. By the end of the Century, Unitarian doctrines, for which men were burnt a hundred years before, were not uncommon among English Presbyterian congregations of the highest bourgeois respectability, while many of the leading statesmen, not to mention King Charles himself in his merrier moods, were sceptics in the sense of being scoffers.

It was of graver import that experimental science was spreading fast in England. Under the Commonwealth there had been a group of remarkable scientists resident at the Universities and in London, whose work came into the limelight of fashion and favour at the Court of the Restoration. The Royal Society was founded under the patronage of King Charles and of his cousin Prince Rupert, himself a conductor of chemical experiments.

The uses to which science might be turned, in agriculture, industry, navigation, medicine and engineering, appealed to the practical English mind. Another hundred years were to pass before the Industrial Revolution gathered full force,

largely as a result of the application of science to manufacture, but already in the reign of Charles II many subjects of daily importance were being studied in a scientific spirit, and this new spirit already had a great influence on educated thought in England. Robert Boyle, Isaac Newton and the early members of the Royal Society were religious men, who repudiated the sceptical doctrines of Hobbes. But they familiarized the minds of their countrymen with the idea of law in the Universe and with scientific methods of inquiry to discover truth. It was believed that these methods would never lead to any conclusion inconsistent with Biblical history and miraculous religion ; Newton lived and died in that faith. But his law of universal gravitation and his calculus supplied methods of approaching truth that had no relation to theology. The spread of scientific inquiry affected the character of religious belief, though not as yet its content. The age of latitudinarian piety that followed the Revolution of 1688 was being prepared by these intellectual movements of the Restoration.

Early in the reign of Charles II, the first 'History of the Royal Society,' its character and aims, was written by Sprat, some years later Bishop of Rochester, a man highly characteristic of the new age both in the versatility of his mind and the politic flexibility of his opinions. This High Church divine commends the 'learned and inquisitive age' in which he lives, praises the practical objects of the Fellows of the Royal Society, 'to increase the powers of all mankind and to free them from the bondage of errors,' and claims for these new philosophers the widest range of inquiry—'these two subjects, God and the Soul, being only forborne : in all the rest, they wander at their pleasure.' God was to be praised by studying the plan of His creation, but no further attempt was to be made to fit the findings of science into the scheme of theology, as the schoolmen of old had striven so long and so painfully to do. 'God and the Soul' were taken for granted—and left aside. It was an orthodox position no doubt, but not essentially religious. God was no longer all in all. In a world governed by such studies, superstition would be exposed, and poetry would yield pride of place to prose ; would even religion be quite the same again ?

Sprat was one of the excellent writers who formed the

lucid prose of the Restoration era, but he was not an original thinker, and his book on the Royal Society (1667) is on that account all the more symptomatic of the mind of the new age. Like Locke and Newton a few years later, the Bishop concedes to 'the ancient miracles' of Bible times a passport as privileged phenomena, unusual interferences of God with His creation. But modern miracles were no longer to be expected in the Protestant, Anglican climate. 'The course of things,' Sprat declares, 'goes quietly along, in its own true channel of natural causes and effects.' It is no longer even Shakespeare's world: 'King Oberon and his invisible army of fairies' are 'false chimeeres' to this philosopher Bishop. When the Englishmen of the Revolution epoch laughed at 'Popish miracles,' it was not only because they were Popish but because they were miracles. Sprat even warns his too credulous countrymen 'not to be hasty in assigning the causes of plagues, or fires or inundations' to the judgments of God for sin Finally, 'the new philosophy' of the physical sciences is to be the mother of inventions useful to man, enriching and comforting his life. 'While the old philosophy could only bestow on us some barren terms and notions, the new shall impart to us the uses of all the creatures and shall enrich us with all the benefits of fruitfulness and plenty.'

While the episcopal blessing was thus enthusiastically given to the questioning spirit of science, it is not surprising that in the later years of the Century, the reaction of educated minds to charges of witchcraft was very different from what it had been a short time before. Evidence of these 'odd stories' was now critically and sometimes contemptuously examined by magistrates. Popular superstition on this subject was almost as gross as ever, but the gentry were now predisposed to be sceptical. The accused witches had two advantages; England was a country where the common Law did not permit the use of torture to extract confession; and the judges had almost as much control as the juries over the course and outcome of trials. More generally speaking, it was lucky for the witches that England was still aristocratically governed In many rural parts the populace, if it had not been restrained by the gentry, would have continued to drown or burn witches down to the Nineteenth

Century. But in 1736, greatly to the indignation of many simple folk, Parliament repealed the already obsolete law that condemned a witch to die

We can trace this gradual change of opinion, affecting in the first instance the educated classes, in Sir John Reresby's account of a witch trial that he attended at the York Assizes in 1687 :

A poor old woman had the hard fate to be condemned for a witch. *Some, that were more apt to believe those things than me,* thought the evidence strong against her, the boy that said he was bewitched falling into fits before the bench when he see her. But in all this it was observed that the boy had no distortion, no foaming at the mouth, nor did his fits leave him gradually, but all of a sudden ; *so that the judge thought fit to reprieve her.*

However, it is just to relate this odd story One of my soldiers, being upon the guard at eleven o'clock at night at Clifford Tower Gate the night the witch was arraigned, hearing a great noise at the Castle, came to the porch, and being there see a scroll of paper creep from under the door, which, *as he imagined by moonshine,* turned first into the shape of a monkey, then a turkey cock, which moved to and fro by him. Where upon he went to the gaol and called the under-gaoler, who came and see the scroll dance up and down and creep under the door, where there was scarce the room of the thickness of half a crown. *This I had from the mouth both of the soldier and gaoler.*

It will be observed that Sir John Reresby and the Judge, the men of education, were more sceptical than the Jury, the soldier and the turnkey.

For their patronage of science, Charles II and his courtiers deserve all praise. Their patronage of the theatre, struggling to revive after its suppression by the foolish bigotry of the Puritans, was also a well-timed service to the nation, but the manner of it was less deserving of unqualified eulogy.

The revived theatres differed in several important respects from those in which Shakespeare had first been played. The whole playhouse was now roofed in, and the stage artificially lighted with candles : there were 'footlights,' a drop curtain and painted scenery. Moreover, the women's parts were no longer, as before the Civil War,

taken by well-trained boys, but by women actresses. Men came to see the actress as much as the play. Nell Gwynne's personal vigour and charm counted for more perhaps than her professional skill. It was to a large extent a new theatre and a new dramatic art, with new possibilities and new dangers.

For many years there was one theatre open in London, the Theatre Royal, at Drury Lane, and sometimes one or two more. But there were no fixed theatres in the provinces and the touring companies were few and bad. Acting was not, as music then was in the age of Purcell, a national pastime and an art widely practised at home by many small groups of connoisseurs. The drama was localized in London, and even there it appealed not to the citizens but to the Court and the fashionables of the Town. It was for their vitiated taste that the drama of the early years of the Restoration catered.

At that time a hard-hearted and cynical frivolity prevailed in Whitehall and Westminster much more than in England as a whole. The men who haunted Charles II's Court, the first leaders of the Whig and Tory parties in the time of the Popish Plot and the Exclusion Bill, laughed at all forms of virtue as hypocrisy, and believed that every man had his price.

> What makes all doctrines plain and clear?
> *About two hundred pounds a year.*
> And that which was proved true before
> Prove false again? *Two hundred more*
>
> (*Hudibras.*)

So they thought, being themselves for sale. Yet two thousand Puritan Ministers had just given up their livings and gone out to endure persecution for conscience' sake (1662), following the example of their enemies the Anglican clergy, who had suffered like things for twenty years past rather than desert the Church in her extremity. The Puritan and Anglican clergy who refused to save their livelihoods by recantation were nearly ten times as numerous as the Catholic and Protestant clergy who had similarly stood out during the frequent Tudor changes of religion. Conscience meant more, not less, than of old. England was

sound enough. But her courtiers and politicians were rotten. For the King himself and the younger generation of the aristocracy had been demoralized by the break-up of their education and family life, by exile and confiscation leading to the mean shifts of sudden poverty, by the endurance of injustice done to them in the name of religion, by the constant spectacle of oaths and covenants lightly taken and lightly broken, and all the base underside of revolution and counter-revolution of which they had been the victims.

For these reasons a hard disbelief in virtue of any kind was characteristic of the restored leaders of politics and fashion, and was reflected in the early Restoration drama which depended on their patronage. One of the most successful pieces was Wycherley's *Country Wife* ; the hero, by pretending to be a eunuch, secures admission to privacies which enable him to seduce women ; one is expected to admire his character and proceedings. In no other age, before or after, would such a plot-motive have appealed to any English audience.

However, the theatre had been restored, and much of its work was good. It revived plays by Shakespeare and Ben Jonson. It was adorned by the poetic genius of Dryden's dramas and the musical genius of Purcell's incidental tunes and operatic pieces. And in the following generation Wycherley's brutalities went clean out of fashion. They were succeeded by the new English comedy of Congreve and Farquhar. Those great writers are usually lumped with Wycherley as 'Restoration Dramatists,' but in fact it would be more chronologically correct to call Congreve and Farquhar 'Revolution Dramatists,' for they wrote in the reigns of William and Anne.

So the Wycherley period of the English stage did not last long, but it had done permanent harm, because it had confirmed many pious and decent-minded families, High Church as well as Low, in a hostile attitude to the drama, which had in Shakespeare's time been peculiar to rigid Puritans. Till late in the Nineteenth Century, not a few well-brought-up young people were never allowed to visit the theatre. And if such stringency was the exception rather than the rule, it is at least true to say that the serious part of the nation would never take the theatre seriously.

This misfortune was not a little due to Puritan bigotry and to its outcome in the licentiousness of the early Restoration drama. These unhappy conditions were peculiar to England: the age of Wycherley over here was the age of Molière, Corneille and Racine in France. There the drama, comic as well as tragic, was decent and was serious, and the French have ever since taken their drama seriously, as the Elizabethan English took theirs, regarding it as a civilizing influence and a criticism of life.

The age which produced Newton's *Principia*, Milton's *Paradise Lost*, Dryden's *Absalom and Achitophel*, Purcell's Music and Wren's Churches, and all the varied interests and curiosities of the daily life recorded by Evelyn and Pepys, such an age was one of the greatest for English genius and civilization. It could not have been what it was without the printing press, yet it is remarkable what a small amount of printing served its turn.

In the first place there was a rigid censorship. No book, pamphlet or news-sheet could be legally printed without licence obtained from the authorities. Enemies of the existing establishment in Church or State, could only print their views in secret presses, operated in London garrets by desperate men, who were spied upon by informers in the pay of Roger Lestrange, and savagely punished if caught.

But the censorship that thus stifled debate no longer derived its sanction from the Royal Prerogative, as of old, but from an Act of Parliament. The first Licensing Act, passed in 1663 by the Cavalier Parliament, aimed at preventing the publication of seditious and heretical works—meaning in the first instance Roundhead and Puritan writings. The Act was periodically renewed, except during the period of the Whig Houses of Commons and the years without a Parliament that followed (1679–1685). Revived by the Parliament of James II, the Licensing Act was finally allowed to expire in the more liberal age ushered in by the Revolution. After 1696 an Englishman was permitted to print and publish whatever he chose, without consulting any authority in Church or State, only he could be called to account for it on a charge of libel or sedition before a jury

of his countrymen. Thus Milton's dream of 'liberty of unlicensed printing' was realized in England, a generation after his death.

Under the restrictions of the Censorship while it still existed, men of letters and science had been able to make a freer use of the press than politicians. The ecclesiastical licensers,[1] while refusing their sanction to the specific doctrines of Dissent, were not so obscurantist as to prevent the publication of *Paradise Lost* or *Pilgrim's Progress.* Newton's *Principia* bears the *imprimatur* of Samuel Pepys as President of the Royal Society in 1686.

Yet the aggregate of books and pamphlets published was not large. By the provisions of the Licensing Act the number of master-printers in the Kingdom was reduced to twenty and the number of presses they might each use was rigidly limited. Except for the two University Presses, all the master-printers congregated in London, to the detriment of intellectual life in the country at large. In the following century, when the Licensing Act was no more, printing became widely diffused, to the great benefit of the literary and scientific life of the Provinces. But in Stuart times, London and the two Universities monopolized printing and publishing. When William of Orange occupied Exeter on his famous march from Torbay, the Capital of the West was unable to furnish a single printer or machine to strike off copies of his manifesto

Except during the few years in Charles II's reign when the Censorship was in abeyance, there were practically no newspapers, for the meagre official *Gazette* could not be so called. News circulated in 'newsletters' written by hand in London and sent down to correspondents in distant towns and villages : the recipients, if they wished, could read or lend them to their neighbours. It was largely by this means that the Whig and Tory parties were formed and held together in the constituencies. And news of all sorts—sporting, literary and general, went round in the same way. The composition and multiplication of these newsletters

[1] By the Licensing Act of 1663 Political treatises were to be licensed by the Secretary of State, Law books by the Lord Chancellor, books of Heraldry by the Earl Marshall or Kings of Arms, and all other publications by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London These authorities appointed Licensers to read the books

employed an army of scribes in London, answering to the journalists and the printers of newspapers of later times.

Private libraries were growing more common, varying in size and character from the noble collections of Samuel Pepys and of the Cotton family, to the modest bookshelf in the yeoman's farm. That a fine country house ought to have a fine library was an idea already becoming fashionable, but it was not yet put in practice so generally as in Hanoverian times.

On the other hand, since public libraries were extremely rare outside Oxford and Cambridge, it was difficult for readers of slender means to obtain the use of books In 1684 a public library in London was established by Tenison, then Rector of St. Martin's in the Fields, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury ; Evelyn writes in his diary :

> Dr. Tenison communicated to me his intention of erecting a library in St Martin's Parish, for the public use, and desired my assistance, with Sir Christopher Wren, about the placing and structure thereof, a worthy and laudable design He told me there were thirty or forty young men in orders in his parish, either governors to young gentlemen or chaplains to noblemen,[1] who being reproved by him on occasion for frequenting taverns and coffee-houses, told him they would study or employ their time better, if they had books This put the pious Doctor on this design ; and indeed a great reproach it is that so great a city as London should not have a public library becoming it.

Tenison built a large house on the ground of St. Martin's churchyard, and used the upper part for the library, the ground floor as a workroom for the poor. (Strype's *Stow's London*, 1720, Ch. VI, p. 68.)

Ten years before, Wren had been engaged by his friend, Isaac Barrow, Master of Trinity, Cambridge, to design the noblest of all College Library buildings ; and the bookcases were adorned by the wood-carving of Grinling Gibbons. If books were still somewhat rare, they were held in all the more honour and were housed like Princes.

A fair proportion of the people, even in remote villages, could read and write Accounts were made up ; letters of business, gossip and affection were exchanged ; diaries, as

[1] Viz, the class of clergymen most likely to rise to Bishoprics and Deaneries in that age of patronage.

we know, were kept both in short and long hand. But though it was an age of reading and writing in the conduct of the ordinary affairs of life, very little printed matter came in the way of the less educated. This gave all the greater importance to the sermon, which dealt as freely with political as with religious doctrines. In the Puritan era gone by,

> The pulpit, drum ecclesiastic
> Was beat with fist instead of a stick
>
> (*Hudibras.*)

Now the jack-boot was on the other leg ; it was said that the country parsons of the restored Church preached more often about King Charles the Martyr than about Jesus Christ. A fierce political tone was no doubt too common, but much also was taught and preached by the rural clergy that was better than politics. Moreover, there existed, chiefly in London, an influential minority of the Anglican priesthood, whose sermons, broadly human, learned and eloquent—raised the reputation of the Church and its pulpit deservedly high with all men. Such were Tenison, Stillingfleet and Isaac Barrow, and above all Tillotson.

Moreover, the Church of the Restoration and Revolution made great contributions to learning. The ecclesiastico-political controversies of the time, in which all sides appealed to the practice of the past, set a premium on historical research, and helped to produce in England the first great age of mediaeval scholarship. It inspired the researches of clergymen and religious laymen like Sir William Dugdale of the *Monasticon*, Anthony Wood and Hearne of Oxford, Jeremy Collier, Nicholson, Burnet, the first serious historian of the Reformation, Wharton of *Anglia Sacra*, Rymer of the *Foedera* and Wake and Wilkins of the *Concilia*. The publication of mediaeval texts, and the study of Anglo-Saxon and mediaeval antiquities by these men between 1660 and 1730 were astonishing alike in quality and volume. After that, interest in mediaeval history died away under the influence of encyclopaedic 'enlightenment' in the age of Voltaire, which was in turn succeeded by the sentimental romantic antiquarianism of the epoch of *Ivanhoe*. But when, in the middle and later years of the Nineteenth Century, the two Maitlands and Stubbs and a host of other

scholars unearthed the realities of mediaeval life and thought, the work of these moderns was based upon that of the scholars of the later Stuart period, whose exact and monumental studies had been inspired by the desire to defend the Church of England against Rome and Geneva, or by zeal to espouse one side or the other in the Nonjuror and Convocation controversies. (See *English Scholars*, Prof. David Douglas, 1929.)

In classical scholarship, Richard Bentley, Professor of Divinity and Master of Trinity, Cambridge, shone supreme among the English scholars not only of his own day but of all time. The publication of his *Phalaris* in 1699 made a new epoch in Greek studies, as Newton's *Principia* had done in physical science only a dozen years before. The fact that Bentley and his opponents published their lucubrations on *Phalaris* in English, not in Latin, betokened the increasing number of the general public who could take an intelligent interest in a learned controversy. But even Bentley still published the notes of his editions of the classics in Latin, just as Newton published his *Principia*, for scholarship and science still regarded themselves as cosmopolitan first and national afterwards.

Meanwhile the Quaker community was spreading its influence among the people faster than any other of the persecuted sects. Founded by George Fox in the period when the sword of Cromwell guarded the 'liberty of prophesying' against presbyter and priest, the strange religion was able to take root, but the unusual proceedings and manners of the first Friends subjected them to much ill-usage even in that era of sectarian liberty. And when the Restoration brought back the avowed persecution of Dissent, the Quakers suffered most severely of all the sects exposed to the severity of the Clarendon Code. Averse from institutional religion, regardless of sacraments, without priesthood or dogma, the Quakers, if they had come into existence half a century before they did, would have been burnt in batches. But the kind of persecution they had now to undergo, of stripes and imprisonment, enabled them to win proselytes by the display of patience and meekness under suffering.

With the meekness went a strain of mild obstinacy exquisitely calculated to infuriate the self-important bumbledom of that time, as when the Friends refused to remove their hats before the Court that was to try them. Their protest against the snobbery and man-worship of the age was invaluable, but sometimes it took very foolish forms.

The nature of early Quakerism in the lifetime of its founder (Fox died in 1691) was a popular revivalism, profuse in its shrill utterance, making converts by thousands among the common folk. In the reigns of William and Anne, the Friends had become numerically one of the most powerful of the English sects. They settled down in the Eighteenth Century as a highly respectable and rather exclusive 'connection,' not seeking to proselytize any more, but possessing their own souls and guiding their own lives by a light that was indeed partly the 'inner light' in each man and woman, but was also a tradition and a set of spiritual rules of extraordinary potency, handed on from father to son and mother to daughter in the families of the Friends.

The finer essence of George Fox's queer teaching, common to the excited revivalists who were his first disciples, and to the 'quiet' Friends of later times, was surely this—that Christian qualities matter much more than Christian dogmas. No Church or sect had ever made that its living rule before. To maintain the Christian quality in the world of business and of domestic life, and to maintain it without pretension or hypocrisy, was the great achievement of these extraordinary people. England may well be proud of having produced and perpetuated them. The Puritan pot had boiled over, with much heat and fury , when it had cooled and been poured away, this precious sediment was left at the bottom.

The autobiography of Sir John Reresby, Baronet, of Thryberg in the West Riding of Yorkshire, supplies a typical instance of the changing fortunes of a Cavalier landed family. Sir John's father died in 1646, the year after Naseby, leaving the estate in debt for £1200, 'not through ill husbandry but through reason of the war.' He had been taken prisoner by the Roundheads two years before his death, 'confined to his own house,' and forced by fines to sell 'a large wood, all of it great timber, that stood in the

Park.' His son, Sir John, aged twelve at the time of his succession to the encumbered estate, managed, under the careful conduct of his mother, to pull things round. In the next twenty years the debts were gradually paid off, and in 1668 Sir John was in a position to begin a series of improvements in his country house.

He rebuilt the exterior of the manor-house with stone in place of rough-cast; he put 'a new wainscot in several of the rooms'; he enlarged the deer park by taking in some arable fields, and 'encompassed it with a stone wall'; to replace the timber sold during the troubles, he planted ashes and sycamores, chosen as more suitable to the soil than 'trees of better kinds'; he brought the garden up to date, making a '*jett d'eau* or fountain, in the middle of the parterre, and the grotto in the summerhouse and brought the water in lead pipes,' and he raised the height of the garden wall. These operations were frugally spread over a number of years. Finally, just before the Revolution, he was 'at some charge to repair and beautify the Church and the windows and to give a new bell to the steeple.'

So far from being an 'illiterate squire,' Sir John was a fair Latin scholar and had a smattering of Greek; he talked Italian fluently and French like a Frenchman. In his youth he had spent some time in Padua University and in Venice, learning music and mathematics. At home he was an active Justice of the Peace; his clerk, he tells us, made '£40 a year out of the place'—more than many clergymen received from their livings. Sir John sat for the rotten borough of Aldborough (Yorks), where there were only nine electors, privileged owners of 'burgage houses.' A moderate and cautious Tory, Sir John became a House of Commons man, a courtier, sometimes a paid servant of the Crown. But he never ceased to be, first and foremost, a country gentleman.

Landowners of this type, with estates of the middling size and with outside connections and sources of profit, could more than hold their own in the Restoration world. But the small squire who lived on the proceeds of farming his own land but had little or no rents or other property, a man of meagre education and no knowledge of the world outside his own county, was beginning to lose ground in the latter

part of the Seventeenth Century. The economic situation was gradually turning against him, for capital was needed to keep up with the new methods of land improvement. The fines and losses of the Civil War period might be a weight round the neck of a small estate for many years after the Restoration. And henceforth, more than ever, the great landowners and the men who had acquired new wealth by law, politics or commerce, were on the look-out for land, and ready to buy up the needy small owner with tempting offers. In this way the Dukes of Bedford added acre to acre, and manor to manor, till it seemed as if all Bedfordshire were theirs.

This process of increasing the great estates by extinguishing the small, culminated in the reign of George III, but it had already begun in the reign of Charles II. It accounts for much of the bitterness of Tory feeling immediately after the Revolution of 1688 against the moneyed men and the great Whig Lords. The small squire was usually a Tory and he specially detested the burden laid on his vanishing patrimony by the land tax, raised to pay for the wars of William and Marlborough, the more so as he believed that the proceeds of the tax went into the pockets of low-born army contractors, and of rich Dissenters, Londoners and Dutchmen who lent money to government. Though less fatal to the whole race of landowners than our modern Income Tax and Death Duties, the Land Tax was a sore burden to many small estates.

War and taxation certainly hastened the change, but at bottom the creation of great estates out of small was a natural economic process, analogous to the absorption of small businesses by large in the industrial world of our own day. If once agriculture came to be regarded as a means of producing national wealth, and no longer as a means of maintaining a given state of society, the change was inevitable The capital in the hands of the great acquisitive landowners, and their devotion to the business and profit of landowning, were necessary conditions of that 'agricultural revolution' which in the Eighteenth Century so greatly increased the productivity of the English soil by wholesale enclosure and by the general application of new agricultural methods.

In the reign of Charles II these changes were still in the experimental stage. Agricultural writers were advocating, and a few more enlightened landlords and farmers were practising the improvements which became general in the following century—scientific rotation of crops, proper feeding of stock in winter, roots and clovers, the field cultivation of turnips and potatoes, oil-cake, silos, the storage of water. In the Restoration period all these things were known, but their general adoption was retarded by the open-field system with its half-communal agriculture, and by the want of capital and knowledge among the small squires and yeomen freeholders to whom so much of the land still belonged. And even the big landowners, in the generation immediately following the disturbance of the Civil Wars, had not enough confidence in the future, not enough capital or credit, nor enough personal interest in agriculture to take the lead in land improvement on a large scale, like their descendants in the days of 'Turnip Townshend,' Coke of Norfolk and Arthur Young.

After the Restoration rents were rising, but the landlords put too little of them back into the land and failed to encourage good farmers.

> He that havocs may sit :
> He that improves must flit

was a Berkshire saying of this time. 'Our gentry are grown ignorant in everything of good husbandry,' wrote Pepys. For lack of leadership and capital the age of change was postponed.

So, under merry King Charles, the old rural world still survived, with its wide diffusion of rights in the soil, its comparative economic equality, its open fields and its small productivity. But the movement towards great estates, enclosed fields, and improvement of agricultural methods was already on the way.

For one thing, national policy was already promoting increased production for the domestic and foreign markets. Acts of Parliament restricted the import of cattle from Ireland and of corn from abroad, and offered the English farmer bounties for export. This policy, introduced step by step from Charles II to Anne, was partly meant as a

set-off to the heavy incidence of the land tax and was, of course, popular with the small squires and freehold yeomen. Yet, if it helped them at the expense of the home consumer, it helped still more the larger landlords, and the men with capital and enterprise to increase production for the market, the men who were gradually buying up the small estates.[1]

These protective corn laws and bounties did not have their full effect until Hanoverian times, but their adoption under the later Stuarts is significant of the social forces that were moulding our national policy, the more so as export bounties on corn were not a system in general use in other countries. Its singular adoption in England was due to the control of economic policy which Parliament had won from the Crown as a result of the Civil War. The power of the House of Commons over the business affairs of the country was confirmed at the Restoration and further enlarged at the Revolution. And the House of Commons was very much alive to the interests of the landowners, to which class nine-tenths of its members belonged. The voters in the Parliamentary boroughs, most of them small country towns, preferred to be represented by neighbouring gentry rather than by real 'burgesses' from their own ranks. By this arrangement, so characteristic of the advantages of English snobbery, the interests of the townsfolk received more attention at Westminster and at the same time the political and social power of the House of Commons was increased. If, for example, Aldborough, instead of electing Sir John Reresby, had sent up one of its small shopkeepers to Parliaments, neither King, Lords nor Ministers would have cared what such a man said or thought. Only London and a few other great cities chose their own merchant princes to speak for them on the floor of the national Senate: for what they said carried weight.

But although the House of Commons was becoming, to

[1] The actual working of the bounty of five shillings a quarter on wheat exported, may be seen in the following letter from Falmouth in 1675.

'Much corn is buying up in those parts for the Canaries and Holland, so that the price is raised since harvest three shillings on twenty gallons and is like to be dearer, for the encouragement the merchant has at five shillings per quarter paid them at the custom house very much encourages them to buy, so that the Act, which is good for the farmers, is not beneficial to the town and tradesmen' (*State Papers, Dom.* 1675, p. 403.)

an ever increasing degree, a House of landlords, whose personal interest was mainly agricultural, it did not follow that trade and industry were neglected. After all, more than four hundred of the five hundred members sat for boroughs ; such a Chamber, consisting mainly of squires whose constituents were townsfolk, was more likely than any other assembly to give due consideration both to the agricultural and to the trading needs of the nation. Moreover, a large proportion of the landlords in both Houses of Parliament, particularly the richer and more powerful among them, were personally interested in industrial or commercial affairs. It is therefore no surprise to find that in this same period Parliament protected cloth manufacture as assiduously as corn growing , forbade the import of foreign cloth and the export of raw wool, killed the Irish cloth trade for the benefit of the English clothiers, and ordained that everyone who died should be buried in English cloth [1]

The Navigation Act, which aimed at keeping the trade of the country for English instead of Dutch shipping, had been passed in the Long Parliament in 1651, at a time when State policy was much under the influence of the merchant community of London. The Restoration made no change in this respect. Court and Parliament were at one on the policy of the Navigation Laws, to keep the trade of England and her Colonies in English bottoms, and on the concomitant policy of hostility to our Dutch commercial rivals.

The Princes and Ministers of the Court of Charles II, as well as their critics in Parliament, were in close personal contact with the City magnates who conducted the great adventures of foreign commerce. The highest persons in the land held shares in the joint-stock companies trading in Indian, African and American waters. James, Duke of York, Lord High Admiral and heir to the throne, was Governor of the Royal African Company and shareholder in East Indian stock ; he succeeded Prince Rupert as the Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company and was in turn succeeded by Marlborough.

[1] 'Odious ! in woollen ! 'twould a saint provoke,'
Were the last words that poor Narcissa spoke
(Pope, *Moral Essays*, I.)

In this way the magnates who controlled English diplomatic, naval and military policy were in the closest possible touch with the mercantile community and personally shared its interests and its outlook. The wars with Holland in the reign of Charles II, and with France in the reigns of William and Anne were to a large extent mercantile and colonial wars, on the necessity and profit of which Court, Parliament and City were agreed.

The pacifist and 'little England' feeling of the squires with small rent rolls and rustic outlook played its part in Tory electioneering, but had not much influence on the action of statesmen at Westminster and Whitehall. A series of wars of commercial and colonial expansion, first against Dutch, then against French, increased the English territories in America and pushed English commerce into the markets of Europe and the world. These wars were paid for largely by the land tax. It cannot, therefore, be said that English policy from Charles II to Anne neglected the mercantile or the national interest from a prejudice in favour of the land, or from undue attention paid to the opinions of the majority of the landowners.

Old rural England, on the eve of the wholesale enclosures and the industrial revolution, is often presented to the mind's eye of posterity in one or other of two rival pictures. On the one hand we are asked to contemplate a land of independent and self-respecting peasants, most of them attached to the soil by small personal rights therein, contented with the country quiet and felicity which have been since destroyed, and celebrating their rural happiness in ale-house songs about 'Harvesthome,' which we have since promoted to the drawing-room ; and the same land, we are reminded, was also the land of craftsmen in village and market town, not divorced from rural pleasures because they pursued industry, using tools instead of watching machines, and therefore enjoying in their daily work the delight of the individual artist, for which a poor substitute is found in the feverish excitement of our modern amusements, organized *en masse* as a counterpoise to the dullness of mechanical and clerical toil. On the other hand we are shown the opposing picture : we are asked to remember the harsh, backbreaking

labour of the pre-mechanical ages, continued for thirteen or more hours in the day ; child-labour instead of primary schools ; disease and early death uncontrolled by medical science or hospital provision ; and absence of cleanliness and comforts which we now regard as necessities ; neglectful and unimaginative harshness not only to criminals and debtors but too often to women, children and the poor at large ; and, finally, a population of five and a half millions in England and Wales, with less material comfort than the present population (1939) of more than seven times that number.

Confirmation of both these pictures emerges from a study of the period. But which picture contains the greater and more important body of truth it is hazardous to pronounce, partly because the dispute is about intangible values—we cannot put ourselves back into the minds of our ancestors, and if we could we should still be puzzled ; partly also because, even where statistics would help, statistics are not to be had.

It is true that, about the time of the Revolution, the able publicist Gregory King made a calculation from the hearth tax and other data of the probable numbers in various classes of the community. The figures he gave represent a shrewd guess, but no more. They will indeed serve negatively as a check on the enthusiasm of the *Laudator temporis acti*, by recalling the fact that, even before the great enclosure and the industrial revolution, the number of farmers and yeomen was relatively small and the numbers of the agricultural proletariat large.

The two largest classes by far in King's analysis of the nation are the 'cottagers and paupers' and the 'labouring people and outservants.' The former represent, we may suppose, those who attempted to be independent of wages and, according to King, made a very poor business of the attempt. Yet such persons, who picked up a living off the common whereon they had squatted, or off the small field they owned behind their hovel, may have been happier than King knew, even if they were poorer than is realized by modern idealizers of the past. King's second large class, the 'labouring people and outservants,' are the wage-earners. But many of them had also some rights on the

common, some garden or tiny holding which added to the interest and dignity of life, without entitling the owner to the proud rank of English yeoman. Even the servants of industry had many of them small gardens or plots of land to till in their off hours, especially the woollen weavers in all parts of the island. On the stony heights around Halifax each clothworker had 'a cow or two' in a field walled off on the steep hillside whereon his cottage stood.

On the other hand, there were very large numbers of employees both in agriculture and industry who had no rights in land and no means of subsistence but their wages.

The wages in agriculture and in industry were supposed to be regulated by schedules issued for each county by the Justices of the Peace, who also occasionally set a limit to the price at which certain goods might be sold. These schedules did not pretend to fix either wages or prices exactly, but only to set a maximum which was not to be surpassed. Variations were therefore permissible inside every county, as well as differences between one shire and the next. Moreover, the maximum announced was very often transgressed in practice.[1]

Judging by negative evidence, we may conclude that concerted strikes and combinations to raise wages were not common ; we hear much more about strikes in the reign of Edward III than in the reign of Charles II.

The Elizabethan Statute of Artificers, that was still partially in force, penalized the leaving of work unfinished, as well as the giving or taking of wages above the maximum fixed by the Justices of the Peace. But the maximum was often exceeded when excess payment was to the interest of both employer and employed. If there was little trade-unionism, there was much individual bargaining about wages.

Even when the low prices are taken into account, some of the wages paid seem low by modern standards. But

[1] Wages differed from one estate to another, in 1701 a Yorkshire squire wrote 'The wages of a good husbandman in the parts about Barnsley and Wortley I find to be no more than £3 a year, and Sir Godfrey gives his keeper but £3. 14s., and his bailiff £4, so that we are worse served for high wages. About Wortley all the husbandmen are up every morning with their beasts at three o'clock and in our house they lie abed till near seven. But above all Warne's £20 vexes me.' I expect both food and lodging were given, as well as the wages mentioned. That year wheat stood as low as 34s a quarter and other grain in proportion, and chickens could be bought in the West Riding at twopence apiece.

they were high in comparison with the Europe of that day. The national characteristic of Englishmen, then as now, was not thrift but insistence on a high standard of life. Defoe, writing as an employer, declared that :

> Good husbandry is no English virtue. English labouring people eat and drink, especially the latter, three times as much in value as any sort of foreigners of the same dimensions in the world.

The staple diet was bread, or rather bread, beer and usually meat. Vegetables and fruit played a small, and meat a very large part in the English meal of that date. Among the middle and upper classes, breakfast was often a 'morning draft' of ale with a little bread and butter ; that sufficed till the noonday dinner, a tremendous meal of various fish and meats. As to the poorer households, Gregory King reckoned that half the population ate meat daily, and that of the other half the greater number ate meat at least twice a week. The million who 'received alms,' 'eat not flesh above once a week.'

Reliable statistics of the population of England, and of the classes into which it was divided cannot be obtained before the first Census of 1801, but the calculations—or shall we call them guesses ?—that Gregory King made with the help of the hearth tax and other data at the time of the Revolution (1688) are well worthy of examination. At least they represent the map of society as it presented itself to the thought of a well-informed contemporary. The reader would do well to study the figures, knowing indeed that they cannot be exact, but not knowing in what direction the errors lie.

To interpret this table, several points should be borne in mind. The 'heads per family' are the persons living under one roof : the 'family' includes the servants in the house as well as the children. The poor, therefore, are put down as having much smaller 'families' than the rich, although the average number of children still alive and still at home might be the same in all classes. The 'families and incomes' given are, of course, guesses at the *average* figure : in each class, some householders would have larger 'families' and incomes than the figure set down, while others in the same class lived on a smaller scale. The 'Freeholders'

Number of Families	*Ranks, Degrees, Titles and Qualifications*	*Heads per Family*	*Number of Persons*	*Yearly Income per Family*
160	Temporal lords . . .	40	6,400	£3200
26	Spiritual lords . . .	20	520	1300
800	Baronets	16	12,800	880
600	Knights . .	13	7,800	650
3,000	Esquires . . .	10	30,000	450
12,000	Gentlemen .	8	96,000	280
5,000	Persons in greater offices and places	8	40,000	240
5,000	Persons in lesser offices and places	6	30,000	120
2,000	Eminent merchants and traders by sea	8	16,000	400
8,000	Lesser merchants and traders by sea	6	48,000	198
10,000	Persons in the law . . .	7	70,000	154
2,000	Eminent clergymen . . .	6	12,000	72
8,000	Lesser clergymen . . .	5	40,000	50
40,000	Freeholders of the better sort . .	7	280,000	91
120,000	Freeholders of the lesser sort	5½	660,000	55
150,000	Farmers	5	750,000	42 10*s*
15,000	Persons in liberal arts and sciences .	5	75,000	60
50,000	Shopkeepers and tradesmen .	4½	225,000	45
60,000	Artisans and handicrafts .	4	240,000	38
5,000	Naval officers . . .	4	20,000	80
4,000	Military officers . .	4	16,000	60
50,000	Common seamen	3	150,000	20
364,000	Labouring people and out-servants	3½	1,275,000	15
400,000	Cottagers and paupers	3¼	1,300,000	6 10*s*
35,000	Common soldiers	2	70,000	14
	Vagrants, as gipsies, thieves, beggars, etc.		30,000	
	Total . .		5,500,520	

(Printed in Charles Davenant's Works (1771), Vol II, p. 184, with further figures)

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include, not only owners of their own farms, but also copy-holders and tenants for life. Finally, it must be remembered that 'Labouring people and out-servants,' and 'cottagers and paupers,' the two largest classes in the community, include many who had small rights in land of one kind or another.

According to Gregory King over one million persons, nearly a fifth of the whole nation, were in occasional receipt of alms, mostly in the form of public relief paid by the parish. The poor-rate was a charge of nearly £800,000 a year on the country and rose to a million in the reign of Anne. There was seldom any shame felt in receiving out-door relief, and it was said to be given with a mischievous profusion. Richard Dunning declared that in 1698 the parish dole was often three times as much as a common labourer, having to maintain a wife and three children, could afford to expend upon himself; and that persons once receiving outdoor relief refuse ever to work, and 'seldom drink other than the strongest ale-house beer, or eat any bread save what is made of the finest wheat flour.' The statement must be received with caution, but such was the nature of the complaint of some ratepayers and employers about the poor-law.

These problems of outdoor relief have a family likeness in all ages. But one peculiarity of the English Poor Law in the Restoration era and the Eighteenth Century was the Act of Settlement, passed by Charles II's Cavalier Parliament. By this Act every Parish in which a man tried to settle could send him back to the parish of which he was native, for fear that if he stayed in his new abode he might at some future date become chargeable on the rates. Nine-tenths of the people of England, all in fact who did not belong to a small class of landowners, were liable to be expelled from any parish save their own, with every circumstance of arrest and ignominy, however good their character and even if they had secured remunerative work. The panic fear of some parish authorities lest newcomers should some day fall on the rates, caused them to exercise this unjust power in quite unnecessary cases. The Act placed a check upon the fluidity of labour and was as much an outrage as the Press-gang itself on the boasted freedom of

Englishmen. Yet it was seldom denounced, until many years later Adam Smith dealt with it in scathing terms. It is hard to ascertain the exact degree to which it operated, and Adam Smith appears to have exaggerated the harm done and the number of cases in which cruel wrong was inflicted. But at best it was a great evil ; it is the reverse side of that creditable effort of Stuart England to provide for the maintenance of the poor through the local public authorities That effort, on the whole, was not unsuccessful, and largely accounts for the peaceable character of English society.

Nothing marked more clearly the growing power of squirearchy in the House of Commons and in the State than the Game Laws of the Restoration period. By the Forest Laws of Norman and Plantagenet times, the interests of all classes of subjects had been sacrificed in order that the King should have abundance of red deer to hunt ; but now the interests of the yeomen and farmers were sacrificed in order that the squire should have plenty of partridges to shoot. Even more than politics, partridges caused neighbours to look at one another askance : for the yeoman freeholder killed, upon his own little farm, the game that wandered over it from the surrounding estates of game preservers. And so in 1671 the Cavalier Parliament passed a law which prevented all freeholders of under a hundred pounds a year —that is to say the very great majority of the class—from killing game, even on their own land Thus many poor families were robbed of many good meals that were theirs by right ; and even those few yeomen whose wealth raised them above the reach of this remarkable law, were for that reason regarded with suspicion. The best that even the good-hearted Sir Roger de Coverley can bring himself to say of the ' yeoman of about a hundred pounds a year,' ' who is just within the Game Act,' is that ' he would make a good neighbour if he did not destroy so many partridges '— that is to say upon his own land.

For many generations to come, grave social consequences were to flow from the excessive eagerness of the country gentlemen about the preservation of game. Their anxieties on that score had grown with the adoption of the shot-gun. During the Stuart epoch shooting gradually superseded

hawking, with the result that birds were more rapidly destroyed, and the supply no longer seemed inexhaustible In Charles II's reign it was already not unusual to 'shoot flying.' But it was regarded as a difficult art, the more so as it was sometimes practised from horseback. But the 'perching' of pheasants by stalking and shooting them as they sat on the boughs, was still customary among gentlemen

The netting of birds on the ground was a fashionable sport, often carried on over dogs who pointed the game concealed in the grass. It is written that Sir Roger 'in his youthful days had *taken* forty coveys of partridges in a season' probably by this means. To lure wild duck, by the score and the hundred, into a decoy upon the water's edge was a trade in the fens and a sport on the decoy-pond of the manor-house. Liming by twigs, snaring and trapping birds of all kinds, not only pheasants and wild duck but thrushes and fieldfares, had still a prominent place in manuals of *The Gentleman's Recreation*. But the shot-gun was clearly in the ascendant, and with it the tendency to confine sport more and more to the pursuit of certain birds specifically listed as *game*. In that sacred category a place had recently been granted by Statute to grouse and black-cock ; already the heather and bracken where they lurked were protected from being burnt except at certain times of the year, and the shepherd transgressing the law was liable to be whipped. Addison's Tory squire declared the new Game Law to be the only good law passed since the Revolution.[1]

Fox-hunting, under the later Stuarts, was beginning to assume features recognizably modern. In Tudor times the fox had been dug out of its earth, bagged, and baited like a badger, or had been massacred as vermin by the peasantry. For in those days the stag was still the beast of the chase *par excellence*. But the disorders of the Civil War had broken open deer-parks and destroyed deer to such an extent that at the Restoration the fox was perforce substituted in many districts. As yet there were no county or regional packs supported by public subscription, but private gentlemen

[1] The two leading Game Laws are those of 22–23 Charles II, cap 25, and 4 W. and M. cap 23

kept their own packs and invited their nearer neighbours to follow. The idea that gentlemen should hunt 'the stag and the fox with their own hounds and among their own woods,' was gradually yielding to the chase across the country at large, irrespective of its ownership.

In some counties earths were stopped and the endeavour was made with frequent success to run the fox down in the open. Under these conditions runs of ten or even twenty miles were not unknown. But in Lancashire and probably elsewhere 'the hunters ran the fox to earth and then dug him out, if he refused to go to earth he generally got away. It is possible that there had not yet been developed as tireless a breed of hounds as to-day.'[1]

The chase of the deer, with all the time-honoured ritual of venery, still continued as the acknowledged king of sports, but it was steadily on the decline, as the claims of agriculture for more land reduced the number of forests and set a limit to the size of the deer-park that a gentleman was likely to keep enclosed round his manor-house.

More widely popular than the hunting of deer or fox was the pursuit of the hare, with a 'tunable chiding' of hounds, the gentlemen on horseback, and the common folk running, headed by the huntsman with his pole. This scene partook of the nature of a popular village sport, led indeed by the gentry but shared with all their neighbours, high and low.

Other popular sports were wrestling, with different rules and traditions in different parts of the country; various rough kinds of football and 'hurling,' often amounting to a good-natured free-fight between the whole male population of two villages Single-stick, boxing and sword-fighting, bull and bear baiting, were watched with delight by a race that had not yet learnt to dislike the sight of pain inflicted. Indeed the less sporting events of hanging and whipping were spectacles much relished. But cockfighting was the most popular sport of all, on which all classes staked their money even more than upon horse-racing. But the turf was beginning to take a greater place in the national

[1] Thus Thomas Tyldesley writes in his diary—'went early to Sullom a fox hunting to meet brothers Dalton and Frost, found two foxes, but could get neither of them into the earth' (Notestein *English Folk*, p 172.) Compare the account of fox-hunting in Bloome's *Gentleman's Recreation*, 1686, II, pp. 137–139.

consciousness owing to the patronage of Newmarket by Charles II, and the improvement in the breed of riding-horses by the introduction of Arab and Barb blood.

Under the later Stuart kings, Spas were much frequented for purposes of fashion and of health. The waters of Bath were beginning to attract the great, for the first time since Roman days, but the fine town of Beau Nash and Jane Austen had not yet been built. Buxton and Harrogate were much attended by northern gentry and their families But the Court and the world of London fashion were found oftenest and in greatest number among the rustic cottages round the Tunbridge Wells, where in 1685 the courtiers built a church for their own use, dedicated to King Charles the Martyr.

As yet the seaside had no votaries : doctors had not yet discovered the health-giving qualities of its air ; no one wanted to bathe in the waters of the ocean or to rhapsodize over its appearance from the shore. The sea was 'the Englishman's common,' his way to market, his fishpond, his battleground, his heritage. But as yet no one sought either the seaside or the mountains for the refreshment they could give to the spirit of man.

During the century of Stuart rule, frequent assessments of the counties of England were made for fiscal purposes ; the returns indicate roughly the geographical distribution of wealth. The richest county was Middlesex, as it included so much of London ; the poorest was Cumberland. Surrey, owing to the expansion of London and its market, rose from the eighteenth place in 1636 to the second in 1693. Next in order of wealth came Berks and the group of agricultural counties north of the Thames—Herts, Beds, Bucks, Oxfordshire and Northants. Their wealth is remarkable, considering that they possessed no great towns, industrial districts or coal mines and that their agriculture was chiefly open-field , but it was not far from the London market. Thus the central counties were on the average the richest. Next came the southern, including Kent and Sussex, with lands of old enclosure and fruit gardens, and with downland sheep-runs , next East Anglia, enjoying the farmer's blessing of a low rainfall, and with Essex abutting

on London ; next in order of wealth came the West, distant from the capital, and suffering from a damper climate. And last of all, the lately turbulent and still impoverished North. The seven poorest counties in England were Cheshire, Derbyshire, Yorkshire, Lancashire, Northumberland, Durham and Cumberland. The poverty of the Northern shires is the more remarkable because they all had coal-mines, and Yorks and Lancs had textiles as well. But the wealth produced by these industries had not yet been applied on a large scale to the improvement of agriculture in these backward northern parts. That was done in the following century, when the wealth of the Tyneside mines was poured out into the soil, to fertilize the moorland farms of the neighbouring counties.

If a line be drawn from Gloucester to Boston, the area of England without Wales is divided about equally into a North-Western half and a South-Eastern half : to-day the majority of the population live North-West of the line, owing to the development of heavy industries, though a return drift towards the South has recently begun. But in Charles II's reign it is probable that only a quarter of the population lived North-West of the line. The land tax returns indicate that the wealth of the North-Western half was only 5:14, while the Excise returns make it 1 : 4. (Ogg, *England in the reign of C. II*, p. 51.)

In the course of the Seventeenth Century, changes had taken place in Warwickshire significant of industrial progress and of its reactions on agriculture. In Elizabeth's reign Camden had noted in his *Britannia* that Warwickshire was divided by the Avon into two parts, the Feldon or rich arable district of open field to the South-East of the river, and the Woodland (the Forest of Arden) to the North-West. In the reign of William III, Gibson, afterwards the famous Bishop of London, brought out a new edition of the *Britannia*, adding notes of changes that had taken place since Camden's day : the Forest of Arden had disappeared, and had become a rich arable district :

For the ironworks in the counties round [viz. in Birmingham and the Black Country] destroyed such prodigious quantities of wood that they quickly lay the country a little open, and by degrees made room for the plough. Whereupon the inhabitants, partly by their

own industry, and partly by the assistance of marl have turned so much of wood and heath-land into tillage and pasture that they produce corn, cattle, cheese and butter enough not only for their own use but also to furnish other counties

Meanwhile, on the other side of Avon, the Feldon, once the great arable region supplying Bristol with corn, had been largely laid down to grass, and the population of many villages had been reduced, according to Gibson, to a few shepherds ; the reason for the change to pasture in the Feldon is, he thinks, the superior arable quality of the old forest lands on the other side of Avon recently brought under plough. Here, then, in both parts of Warwickshire, we have a great increase of enclosed fields—to the North-West enclosure of old forest and heath, to South-East hedging of former open fields. All this occurred in the Stuart era, with very little said, for the feeling against enclosure, so vocal in Tudor times, seems to have died away.[1]

In Stuart times, in spite of the rapid growth of iron trades in Birmingham and the Black Country to the west of it, coal or coke fires were not yet applied to iron. Coal, however, was used in many other processes of manufacture , and it had become the regular domestic fuel in London, and in all regions to which it could easily be carried by water. Under these conditions the Stuart era saw an increase in the coal trade, hardly less astonishing, in the circumstances of that earlier time, than the second great increase in the early Nineteenth Century, the age of ' coal and iron.' [2]

Throughout the Seventeenth Century coal played a great part in developing, not only the national wealth and therewith the well-being of many classes of the community above ground, but also the less pleasant characteristics of the Industrial Revolution in the life of the miners themselves. Their ' capitalist ' employers saw little and cared less about

[1] In his ' Additions to Warwickshire ' since Camden's day, Gibson also notes in the 1695 edition of the *Britannia* (pp 510–512) that in Stratford church ' in the chancel lies William Shakespeare, a native of this place, who has given proof of his genius and great abilities in the 48 plays he has left behind him ' There are only 37 in the present canon ! But the passage at least shows the considerable place Shakespeare already held in his countrymen's estimation

[2] The following figures given by Mr Nef in his *Rise of the British Coal Industry*, pp 19–20, [Routledge], show how rapid was the advance in coal production

their conditions of life and labour. As the pits grew deeper, the miners spent more time far away underground, and were more and more segregated from the rest of humanity; explosions due to fire-damp became more frequent and more terrible, and women and children were more often employed underground as bearers. In Durham and Northumberland great combinations of thousands of miners and keelmen on the Tyne coal-barges, strove with indifferent success to better their conditions of life. In Scotland the miners were reduced to the condition of 'bondmen' bound to the service of the mine. In England this could not be done, but the condition of the miners and their families were in many respects worse than that of any other large class of the community.

Mr. Nef, who has collected a great body of facts relating to mining conditions in Stuart and early Hanoverian times, writes:

> Coal created a new gulf between classes. The mediaeval peasants and artisans, whatever their disabilities and trials may have been, were not segregated from their neighbours to anything like the same extent as were the coal miners of the seventeenth century in most colliery districts

Moreover, within the coal-mining industry itself, there was now a complete barrier between the capitalist employer and the manual worker, similar to that which became general in so many other trades in later times. Indeed, under the later

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between the reigns of Elizabeth and William III, and show also the geographic distribution of the coalfields, much the same as at the present day.

ESTIMATED ANNUAL PRODUCTION IN TONS

	1551–60	*1681–90*	*1781–90*	*1901–10*
Durham and Northumberland	65,000	1,225,000	3,000,000	50,000,000
Scotland . .	40,000	475,000	1,600,000	37,000,000
Wales . .	20,000	200,000	800,000	50,000,000
Midlands . .	65,000	850,000	4,000,000	100,180,000
Cumberland	6,000	100,000	500,000	2,120,000
Kingswood Chase and Somerset	10,000	100,000	140,000	1,100,000
Forest of Dean . .	3,000	25,000	90,000	1,310,000
Devon and Ireland . . .	1,000	7,000	25,000	200,000
	210,000	2,982,000	10,295,000	241,910,000
Approximate increase		14 *fold*	3 *fold*	23 *fold*

The Midland coal area included mines in Yorks, Lancs, Cheshire, Derbyshire, Shropshire, Staffs, Notts, Warwickshire, Leicestershire and Worcestershire

Stuart Kings many new industries which sprang up as a result of the supply of coal for furnaces, tended to be of the same large-scale and capitalistic character. (Nef, *Rise of the British Coal Industry*, Vol. II, chap. IV.)

But there were many districts which could not obtain coal either by sea or by river. Some of these regions, owing to the decrease of timber, went short of fuel for the elementary needs of warmth and cooking, and remained in that condition until the improved roads, the canals and finally the railways of later times brought coal to every door. Thus, in the reign of William III, the adventurous Miss Celia Fiennes,[1] on a riding tour in the South-West, found her supper at Penzance 'boiling on a fire always supplied with a bush of furze, and that to be the only fuel to dress a joint of meat and broth' ; for the Cornish forests had disappeared, and the French privateers in time of war prevented the delivery of Welsh coal in the south Cornish ports. In Leicestershire, cowdung, that ought to have enriched the fields, was gathered and dried for fuel.

So too, in 1695, Gibson, in his edition of Camden's *Britannia* comments on the description given by the Elizabethan antiquary of the Oxfordshire hills 'clad with woods'; 'this is so much altered,' writes Gibson, 'by the late civil wars that few places except the Chiltern country can answer that character at present. For fuel is in those parts so scarce that 'tis commonly sold by weight, not only in Oxford, but other towns in the northern part of the shire.' Oxford town and gown could, however, warm their parlours and cook their food with coal conveyed by the Thames barges, whereas the 'towns in the northern part of the shire' found the shortage of wood fuel a more serious matter.

The bread-and-cheese diet to which many English working-class families were increasingly limited in the following century, was largely the result of this lack of kitchen fuel ; and in winter time their poor cottages must have been terribly cold. In those parts of the country where there was a time-gap between the timber age and the coal age,

[1] *The Journeys of Celia Fiennes*, edited by Christopher Morris (1947) This delightful and important record was composed on tours made partly in the reign of William III, partly in that of Anne Miss Fiennes was a lady of means and a dissenter. She was sister of the Third Viscount Saye and Sele. She rode through England on tours of pleasure and curiosity.

there was much suffering for the poor and some inconvenience for the rich.

But even before the days of hard roads, coal could at a cost be carried far inland, at a great distance from the mines, wherever the service was well organized. Thus Miss Fiennes describes the barges with 'sea-coal' from Bristol coming up by river through Bridgwater to a place within three miles of Taunton, 'where the boats unload the coal, the packhorses come and take it in sacks, and so carry it to places all about. The horses carry two bushell at a time, which at the place of disembarkation cost eighteen pence, and when it's brought to Taunton cost two shillings. The roads were full of these carriers going and returning.'

The growth of London, more and more outdistancing all other cities, continued after the Restoration without a check. By the year 1700 the capital contained well over a tenth of the five and a half million inhabitants of England.[1] Bristol and Norwich, the cities next in size, numbered about 30,000 each. And London trade was proportionately great. In 1680 the Custom House administration of the Port of London cost £20,000 a year, of Bristol £2000, of Newcastle, Plymouth and Hull £900 each; the rest were nowhere. The port of Newcastle lived on the export of coal, three-quarters of it to London; Hull flourished on the whaling and fishing industries, and on its importance as the chief garrison town of Northern England; Plymouth, like great Bristol and rising Liverpool, benefited by the growing trade with the transatlantic colonies, and on its own importance as the western base of the Royal Navy.

Whitby, Yarmouth and Harwich had flourishing shipbuilding yards. But many other ports, such as King's Lynn and the smaller harbours of East Anglia, were declining as trade increasingly sought the mouth of the Thames, or shifted to the West to catch the American trade. The

[1] It has been estimated from the registers of baptisms that in 1700 when England and Wales contained rather more than five and a half million inhabitants, the Metropolitan Area contained 674,350. Of these the 'City' proper contained about 200,000. (Mrs. George, *London Life*, etc., pp. 24–25, 329–330.) On the figures of population for England and Wales see Talbot-Griffith, *Royal Statistical Society Journal*, 1929, Vol. XCII, Pt. II, pp. 256–263.

effect of the Navigation Laws was to foster England's colonial trade across the Atlantic, and diminish her foreign trade with Scandinavia and the Baltic, to the disadvantage of the east coast ports, all save London. And even in the West, smaller ports like Fowey and Bideford suffered from the large size of ships necessitated by the long oceanic voyages. Moreover, London merchants and London capital controlled the trade of other cities.

The vital and recuperative force of London, perpetually fed by the inflow of immigrants and of wealth from outside, was heavily tested by the Plague and the Fire (1665–1666), disasters of the first magnitude, which however seemed scarcely to affect the onward movement of the power, opulence and population of the capital

The famous 'Plague of London' was merely the last, and not perhaps the worst, of a series of outbreaks covering three centuries. Between the campaigns of Crecy and Poitiers, the Black Death had first swept over Europe from some unknown source in the Far East, with the ubiquity and violence usual to the incoming of a new disease. The obscurest hamlet had little chance of escape. It is thought probable that a third, and possibly that one half of the fellow-countrymen of Boccaccio, of Froissart and of Chaucer, perished within three years. The Black Death remained in the soil of England, and became known as 'The Plague.' It never again swept the whole country at one time, but it perpetually broke out in different localities, particularly in the towns and ports and the riversides, where the ship-borne, flea-bearing rat multiplied. In London under the Lancastrian and Tudor Kings the plague was for long periods together endemic and nearly continual ; under the Stuarts it came in rare but violent outbursts. The rejoicing in London for the accession of James I had been cut short by an outbreak of the Plague that carried off 30,000 persons; the accession of Charles I was the signal for another, no less destructive. In 1636 a slighter attack occurred. Then followed thirty years of comparative immunity for London, during which other events took place calculated to make men forget in their talk the Plague horrors that their fathers and grandfathers had endured. So when the last outbreak came in 1665, although it did not destroy a

much larger proportion of the Londoners than some of its predecessors had done, it struck the imagination more, for it came in an age of greater civilization, comfort and security, when such calamities were less remembered and less expected, and it was followed close, as though at the Divine command, by another catastrophe to which there was no parallel in the most ancient records of London.[1]

The Great Fire (1666) raged for five days and destroyed the whole City proper between the Tower and the Temple; yet it probably did not unroof half the population of the capital. The 'Liberties' beyond the walls were only touched, and these contained by far the greater part of the inhabitants. London had been increasing with immense rapidity in the last sixty years. It was just short of half a million. In all other cities of England the townsfolk still lived within breath of the country, under conditions of what we should now call country-town life. In London alone the conditions of great-city life were growing up, in many respects in a peculiarly odious form. The poor were crowded out of the City into the slum districts of the 'Liberties' beyond—St. Giles's, Cripplegate, Whitechapel, Stepney, Westminster, Lambeth—where they multiplied exceedingly in spite of an enormous death-rate among infants.

The fire and rebuilding made little improvement in the sanitary and moral condition of the slum populations. For the seat and origin of the Plague had always been in the 'Liberties' outside the City, where the poorest dwelt. Now as these districts were not burnt down they were not rebuilt, and in 1722 Defoe declared that 'they were still in the same condition as they were before.' It is therefore evident that the 'rebuilding of London' due to the Fire was not the main reason why the Plague disappeared from England after its last great effort.

[1] During the Civil War (1642–1646) the Plague raged in other parts of the island, particularly the South and West; in some towns, such as Chester, a quarter of the inhabitants died of it. The 'Plague of London' (1665) was not quite confined to the capital. East Anglia suffered very severely, but the Plague did not extend far west or north. In Langdale, Westmorland, tradition still points to the ruins of an isolated farmhouse where all the inhabitants died of the Plague, owing to the infected clothes of a soldier being sent there, but the rest of the valley and district remained immune. The soldier's clothes presumably carried the flea that bore the Plague.

The portion of London that was changed by the Fire was the residential and business quarter in the heart of the City itself, the great commercial houses where the merchants with their orderly and well-fed households worked and slept. These abodes of wealth, commerce and hospitality dating from the Middle Ages, with their gardens behind and courtyards within, still presented lath and plaster walls to the narrow and crooked streets; the gables sometimes protruded so far over the shop fronts that the prentices in their garrets could shake hands over the way. When the Fire came racing before the wind, these old and flimsy structures were tinder to the flame. Only in the few places where the Fire met brick walls was it forced to linger and fight. The merchants took the opportunity to rebuild their houses of brick, and in a more wholesome if less picturesque relation to the street. Sanitation in the City itself was improved by the enforced rebuilding of so many very ancient dwellings.

The fact that the Plague did not again recur in England is due in part to the increase of brick building, and the substitution of carpets and panelling for straw and cloth hangings, since the infected fleas and the rats that carried them were thus deprived of harbourage. But it is probable that the chief cause of the disappearance of the Plague was due to no human agency at all, but to an obscure revolution in the animal world; about this period the modern brown rat extirpated and replaced the mediaeval black rat, and the brown rat was not a carrier of the plague-flea to nearly the same extent as its predecessor. (Saltmarsh's article in *Cambridge Hist. Journal*, 1941.)

The reconstruction of the City of London was accomplished at a pace that astonished the world

'The dreadful effects of the fire [wrote Sir John Reresby] were not so strange as the rebuilding of this great city, which by reason of the King's and Parliament's care, and the great wealth and opulency of the city itself, was rebuilded most stately with brick (the greatest part being before nothing but lath and lime) in four or five years' time.'

And London, which had lost a fifth of its population by the Plague made good that loss also without seeming to notice it

at all, so continual was the flow of immigrants from all the shires of England and half the countries of Europe.

The Mediaeval and Tudor City had disappeared in the flames ; only the ground plan of its rabbit-warren of streets and alleys was retained. The layout of the greatest city in the world continued to be the worst ; and mortal eye has never yet had a view of Wren's St Paul's.[1]

Eighty-nine churches, including the old Gothic Cathedral, had been burnt. If they were doomed to perish, no happier date could have been chosen for the holocaust since Christopher Wren, just arrived at the height of his powers, was beginning to be known in Court and City. His genius was stamped on the ecclesiastical architecture of the new London. His churches, which survived general rebuildings of the streets in which they stand, still (1939) testify to the spacious classical dignity of the age and of the man who put them in place of their mediaeval predecessors.

The rebuilding of St. Paul's was a communal effort worthy of a great nation. A tax on the coal entering the port of London was voted by Parliament for the purpose. The great work went steadily forward year by year, undeterred by all the excitements of the Popish Plot, the Revolution and the Marlborough Wars. It was completed in the height of Queen Anne's glory, a dozen years before the death of its architect.

The new St. Paul's was built of the white stone of Portland, fetched by sea direct from the quarries of that strange peninsula. Though the quarries had long been known, it was only in Stuart times that Portland stone began to be extensively used. The needs of Wren's colossal work gave a new life to the 'Isle of Portland' and its inhabitants. Vast quarries were opened and roads and piers built. Great sums were spent on

'salaries to agents and wharfingers and repairing ways, piers and cranes, with the expenses of several persons sent from London to view and direct the same, to regulate the working of the quarries and to adjust matters with the Islanders.' (*Ec. Hist. Rev.*, Nov. 1938)

[1] This sentence was written before the Blitz !

Henceforth the white Portland Stone plays an important part in architectural history of England, and seems specially associated with the cold majesty of the monumental work of Wren and Gibbs, just as the warm red brick suits the comfortable domesticity of the common dwellings of the same period.

Books for Further Reading

Besides the books mentioned in the notes to this chapter, see Pepys' and Evelyn's *Diaries*, and Arthur Bryant's *Life of Pepys*, David Ogg, *England in the Reign of Charles II* (1934), Chaps II and III; *The Seventeenth Century Background* (1934), Basil Willey.

CHAPTER X

DEFOE'S ENGLAND[1]

Queen Anne, 1702–1714—George I, 1714–1727—The Marlborough Wars, 1702–1712—Parliamentary and economic union with Scotland, 1707

WHEN a survey is demanded of Queen Anne's England and its everyday life, our thoughts turn to Daniel Defoe, riding solitary and observant through the countryside. It was one of his tasks to traverse Britain on such tours of reconnaissance, after his day's journey, in the inn of some market town, he wrote his report on local opinion to his employer, Robert Harley, a mystery-man like himself, and a lover of exact information secretly given. On Sundays he would attend the Dissenters' Chapel, observant of his fellow-worshippers and inquisitive as to their business affairs. For besides being a trader, he was a Nonconformist, not indeed of the type laden with the proverbial conscience, for Defoe could be all things to all men, but a Puritan in his preference for solid work and homespun to fashionable display. Like Cobbett, who rode and wrote about England a hundred years after him, he was a realist and a man of the people, but he was not, like his successor, half blinded by rage against the powers that be. For the age of Anne was the prelude to a long era of content, and Defoe, more than Swift, was the typical man of his day. Defoe, the trader, hailed the advent of the era of business prosperity as heartily as Cobbett, the disinherited yeoman, bewailed the rural past. He first perfected the art of the reporter ; even his novels, such as *Robinson Crusoe* and *Moll Flanders* are imaginary ' reports ' of daily life, whether on a desert island or in a thieves' den. So then, the account that this man gives of the England of Anne's reign is for the historian a treasure indeed. For Defoe was one of the first who saw

[1] Only a few years ago I wrote some chapters on the social life of England under Queen Anne, in my history of her reign, published, like this volume, by Messrs Longman As I cannot improve on them now, I have laid them under contribution.

the old world through a pair of sharp modern eyes. His report can be controlled and enlarged by great masses of other evidence, but it occupies the central point of our thought and vision.[1]

Now this picture of England, drawn by Defoe in much wealth of prosaic detail, leaves the impression of a healthy national life, in which town and country, agriculture, industry and commerce were harmonious parts of a single economic system. Much indeed of the administrative machinery of government, particularly of the 'poor decayed borough towns' which Defoe despised, was antiquarian lumber too religiously preserved. But for many years to come no cry was raised for Reform, because the principle of freedom then peculiar to England enabled individual enterprise to flourish, and new shoots to push through the old jungle. The Bumbledom of that day could not suppress the economic initiative native to the island soil.

The England so ordered was prosperous and in the main contented even in time of war, partly owing to good harvests and cheap food in the first half of Anne's reign. Only during the last three years of a decade of hostilities with France (1702–1712) were there signs of distress and discontent due to war conditions. Otherwise industry, agriculture and commerce all continued to expand; society moved forward unconsciously towards the Industrial Revolution, which grew in the next hundred years out of the conditions described by Defoe. Overseas trade; water-carriage on the rivers, particularly of coal; sheep-farming and the cloth trade; the national marketing of agricultural produce by wholesale dealers—on these things he lays stress, and it was these things that enabled many landowners to pay the land tax, the mainstay of the Marlborough Wars. They grumbled but they paid, till the war was won, when they sent the Whigs about their business and made peace.

It is true that rural squires over their October ale cursed the moneyed men and traders as economic parasites, war-

[1] He published his *Tour through Great Britain* in the reign of George I, but the tours on which he based his observations were largely taken in the early and middle years of Anne. The first edition of the Tour (1724–27) has been edited and republished by Mr. G D H Cole in 1927.

profiteers and Dissenters, would-be intruders into political life which was the proper sphere of the landed interest alone. But economically the activities of these undesirables doubled the rent of many a squire, as indeed he was partly aware. And the Act of Toleration, though scarcely to be mentioned without a groan over degenerate times, gave riches as well as quiet to the land.

In the reigns of Anne and George I the old way of life for peasant and craftsman was still carried on, but under conditions peculiarly favourable. The enterprise of trader and middleman was finding new markets for the products of the peasant's and craftsman's toil, and had already done much to relieve their mediaeval poverty without as yet destroying their rustic simplicity of manners. Money made in trade was more and more frequently put into the land by improving landlords, who had won or enlarged their fortunes as mercantile investors. This interplay of the activity of town and country, not yet subversive of the old social order, gave to Queen Anne's England a fundamental harmony and strength, below the surface of the fierce distracting antagonisms of sect and faction.

While religion divided, trade united the nation, and trade was gaining in relative importance. The Bible had now a rival in the Ledger. The Puritan, sixty years back, had been Cromwell, sword in hand ; thirty years back, Bunyan, singing hymns in gaol ; but now the Puritan was to be found in the tradesman-journalist Defoe. The Quaker, too, had ceased to prophesy in public against steeple houses, and had become a thrifty dealer, studying to be quiet. For old sake's sake, Puritans and Quakers were still called 'fanatics' in common parlance. But if there were 'fanatics' at large, one of them surely was Justice Bradgate, who 'rode a horseback into the Meeting House' at Lutterworth and told the preacher he lied. Yet that angry zeal of the High Churchmen was perpetually being tempered by patriotic and economic considerations that worked strongly in the minds of the Moderate Tories, led by Harley, whose secret servant was this same Defoe. Here then was an island which, with luck and good leading, might in wartime display enough unity, wealth and vigour to bring to his knees the mighty Louis of France, the undisputed

lord of nobles and poor peasants, who had got rid of his Nonconformists once for all by revoking the Edict of Nantes.

Already English agriculture had improved so far that more wheat was grown than in mediaeval times. Wheat was reckoned at thirty-eight per cent. of the bread of the whole population ; rye came next, barley and oats a good third and fourth. Prices were therefore quoted in terms of wheat and rye.

But wheat formed a much smaller proportion of the actual corn grown than of the bread baked, because enormous crops of barley were produced all over the island to make malt for ale and beer. For example, Cambridgeshire south of Ely was 'almost wholly a corn country' and, as Defoe observed, 'of that corn five parts in six is barley, which is generally sold at Ware and Royston and other great malting towns of Hertfordshire' Except in the cider counties of the West, ale had been unchallenged in former ages as the native drink of English men, women and children at every meal, and it was only beginning to feel the rivalry of strong spirits on the one hand and of tea and coffee on the other. It was still the drink of ladies. In 1705 Lady Carnarvon imputed the fact that Miss Coke was 'extremely fallen away and her voice weak and inward' to 'her having had stale beer all this summer.' Children still drank very small beer and it was in many cases better for them than the impure water which was too often the only alternative

Not only did barley everywhere provide the staple drink, but in some districts it provided the staple food. The small farmers of the Welsh hills supplied themselves with an excellent barley bread. The peasantry of the northern counties consumed oats and rye in various forms ; and in Scotland, oats 'supported the people' as Dr. Johnson was still able to assert many years later. In the central districts of England, rye and barley divided honours with wheat, and only in the drier climate of the south-east could wheat be said to preponderate.

But already in the reign of Anne a great interchange of agricultural products was going on between one district and

another, especially where river traffic was available. Largely for this reason the deepening of rivers and the making of locks was a movement specially characteristic of the period, two generations before the era of the Duke of Bridgewater's artificial canals.[1] The Thames all the way down from Oxford, and its affluents the Wey, the Lea and the Medway, were the scenes of an animated and crowded traffic—food, drink and timber going down to London, and Tyneside coal and overseas products towed up-country in return. Abingdon and Reading were each the emporium of a great agricultural district, of which they dispatched the produce by water to the capital. The coasts of Sussex and Hampshire sent their corn, Cheshire and other western counties sent their cheese, by sea to London, running the gauntlet of the French privateers from Dunkirk. The roads were at many times of year too soft for waggons, but in most weathers the sheep and cattle, the geese and turkeys of the northern and midland shires could be driven to the capital, grazing as they went on the broad grass of the roadside. Even before the Union of 1707, Scotland sent 30,000 head of cattle a year into England: the strange speech of the Welsh drovers was familiar on the roads near London; only the Irish cattle-trade had been killed by an Act of the reign of Charles II, a sacrifice to the jealousy of English breeders.

England and Wales already formed the most considerable area in Europe for internal free trade, to which Scotland was added half way through the reign of Anne. 'Tis our great felicity in England,' wrote Defoe, 'that we are not yet come to a *gabelle* or tax upon corn, as in Italy, and many other countries.' The shrewd Venetian envoy, Mocenigo, at the end of his residence in our island, reported to his masters in 1706 that freedom from internal *douanes* was one reason why 'industry was further advanced in England

[1] The *Statutes* and the *Commons Journals* for Anne's reign, as well as local histories, afford abundant evidence of this. One case may be quoted for all: in 1699 the inhabitants of Wisbech petition the House of Commons to have the River Lark made navigable, as the roads are impracticable, and their district which itself produces only butter, cheese and oats, is supplied with wheat, rye and malt from Suffolk. Among the rivers at this period deepened and supplied with proper locks were the Bristol Avon, the Yorkshire Derwent, the Stour and the Cam 'from Clayhithe Ferry to the Queen's Mill' in Cambridge.

than in any other part of the world.' London and every provincial city was an open market for provisions, with no toll taken at the gate. Favoured by this freedom, the corn-factors and middlemen of agriculture pervaded the whole island, buying up on speculation the farmers' crops as they grew in the field, or as they lay unthreshed in the barn; penetrating to the most unlikely places, even to dangerous Highland straths, amid claymores and Jacobites, in search of cattle to be fattened in English parks; everywhere forwarding the movement towards agricultural progress by opening new markets for the produce of remote estates and hamlets.

Under this regime of enterprise and improvement England was sending corn overseas on a large scale, helped by the bounty on export. In the middle of Anne's reign the employees of the Gloucestershire coal trade rose in revolt against the high price of corn, due to the scale on which the Bristol merchants shipped the local supply abroad. And even north of Trent, homely squires were calculating on sales abroad as an important item in their own and their tenants' fortunes.[1]

Nevertheless, this cheerful picture of agricultural and distributive activity must not delude us into imagining that England was already the land of improved agriculture and reformed traffic that it became by the end of the century. The busy life of the rivers was a measure of the badness of the roads. Corn-lands potentially the best in England—in the midlands, and northern East Anglia—were still for the most part unenclosed. In those regions the vast and hedgeless village field was still being cultivated by mediaeval methods that would have won the approval of a Doomsday commissioner, but were destined to shock the modern intelligence of Arthur Young.

The initiative of improving landlord or farmer was

[1] In July 1709 Robert Molesworth writes to his wife from Edlington, near Doncaster 'If God sends good harvest weather, there will be a very great store of corn in the kingdom, and yet such are the wants abroad that it is likely to bear a very good price for several years to come This must enrich our farmers' And next year he writes: 'Corn must certainly rise in price and that very suddenly, for the plague, which is got into the Baltic, will make soon both us and the Dutch to prohibit all trade there and then the Dutch must be furnished with corn from us'

closely circumscribed on these village fields, wherein the scattered strips of individual owners had perforce to be cultivated on the plan laid down for the whole community. A man could not profitably grow turnips or artificial grasses on his unfenced strips ; for the whole 'field,' as soon as the corn was carried, was opened as pasture to the cattle of the village, which would eat his clover and turnips and he would be without redress. The open field was cultivated on a uniform plan. A small country town like Godmanchester, for example, still employed its bailiffs to summon all the farmers to appear, according to old custom, at the Court Hall, where they 'did agree that none should sow barley in the commonfield before Friday, 21st March' (1700), 'and that day only headlands.'

More initiative and therefore more progress was possible, though by no means inevitable, on newly enclosed farms which were constantly increasing in number, and in the regions of old enclosure in southern, western and northern England. But the districts where enclosure was commonest were on the average the less productive parts of the island, with the worst climate. It is true that Kentish hop-fields and west country orchards and fruit gardens must be reckoned among the lands of early enclosure, but so must the intakes amid the weather-beaten moorlands of west and north. Most of the best cornlands of the midlands were still unenclosed.

Since many of the sheep and cattle were fed on stubble-fields, heaths and commons, and without the aid of roots or artificial grasses for winter feed, they were pitifully small and thin. Their weight at Smithfield market in 1710 was less than half that of ordinary sheep and cattle in 1795. At the beginning of the century the difficulty of keeping beasts alive in winter was still so great that, when they came off the summer grass, all save the breeding stock were slaughtered and salted, and the survivors were kept on short rations till spring. When the price of salt rose in 1703, the House of Commons was petitioned, on the ground that it was 'a grievance to the poorer sort of people who mostly feed on salted provisions.'

The days of Lord Townshend's turnip-fields and Coke of Norfolk's fat sheep and cattle were still in the future. But

already the Wiltshire and Cotswold uplands, that bred sheep for the western wool-clothiers, were a wonder to behold. 'On the pleasant downs' within a six-mile radius of Dorchester, Defoe was informed that more than half a million sheep were feeding; and he noted that on Salisbury Plain and the Dorset Downs the land was becoming so much enriched by the folding of sheep with pens in a new place every night, that the chalk lands thus manured, though hitherto fit only for pasture, were rapidly coming under the plough.

Ever since Tudor times, and more particularly since the Restoration, there had flowed from the press an ever broadening stream of books on improved methods of agriculture. The spirit of scientific inquiry emanating from the regions of the Royal Society into the walks of common life, was a constant stimulant but often a sore puzzle to the practical farmer. For the experts and modernizers were so seldom agreed. Jethro Tull, the great improver who introduced the drill and the horse-hoe into his own farming operations in the course of Anne's reign, was quite wrong on many other points, as subsequent experience showed. But men were on the look-out to adopt new methods as soon as their value had been proved, especially where enclosed ground gave liberty for change.

With the idea of agricultural improvement thus in the air, the enclosure of commons and heaths was not only frequently practised as it had been for centuries, but was preached by modern theorists as a duty to the commonwealth. In Tudor times controversialists had been almost all on the side of the commons and the commoners against the enclosures. But when Anne came to the throne the agricultural writers were denouncing the commons as 'seminaries of a lazy, thieving sort of people,' whose sheep were 'poor, tattered and poisoned with rot,' and whose heath-fed cattle were 'starved, todbellied runts, neither fit for the dairy nor the yoke' Here was another phase of the perennial controversy as to the social value of rights on the common, in which Cobbett a hundred years later was protagonist of the defeated commoners. On the merits of that dispute the historians of our own day are still divided. In Anne's reign there was not yet much enclosure done by

Act of Parliament, but enclosure was going forward under the common law by agreement or otherwise.[1]

The age of Defoe was still a period of prosperity for English freehold yeomen, and it was no ill time for the still rising fortunes of the tenant farmers. The freehold yeomen and their families were reckoned at about one-eighth of the population of the country, and the substantial tenant farmers at a little less ; at the time of the Revolution it had been calculated that the freehold yeoman was on the average a richer man than the tenant farmer. A hundred years later the opposite was probably the case, in so far as the freehold yeoman any longer existed. For in the Georgian era of agricultural improvements, the tenant farmer had the benefit of his landlord's capital poured into his land, while the small freeholder had no financial resources save his own with which to keep abreast of the times. But Anne's reign was perhaps a moment of no very marked economic difference between the two classes

The difference was political and social. The freeholder had a vote for Parliament and was often in a position to use it as he liked. The tenant farmer had no vote, and if he had, he would have been obliged to cast it as his landlord wished. Even the ideal landlord, Sir Roger de Coverley, was represented by Addison to an approving world as exercising over his tenants an absolute patriarchal sway

But the independence of the freehold yeoman was deeply cherished and stoutly maintained. In the election correspondence of country gentlemen in the reign of Anne we meet such expressions as 'the freeholders do not stick to say they will show their liberty in voting.' The squire, who had everyone else under his thumb, was all the more anxious to buy out the freehold yeoman for political and

[1] In the summer when Marlborough was marching to Blenheim, a Yorkshire squire was writing to his wife

'The law in England is (as I know now by experience) that every freeholder can enclose so much of his common as lies upon him (much more a lord of a considerable land), provided he leaves out as much common as is sufficient for those that have rights, and disclaims any further title to put beasts on the rest of the common which he leaves out This is the instance of Mr Frettwell, of Hellaby, our neighbour, who carried it even against the Lord Castleton, who is lord of the manor, upon trial And this is our case between us and Gunsborough'

game-keeping reasons ; and, as the century went on, many freeholders, whether yeomen or small gentry, were ready on fair terms to quit the countryside, in which their old importance was threatened by the increasing wealth of the large landlord and his tenant farmers. The process of buying out the small freeholder to form large compact estates for the grandees, began after the Restoration and continued during the next hundred years and more.

But the distinction between the class of freeholders and the class of tenants was never absolute, because a man often farmed one piece of land as a tenant and another piece as its owner.

The squalor of the mediaeval village had long been in retreat before the homely dignity and comfort of the rural middle class. In Anne's reign men were everywhere building or enlarging farmhouses, in stone, brick or half-timber according to the tradition or material of the district. The architectural results of rustic prosperity were most evident in those favoured regions where the cloth-manufacture made a great demand for the local wool, as in the magnificent stone farms of the Cotswolds dating from the Fifteenth to the Eighteenth Century, or in the dwellings of the Cumbrian and Westmorland mountaineers whose fortunes had more recently risen with the improvement of the local cloth trade.

Besides the fine old farmhouses familiar to the traveller in the Lake District to-day, there were then many cottages, since fallen to ruin, wherein the poorer dalesmen brought up large and sturdy families. The children were kept at their mother's knee, spinning for the clothiers, until they were old enough to go up on to the fells to drive the sheep and to pile those great stone walls up the sides of the precipices, which are the wonder of our less industrious age. It was only in the course of the Eighteenth Century that the beauty of Wordsworth's homeland attained the moment of rightful balance between nature and man. In previous centuries the valleys were 'choked, tangled, swampy and featureless' ; in our day man is all too successfully regulating the face of nature with the machine But in the reign of Anne the dales were just beginning to take on their brief perfection

of rural loveliness, ordered but not disciplined, in contrast with the mountain magnificence above and around.

Nevertheless visitors were extremely rare in the Lake District, 'the wildest, most barren and frightful' in England, as it appeared to Defoe and his contemporaries. The few strangers whom business or curiosity caused to ride up the steep stony tracks beyond Windermere and over Hardknot, complained of the bread of the Lake Valleys as 'exceedingly black, coarse and harsh,' and the houses as 'sad little huts' of unmortared stone, more fit for cattle than for men. But already 'here and there was a house plastered' and sometimes the 'oat clap bread' was cunningly baked and delicious. And already the famous Windermere delicacy, 'the fish called charrs came potted to London.' We may conclude from these travellers' impressions that the great improvement in the prosperity of this happy pastoral region (with its well drained valley bottoms, its solid farm buildings and their oak furniture) was by no means complete in the reign of Anne, although it had been in rapid progress since the Restoration thanks to the manufacture of cloth at Kendal.

In the neighbouring county of Northumberland, recently so warlike and barbarous, the travellers along the coast and in the valley of the South Tyne, found 'plenty of good bread and beer' as well as hens and geese, and famous stocks of claret, no doubt on account of the neighbourhood of Scotland where the gentry imported claret from France in spite of the war. When Anne came to the throne there was still a 'County Keeper' for Northumberland, who drew a salary of £500 in return for making good out of this sum all cattle stolen and not restored Although the wild moorlands between Redesdale and the Roman Wall still had a bad name, the County Keeper had the best of his bargain, and 'was able to inform travellers that the moss-trooping trade is very much laid aside, and that a small sum will recompense all the robberies that are yearly committed in the County.' Peace with Scotland, the wealth of the Tyneside mines, and the trade of Newcastle were factors already raising the standard of life along the Border. But the more outlying rural districts of Northumberland, Cumberland and Durham were still very poor, though more

thickly inhabited than they afterwards became. In many a 'township' that to-day consists of a single prosperous sheep farm, half a dozen cottages of the crofter type clustering round a peel tower then maintained a hardy population of borderers, unused to comfort, and tilling the moorland for a meagre harvest of oats.

Throughout the Stuart period, particularly since the Restoration, fine country houses were rising in place of the castles wherein the gentry of the Border had been forced to live in the turbulent times gone by Some of these Stuart mansions, like Chipchase, Capheaton, Wallington and the first Fallodon, already existed in the reign of Anne. But the work of making the roads, and enclosing and draining the moorland farms of Northumberland, the planting of its beech woods, and the making of its spacious brick-walled gardens, was chiefly the work of the Hanoverian age that followed. These great changes in the appearance and productivity of a region that had so long been backward and barbarous, were carried out in the course of the Eighteenth Century, favoured by free trade with Scotland after the Union of 1707, and paid for by Tyneside money, made in coal and invested in land Political events, such as the Rising of 1715, assisted the economic tendency for industrial and mercantile families to oust old Jacobite and Catholic lords of the soil, as in the case of the Osbaldistones in *Rob Roy*. The newcomers brought with them their industrial wealth and poured it into the estates they had bought, to increase the rent of their farms, the prosperity of their tenants, and the amenity of their new country homes.

In the more southerly districts of England where civilization was of older date, peace unbroken since the Civil War was multiplying the comforts of life. Everywhere that perfectly beautiful equilibrium between man and nature, which marked the Eighteenth Century landscape, was in process of being established. While hedgerow and orchard were gaining on the wild, the multiplication and improvement of cottages, farm-buildings and Halls was going on, either in old traditional styles, or in that dignified but simple manner which we know as 'Queen Anne.' That style, which seems to us to-day native English, in its origin owed

something to Dutch influence. Nor was the internal decoration unworthy of the architecture: in 1710 a foreign visitor noted that 'now in England tapestry is no longer in fashion, but all is panelled at great cost.' Spacious panels, five feet high and broad in proportion, were now preferred to the small pattern of earlier Stuart wainscoting. Big sash-windows with large panes of glass replaced gothic and Elizabethan lattices. High well-lighted rooms were the new fashion.

China-ware, brought to Europe by the Dutch and English East India Companies, had become a passion with ladies, and we may conceive the scheme of decoration in many Queen Anne mansions in town and country, as blue and white jars in panelled recesses, and tall grandfather clocks decorated with lacquered work from the East. Grinling Gibbons was still executing his marvels in wood-work. Mahogany was beginning to come in from the American Indies, and with it the lighter and finer furniture that we associate with Eighteenth-Century taste. Already foreign art dealers were amazed by their opportunities over here, and 'fleeced the English rarely, selling for great sums what they imported for a trifle from France and Italy.' Foreign artists declared that the nobility and gentry over whom Anne reigned held secluded in their country Halls as many pictures by renowned Italian masters as were to be found in all the Palaces and museums of Rome itself.

Vanbrugh's Blenheim House, with its magnificent conception and doubtful detail, is by no means characteristic of the architecture of Anne's reign. Usually a purer taste prevailed in the realm of ecclesiastical, academic and public buildings, while in ordinary domestic structure the note of the day was 'simple in elegance.' Wren was still alive and active over his London churches and his Hampton Court, and Gibbs was learning that skill which was soon to produce the Radcliffe Camera at Oxford. Together they taught the succeeding generations to effect 'the fusion of classic grace with vernacular energy.' The rules of proportion which these great men laid down, filtering into the text-books commonly used by local architects and builders, prepared for the Eighteenth Century a long and happy period of common English building in hamlet and country town. It

was only when, in the Nineteenth Century, men attempted to restore the architecture of ancient Athens or of the Middle Ages, that the English tradition was lost, and was succeeded by a hideous anarchy of amateur fancies and exotic modes.

The country gentlemen were of many different grades of wealth and culture. At the top of the social hierarchy stood the Dukes, who would in any other land have been styled Princes, and whose manner of life outdid in magnificence the courts of allied monarchs drawing England's pay. At the lower end of the scale was the squire reckoned to be worth two or three hundred a year, farming a part of his own land, speaking the broadest provincial dialect, but distinguished from the yeomen, among whom he mingled almost on equal terms, by a small sporting establishment, by a coat of arms, and by the respect which all paid to him as a 'gentleman.' If once in his life he went to London on business, he was noticeable in the City crowds for his horse-hair periwig, his jockey belt and his old-fashioned coat without sleeves His library, traditionally at least, consisted of the Bible, Baker's Chronicle, *Hudibras* and Foxe's *Martyrs*, and, whether he read these works or not, his view on Puritans and Papists usually coincided with those expressed in the last two.

But this type of old-fashioned small squire was beginning to feel the pressure of the times The heavy land tax of four shillings in the pound to pay for Whig Wars, hit him hard and added to the zeal of his Toryism. The style of living even in rural parts was becoming more expensive as it became less homely, more elaborate and more influenced by town example. And if the small squire found it more difficult to make two ends meet, it was easier for him to sell out at a good price, for many large landowners were on the watch to buy out their neighbours and consolidate their own great estates.

It may seem remarkable that the land-hunger among the wealthier members of the community should still have been so eager, now that so many other forms of investment were available, depriving land of the quasi-monopoly value which it had previously enjoyed as the most obvious use for capital. Plain merchants who would in Tudor times have

settled land, or rents or tithe on their children, now invested in the Funds. But for the purposes of social and political ambition, the attractions of landowning were greater than ever. Mr. Habakkuk, who has closely investigated changes in land-ownership in Northamptonshire and Bedfordshire between 1680 and 1740, writes :

People bought land who were peculiarly susceptible to considerations of social prestige and political power. Among them were a few large merchants, mainly chairmen of the East India Company, who went in for politics , but most of the newcomers were either connected in some way with government or were Judges, who desired to have that significance in society which only the possession of land could give. They bought up blocks of land in different parts of the country, bought out some of the surrounding gentry, bought advowsons and, in many cases, the manorial rights of Parliamentary Boroughs They were not so much investing their money in land as buying up the perquisites of a social class, the undisturbed control of the life of a neighbourhood When they looked over the fields they wanted to see their own land and nothing but their own land The hatred of the small squires and gentry for the great lords, whether old or new, who were buying them out is the theme of many contemporary plays. (*Ec Hist Rev.*, p. 12, Feb 1940, *English landownership 1680–1740*)

In picturing to ourselves the country house life of that time, we think first of the grandees, filling rural palaces with pictures from Italy, furniture from France, and editions of Italian, French or Latin authors which they not only collected but read—the men whom young Voltaire during his visit to England in 1726–1729, contrasted favourably with the French nobles as patrons of letters and science. There were philosopher Lords like the Third Earl of Shaftesbury , scholar statesmen like Somers and Montagu ; and the greatest of all antiquarian collectors, Robert Harley, who when too much engaged as ‘ the nation’s great support ’ to hunt books and manuscripts himself, still had his private agents everywhere on the look-out The Lords of the Whig Junto and their followers and foes at Westminster and St. James’s prided themselves on being country gentlemen, whether self-made or to the manner born, each with his rural seat to which the careworn statesman was ever anxious, at least in theory, to return.

The London season was over by the first week in June, when people of fashion dispersed to their country homes or adjourned to Bath. A longer residence in town would have ruined many families who had strained a point to bring their daughters to the London marriage-market, while their neighbours were fain to be contented with a county capital, or with the round of such rural visits as ladies could accomplish in the coach in summer, and on the pillion behind their brothers in the muddy lanes at Christmas.

Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, a brilliant blue-stocking, in a letter of which the dullest part is a quotation from Tasso, condemns the squires of a certain southern county as 'insensible to other pleasures' than the bottle and the chase 'The poor female part of the family were seldom permitted a coach, their lords and masters having no occasion for such a machine, as their mornings are spent among the hounds, and their nights with as beastly companions—with what liquor they can get.' Yet in the same letter she regrets and praises the society of the squires of Northamptonshire. No less real, if more rare, than boorish Squire Western was the learned country gentleman, celebrated in Somerville's sententious lines:

> A rural squire, to crowds and courts unknown
> In his own cell retired, but not alone,
> For round him view each Greek and Roman sage,
> Polite companions of his riper age

Nevertheless, the impression left by turning over many hundreds of letters to the better-to-do gentry of the reign of Anne, is neither that of country scholar nor of country bumpkin. We read the actual thoughts of squires, anxious about their account books, their daughters' marriages and their sons' debts and professions; attending to their own estates, and to the county business on the bench of magistrates, as well as to their hounds and horses; devoted to their gardens and their ponds a little more than to their books; living, as we should expect, a wholesome and useful life, half public, half private, wholly leisured, natural and dignified. Many of the better-to-do gentry, as their letters and diaries show, were getting several thousands a year from their estates.

The expenditure required of a country gentleman, rich or poor, was in one respect very small. It was not then considered obligatory that his sons should be sent at great cost to exclusively patrician schools. At the nearest local grammar school, the squire's children sat beside those sons of yeomen and shopkeepers who had been selected for a clerical career ; otherwise the young gentlemen were taught at home by a neighbouring parson, or in wealthier families by the private chaplain. Where a tutor was specially employed, he was often a Huguenot refugee, for the land was full of educated men of this type, welcomed by careful parents for their French, and doubly welcome in Whig families for their sufferings and their principles. Eton, Winchester and Westminster were indeed patronized by many, but not by most, of the aristocracy. And even at Westminster there could be found at the end of Anne's reign 'houses at which boys pay but £20 a year for boarding, and the schooling but five or six guineas.' Harrow, founded under Elizabeth to meet local and plebeian needs, began to rise into the rank of the fashionable schools in the reign of George I.

It followed that, whereas a gentleman of moderate means in our day often thinks himself obliged to spend a sixth part of his income on the schooling of one boy, he could in those days be satisfied to spend a hundredth. Thus squire Molesworth, at a time when he was drawing a rental of just under £2000 paid £20 a year for each of his sons—including board, instruction, clothes and all charges. His heavy parental liabilities only began when the two lads left school, and the younger went into the army. Then indeed 'Dick must be furnished with a hundred pounds or he cannot stir a step. He has both horses, clothes and equipage to buy.' As 'he was not in the list of officers slain in the late glorious battle of Blenheim,' which would have been a sad economy, nor yet 'in any of desperate attacks on Lille,' Dick continued for many years to be an increasing source of expenditure and pride to his Yorkshire home. The elder, Jack, had chosen diplomacy, a no less costly method of serving the State. In 1710 the father writes : 'I verily believe these two sons of ours have spent between them £10,000 within the last seven or eight years ; they and the

daughters are all money-bound. It is well they have a good father's house to tarry in.' Five years later Dick's zeal for his regiment caused him to 'lay out £600 above what was allowed him, so well he loves the service.'

Smaller squires paid equally little for their sons' schooling, and then prenticed them to cheaper trades than the army or diplomatic service. In the plays of Congreve and Farquhar the younger son of the manor may still expect to be 'bound prentice,' perhaps 'to a felt-maker in Shrewsbury'; and Steele declares that 'younger brothers are generally condemned to shops, colleges and inns of court' On these terms the gentry could afford to have large families, and although a great proportion of their children died young, they kept England supplied with a constant stream of high-spirited young men, who led her along the forward path at home and overseas. For the younger sons were willing, as the cadets of the continental nobility were not, to mingle in the common avocations of mankind and not to stand upon their gentry. The fact that the younger son went out to make his fortune in the army or at the bar, in industry or in commerce, was one of the general causes favouring the Whigs and their alliance with those interests, as against the desire of the High Tories to keep the landed gentry an exclusive as well as a dominant class. Dominant it remained for another century, but only on condition of opening its doors wide to newcomers, and fostering in a hundred different ways close alliance with interests other than agriculture, in scenes far remote from the manor-house and the village church. The country gentlemen ruled Eighteenth Century England, but they ruled it largely in the interest of commerce and empire

The common schooling of the upper and middle class was already being criticized for its rigidly classical curriculum. It was even declared by some that 'a girl which is educated at home with her mother is wiser at twelve than a boy at sixteen' who knows only Latin. Yet the second classical language was so ill taught at school and college that the excellent Latinists of Christ Church had not enough Greek to be aware that Bentley had proved them dunces over the *Letters of Phalaris*. It was only in the Nineteenth Century that the typical English scholar was equally at home with Aristophanes and with Horace

Even so, Greek scholarship in the England of Bentley had not fallen as low as in the rest of Europe. In the Germany of that day not only was classical Greek no longer studied, but the names and stories of the mythology and history of Hellas were unknown [1] But they were familiar to educated people in England, if not through Greek then through Latin and English authors. Every man of fashion in the reign of George I had at least to pretend an acquaintance with Pope's rendering of Homer. Milton was now rising to a place only a little lower than Shakespeare in the hierarchy of English literary reputations, and the use that he made of classical ideas and mythology set an example to the poets of this later age, though few were scholars of his calibre. In architecture and its ornaments, the 'Gothic' had disappeared, and had been replaced by ideas suggested directly or indirectly by the temples and statues of the ancient world

But it would be a mistake to suppose that nothing was anywhere taught but classics ; there was considerable variety in the type of school patronized by gentlemen Thus Robert Pitt, father of a mighty son, writes in 1704 to his own scarcely less formidable father, Governor Pitt of Madras :

> My two brothers are at Mr. Meure's Academy, near Soho Square, esteemed the best in England They learn Latin, French and accounts, fencing, dancing and drawing. I think of settling them in Holland for their better education next summer and should my wife's father-in-law, Lt. Gen Stewart, accompany the Duke of Marlborough, of placing them under his care to see a campaign

Among the critics of our educational methods were the wise Locke and the good-natured Steele, who both urged that perpetual flogging was not the best method of imparting knowledge and maintaining discipline. Upper-class education was admitted on all hands to need reform, yet nothing was done to reform it. Swift, for all his hatred of the Scots, agreed for once with Burnet that the lairds gave their sons

[1] In 1718 Burckhard declared that the majority of University Students in Germany did not even know the names of Plato, Aristotle, Homer, Thucydides or Euripides Such a statement would have been utterly absurd if made about England *The Popular Background of Goethe's Hellenism*, Humphry Trevelyan, 1934, p. 8 and *passim*

more sound book-learning than the wealthier and idler English.

Yet the Eighteenth Century, in spite of its educational defects, produced a larger proportion of remarkable and original English men from among those who passed through its schools than our highly educated and over-regulated age is able to do. And in spite of cruel flogging by 'those licensed tyrants the schoolmasters,' and cruel bullying by the unlicensed tyranny of ill-disciplined school-fellows, there was also much happiness in boyhood, that still had leisure and still spent it in the free range of the countryside. Nor was severity universal: a young lord, newly arrived at Eton, writes home, 'I think Eaton a very easy scholl. I am shure one cannot offend without they be meare rakes indeed'

Women's education was sadly to seek. Among the lower classes it was perhaps not much worse than men's, but the daughters of the well-to-do had admittedly less education than their brothers. It was before the days of 'ladies' academies,' and though there were 'boarding schools' for girls, they were few and indifferent Most ladies learnt from their mothers to read, write, sew and manage the household. We hear of no fair Grecians, like Lady Jane Grey and Queen Elizabeth in days of old. But a few ladies could read the Italian poets and were therefore held in some awe by their swains. And at least two women could meet Swift on terms of something like intellectual equality Yet it was he who lamented 'that not one gentleman's daughter in a thousand should be brought to read her own natural tongue, or be judge of the easiest books that are written in it.' The want of education in the sex was discussed as an admitted fact, one side defending it as necessary in order to keep wives in due subjection, while the other side, led by the chief literary men of the day, ascribed the frivolity and the gambling habits of ladies of fashion to an upbringing which debarred them from more serious interests.

Nevertheless, country-house letters of the period show us wives and daughters writing as intelligent advisers of their menfolk. Such correspondents were something better than brainless playthings or household drudges. A

whole class of the literature of the day, from the *Spectator* downwards, was written as much for ladies as for their fathers and brothers. And it was observed that the ladies took a part, often too eager, in the Whig and Tory feuds that divided town and country. As to rural pastimes, the prototype of Diana Vernon in *Rob Roy* is to be found in Belinda of Farquhar's play, who tells her friend 'I can gallop all the morning after the hunting horn and all the evening after a fiddle. In short I can do everything with my father but drink and shoot flying.'

In the upper and middle classes, husbands were often found for girls on the principle of frank barter. 'As to Cloky,' writes her father, squire Molesworth, 'we shall not have money enough to dispose of her here,' so she must be sent to Ireland to seek there a husband at a cheaper rate. Another squire, named Guise, who is in search of a wife for himself, writes 'Lady Diana sent a very venerable person to view my estates, and was well satisfied with the report and I think did sincerely desire I might have her daughter.' But the daughter had other views, so Guise found consolation elsewhere .

Being on the Bench at the quarter Session, a Justice of the Peace took me aside and asked me whether I would marry a woman worth twenty-thousand pounds The lady I had seen but never spoke to, and upon the whole readily accepted his offer

A Cornet of Horse writes with equal frankness :

Not expecting anything this campaign I had taken thoughts another way, to try my fortune under Venus, and accordingly about a fortnight ago was (by some friends) proposed to a lady of a very good fortune but how I shall speed (farther than a favourable interview already) I can't tell

Since almost everyone regarded it as a grave misfortune to remain single, women did not account it a universal grievance that their hands should often be disposed of by others. They were no doubt usually consulted as to their destiny, much or little according to character and circumstance. Swift, in writing 'to a very young lady on her marriage,' speaks of 'the person your father and mother have chosen for your husband,' and almost immediately adds, 'yours was a match of prudence and common good

liking, without any mixture of the ridiculous passion' of romantic love. And this description would probably have covered a vast proportion of the 'arranged' marriages of the day. But since the 'ridiculous passion' often asserted itself, runaway matches were common enough, as in the case of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu. And even without that desperate expedient, an ever-increasing proportion of ordinary marriages were the outcome of mutual affection

Divorce was almost unknown. It was obtainable only through Church Courts, and then only if followed by a special Act of Parliament; not more than six divorces were thus legalized during the twelve years of Queen Anne.

Both sexes gambled freely, the fine ladies and gentlemen even more than the country squires. In London, Bath and Tunbridge Wells the gaming-table was the central point of interest, while in the manor-house it was of less account than the stables and the kennel. The expenses of gambling and of sport, as well as a noble zeal for building and for laying out gardens and planting avenues, burdened estates with mortgages which proved a heavy clog on agricultural improvement and domestic happiness. Immense sums of money changed hands over cards and dice.

Drunkenness was the acknowledged national vice of Englishmen of all classes, though women were not accused of it. A movement for total abstinence was out of the question, in days before tea or coffee could be obtained in every home and when the supply of drinking water was often impure. But tracts in favour of temperate drinking were freely circulated by religious bodies and anxious patriots, setting forth with attractive detail the various and dreadful fates of drunkards, some killed attempting to ride home at night, others seized by a fit while blaspheming, all gone straight to Hell. Among the common folk, ale still reigned supreme; but ale had a new rival worse than itself in the deadly attraction of bad spirits. The acme of cheap spirit-drinking was not indeed reached till the reign of George II, in the days of Hogarth's 'Gin Lane,' but things were already moving in that direction.

Meanwhile the upper class got drunk sometimes on ale and sometimes on wine. It is hard to say whether the men of fashion or the rural gentry were the worst soakers. But

perhaps the outdoor exercise taken by the fox-hunting, sporting and farming squire made him better able to absorb his nightly quantum of October, than the gamester and politician of St. James's Square to escape the ill effects of endless Whig toasts in port and Tory toasts in French claret and champagne. Magistrates often appeared on the bench heated with wine ; Courts Martial, by a prudent provision of the Mutiny Act, might only take place before dinner.

Tobacco was still taken in long churchwarden pipes A 'smoking parlour' was set aside in some country houses. But Beau Nash forbade smoking in the public rooms at Bath, as disrespectful and unpleasant to ladies. Among the common people of the south-western counties, men, women and even children smoked pipes of an evening. When in 1707 the Bill for the Security of the Church of England was passing through Parliament, Dr. Bull, the High Church Bishop of St. David's, being suspicious of the Whig proclivities of some of the Episcopal Bench, kept watch 'sitting in the lobby of the House of Lords, all the while smoking his pipe.' Swift describes how his brother parsons pull his character to pieces at their favourite resort at Truby's coffee house,

> And pausing o'er a pipe, with doubtful nod
> Give hints that poets ne'er believe in God.

The taking of snuff became general in England during the first year of Anne's reign, as a result of the immense quantities thrown on to the London market after the capture of Spanish ships loaded with snuff in the action of Vigo Bay.

The drinking and gambling habits of society, and the fierceness of political faction, led to frequent duels of which many ended ill. The survivor, if he could show there had been fair play, was usually convicted of manslaughter and imprisoned for a short term , or haply 'pleaded his clergy,' was 'touched with cold iron' and so set free. It was the privilege of all gentlemen, from a Duke downwards, to wear swords and to murder one another by rule. As soon as men were well drunk of an evening they were apt to quarrel, and as soon as they quarrelled they were apt to draw their swords in the room, and, if manslaughter was not committed on the spot, to adjourn to the garden behind

the house, and fight it out that night with hot blood and unsteady hand. If the company were not wearing swords, the quarrel might be slept upon and forgotten or arranged in the sober morning. The wearing of swords, though usual in London, as being like the full-bottomed wig a part of full dress, was fortunately not common in the depths of the country, among the uncourtly but good-natured rural squires, whose bark was often worse than their bite. And even at Bath, Beau Nash employed his despotic power to compel the fashionable world to lay aside their swords when they entered his domain : in this he did as good service to the community as in teaching the country bumpkins to discard their top boots and coarse language at the evening assemblies and dances. During his long supremacy as Master of the Ceremonies, nearly covering the reigns of Anne and the first two Georges, Nash did perhaps as much as any other person even in the Eighteenth Century to civilize the neglected manners of mankind. But he encouraged public gambling and took for himself a percentage on the winnings of the bank.

London and the county capitals were the commonest scenes of such duels as Thackeray has immortalized in *Esmond*. Even more often than Leicester Fields, the open country behind Montagu House, the site of the present British Museum, was selected by duellists as being at that time on the edge of the new London. It was no unusual thing for the town to be disturbed by such a double event as the following :

Ned Goodyear has killed Beau Feilding as is reported, and made his escape. The quarrel began at the Play House in Drury Lane. The same night a captain here did the like friendly office for young Fullwood, so that there will be two Warwickshire beaus the fewer. The captain is in Newgate

Ever since the Restoration, foreigners had admired the English bowling greens, ' which are so even, that they bowl upon them as easily as on a great billiard table. And as this is the usual diversion of gentlemen in the country, they have thick rowling-stones to keep the green smooth.' In Anne's reign a primitive kind of cricket was just beginning to take its place among village sports alongside of the far more ancient football. Kent was the county most renowned at

the new game, and, 'among the Kentish men, the men of Dartford lay claim to the greatest excellence.'

At cockfighting all classes shrieked their bets round the little amphitheatre. If a foreigner should by chance come into these cockpits, we are told, 'he would certainly conclude the assembly to be all mad, by their continued outcries of Six to Four, Five to One, repeated with great earnestness, every Spectator taking part with his favourite cock, as if it were a party cause.' Horse-racing presented much the same spectacle in a more open arena: the spectators, most of them on horseback, galloped up the course behind the race, yelling with excitement. The meetings were still regional or county gatherings. The only national meeting was at Newmarket. There indeed 'the vast company of horsemen on the plain at a match contains all mankind on equal footing from the Duke to the country peasant. Nobody wears swords, but are clothed suitable to the humour and design of the place for horse sports. Everybody strives to out-jockey (as the phrase is) one another.' Queen Anne, out of the secret service money, gave plates to be run for at Newmarket, and at Datchet near Windsor Arab and Barb blood was being introduced by Godolphin and other noble patrons of the sport—a change fraught with great future consequence to the character and appearance of horseflesh in England.

When we try to imagine how the generality of our ancestors disported themselves out-of-doors, we must remember that most of them lived widely scattered and in the country. For most men the village was the largest unit of their intercourse. A village cricket match, or hurly-burly at football, or races on the green were very different from the 'organized athletics' of the modern arena. But most people took their 'exercise' as a matter of course in doing their work, in tilling the soil, or in walking or riding to and from their daily task. Among the upper and middle class riding was the commonest act of the day.

The most usual sports that lay at many men's door were taking fish, and shooting and snaring birds of all kinds, particularly but not exclusively game. England was alive with game and with many birds now rare or extinct, from the Great Bustard of the Downs and the eagle of Westmorland

and Wales down to many smaller friends that survived to be recorded by Bewick. Much of the land was strictly preserved and religiously shot by the owners, but great tracts were open to any man who could procure a net or gun or who was clever at setting a springe. In Anne's reign, and indeed for the rest of the century, the fens and uncultivated lands round Cambridge were the common shooting ground of the undergraduates, whence they returned with pheasants, partridges, duck, snipe, bitterns and ruffs, with none to say them nay. And in every part of the lovely island the uncared-for heaths, coppices and marshes, destined ere long to be drained, ploughed up or built over, were still the cover for abundance of wild life of every kind. The Englishman had only to move a few yards from his door to be in contact with nature at its best ; and his love of field-sports led him to wander wide.

Few villagers had seen anything of town life. Most people remained all their lives under the influence of Pan and his magic. The mental food of English children was just such cottage fireside tales of 'the hall-house being haunted, of fairies, spirits and witches,' perhaps only half believed but pleasantly shuddered at. Now that the witch could be pointed out but no longer hanged or ducked, such earth-born legendary lore was no unwholesome fare. For the common people, untouched by the scepticism of the town, the fairies still danced in the woods, though when the wayfarer came round the bush they had always vanished.[1] Books in the village were few. The ordinary farmer and cottager saw no printed matter of any kind except Bible, Prayer Book and

> The ballads pasted on the wall,
> Of Joan of France and English Moll,
> Fair Rosamund, and Robin Hood,
> And the little children in the Wood.

And therefore even at the end of the 'Century of reason' and of artificial poetry among the governing class, the faculty

[1] The educated upper class had generally ceased to believe in the real existence of fairies. In 1707 the philosopher Lord Shaftesbury, in his *Letter concerning Enthusiasm*, writes to Lord Somers, 'I could put your Lordship in mind of an eminent, learned and truly Christian Prelate you once knew who could have given you a full account of his belief in Fairys,' as if such a belief was unusual and obviously absurd

of wonder was not dead in the English people. Wordsworth attributed the growth of imagination in his own mind partly to the fairy-tales and ballads of the rustic North that he heard in childhood, in contrast to the rationalism of the Nineteenth Century schoolroom. (*Prelude*, Bk. V, l. 205, *et seq*) No city-made newspapers or magazines stamped a uniform mentality on the nation. In this isolation from the world at large, each shire, each hamlet had its own traditions, interests and character. Except for some unusual event like the Battle of Blenheim or the trial of Dr. Sacheverell, country folk had little to think or talk about except their own affairs. Their shrewd rustic comment on things that they knew and understood was expressed in the pithy dialect of their own countryside. For gossip and sensation they were satisfied with the daily human drama of their own village, with its poaching affrays and smuggling adventures, its feuds and loves, its ghosts and suicides, its quarrels of miller and innkeeper, of parson and squire.

The still unremedied badness of the roads was due to the want of any adequate administrative machinery for their reconstruction or repair. Every parish through which a road passed was legally bound to maintain it by six days a year of unpaid labour given by the farmers, under no outside supervision ; one of themselves was chosen as surveyor. The unfairness of laying the burden of repair not on the users of the great roads, but on the parishes through which they happened to pass, was equalled by the folly of expecting farmers, who had no interest in the matter, to act gratuitously as skilled makers of highways. The result was that a very inadequate number of hard roads had been made or kept up since the Romans left the island. In the Middle Ages, when there was little commerce, this had mattered less Under the later Stuarts, when commerce was large and rapidly increasing, it mattered much ; it was beginning to be felt as a national disgrace. The new system of turnpikes to make the users of the road pay for its upkeep was therefore enforced in a few of the worst sections by Acts of Parliament. When Anne came to the throne the usual machinery of local Justices of the Peace was employed to manage the turnpikes, but towards the end of the reign

special bodies of Turnpike Trustees were sometimes established by Statute. It was not, however, till the House of Hanover had been some time on the throne that anything approaching a general reform was effected by this means. Defoe thus describes a main road in Lancashire :

'We are now in a country where the roads are paved with small pebbles, so that we both walk and ride upon this pavement which is generally about one and a half yards wide. But the middle road where the carriages are obliged to go is very bad.'

In winter and bad weather wheeled traffic did not attempt to take the road, and riders started early in the morning to get in front of the pack-horse trains which it was difficult to pass on the narrow causeway.

Under such conditions, sea and river traffic, however slow, held a great advantage over road traffic, especially for heavy goods. Fish could be sent up from Lyme Regis to London by relays of fast trotting horses ; but coal came there by sea. Even so, while it cost but five shillings per chaldron at the Tyneside pit's mouth, it cost thirty shillings in London, and anything up to fifty shillings in the towns of the Upper Thames. This was partly because sea-borne coal was taxed, both to pay for the rebuilding of St. Paul's and to pay for the French war. Coal was cheaper in those towns of Yorkshire, Lancashire and the west Midlands to which it could be floated from the pit's mouth on rivers like Calder or Severn. For coal carried on inland rivers was not taxed, like the coal carried by sea, neither was it exposed to the attacks of the Dunkirk privateers, nor harassed by the consequent restrictions of an inadequate convoy system supplied by the Royal Navy between Tyne and Thames.

The ownership of mines and an interest in their working was not deemed beneath the dignity of the greatest noblemen of the land, for in England, unlike most countries of Europe, all minerals except gold and silver have been treated as the property of the owner of the soil. Among the aristocratic coal owners of that time was Lord Dartmouth, to whom belonged many of the Staffordshire mines near his country house at Sandwell. He had a rival in a country gentleman named Wilkins, who was said to have 'engrossed the coalworks of Leicestershire to himself.'

It was then usual to leave pillars of coal to support the

roof of the mine, rather than to use timber props. Shafts were sunk to a depth of 400 feet and more, and in Lancashire the science of the engineers had devised in the year 1712 a machine for pumping water out of the mine which has been described as 'the first genuine steam-engine' On Tyneside, wooden rails were used to run the trucks down to the river for loading the keels ; twenty thousand horses were employed in the transport of coal in the environs of Newcastle alone. Since the larger mines were deeper below the surface than in the Middle Ages, explosions due to fire-damp were already frequent, as at Gateshead in 1705, and at Chester-le-Street in 1708, when a hundred miners perished 'besides great damage to many houses and persons for several miles round One man was blown quite out of the mouth of the shaft, which is fifty fathom, and found at a prodigious distance from the place.' Two years later another explosion at Bensham, in the same North Durham district, killed eighty more. But the amount of surface mining was still considerable , in the west there were many scores of small workings, each conducted by two or three colliers and sometimes by a single man.

The miners of all kinds and the quarrymen of every county form an important exception to the statement that in old England the method of industry was domestic. Other exceptions there were, but they are harder to specify and define. Many workshops had premises so large, and contained so many apprentices and paid journeymen, that they may be reckoned as standing half-way between the domestic and the factory system. The normal basis of industry still was apprenticeship, the only legal doorway to a trade whether for boys or girls. The apprentice system was often abused by cruel masters and mistresses , and pauper apprentices were at least as badly treated as children in the worst days of the subsequent factory system. There were no inspectors and no checks on ill usage. On the other hand, the apprentice was part of his master's 'family,' and the average man does not like to see unhappy faces at his own board and in his own household. Moreover, apprenticeship was invaluable for the discipline and skilled training that it provided during that important 'after-school age' so much neglected in our own day. It

largely compensated for the deficiency of school education. Apprenticeship was the old English school of craftsmanship and of character.[1]

Before they were old enough to be apprenticed, small children were sometimes set to work in their parents' cottages at an age full as early as the factory children of later times. Especially was spinning for the cloth industry conducted in this fashion: Defoe noticed with approval at Colchester and in the Taunton clothing region, that 'there was not a child in the town or in the villages round it of above five years old, but, if it was not neglected by its parents and untaught, could earn its bread.' Again, in the clothing dales of the West Riding he found 'hardly anything above four years old but its hands were sufficient for its support.' Poor little mites! But at least, whenever their parents let them go to play, they had fields near at hand, instead of the boundless wilderness of slums

Spinning was done chiefly in country cottages by women and children, and weaving chiefly in towns and villages by men. Both processes, though conducted under domestic conditions, required capitalist organization and supervision, either by employers, or by middlemen who bought the goods manufactured by the cottager. The methods by which the cloth trade was organized differed in the many different regions of England where it flourished.

The cloth trade was the typical industry of the time. Two-fifths of English exports consisted of cloth woven in England. Many of our domestic laws and many measures of our economic and foreign policy were aimed at the great national object of promoting the manufacture of cloth and pushing its sale at home and abroad. It was felt that here lay our real advantage over Dutch rivals in the carrying trade of the world, for we had this great staple manufacture with which to load our outgoing ships, whereas they had little to export except herrings, and acted mainly as carriers between other nations.

[1] Already in Anne's reign there were complaints that apprenticeship was not made as universally obligatory as the laws dictated In 1702 the Corporation of Kendal petitioned for a new and stricter law, because 'although there are laws against persons setting up any trade without having received seven years' apprenticeship, when such persons come to be prosecuted they meet with such favour that very few have been punished of late' *H. M C Bagot*, R. 10, pt. iv, p. 336

The desire to keep open the great markets of the world for English cloth was a chief incentive to taking up arms in 1702 against the Franco-Spanish Power, which was at that moment, at the command of Louis XIV, proceeding to close Spain, the Netherlands, South America and the Mediterranean to our goods. The taking and keeping of Gibraltar in 1704 was symptomatic of more than military and naval ambition: a free entrance to the Mediterranean and Turkish trades was vital to the cloth industry. Not only were great quantities of our cloth sold in those parts, but our merchants brought back from Spain and Southern Italy oil used here in the manufacture of cloth. Spanish merino wool was worked up in England and sold back as cloth to Spain herself, whose native industry was in the last stages of decline. Of late years the fine quality and great quantity of English-grown wool had been yet further increased by means of 'clover and other grass seeds' to feed the sheep. Our American Colonies were valued largely as markets for our cloth. In Russia, too, a great demand for it was growing up in the new century.

Only in the Far East was it impossible to sell the heavy English cloth, and this was the most damaging argument which the East India Company had to meet in pleading its cause before Parliament. But the tea and silk it brought to England sufficed to condone the high economic crimes of failing to sell English cloth and daring to export bullion to buy cloth substitutes. In vain the merchants of the rival Turkey Company pleaded that 'if silk be brought from India where it is bought cheap with bullion, it will ruin our trade with Turkey, whither we send cloth for their silk.' The demands of fashion and luxury outweighed the arguments of clothiers, Turkey merchants and orthodox economists. 'Our stately fops admire themselves better in an Indian dressing gown than in one made at Spitalfields.' The ladies, besides, were all drinking 'tay.' So the Indian Trade was permitted to flourish, and in spite of that the Cloth Trade flourished as well.

Thanks to the East India Company's great ships, not only tea but coffee was now a usual drink at least among the wealthier classes. From the reign of Charles II to the early

Georges, the London Coffee House was the centre of social life. It afforded a much needed relaxation of the severe drinking habits of the time, for alcohol was not to be had on the premises. A list of some of the Coffee Houses in Queen Anne's time runs to nearly five hundred names. Every respectable Londoner had his favourite house, where his friends or clients could seek him at known hours.

'Remember, John,
'If any ask, to th' Coffee House I'm gone,'

says the citizen to his apprentice as he leaves the shop.

Then at Lloyd's Coffee House he never fails
To read the letters and attend the sales.[1]

The *beau monde* assembled at White's Chocolate House in St. James's Street, where, as Harley bitterly complained to Swift, young noblemen were fleeced and corrupted by fashionable gamblers and profligates. Tories went to the Cocoa Tree Chocolate House, Whigs to St. James's Coffee House. Will's, near Covent Garden, was the resort of poets, critics and their patrons ; Truby's served the clergy, and the Grecian the world of scholarship ; nor were there lacking houses for Dissenters, for Quakers, for Papists and for Jacobites. The 'universal liberty of speech of the English nation' uttered amid clouds of tobacco smoke, with equal vehemence whether against the Government and the Church, or against their enemies, had long been the wonder of foreigners ; it was the quintessence of Coffee House life

The Coffee House filled the place now occupied by the Club, but in a more cheap and informal manner, and with a greater admission of strangers. In days when men stood much on their rank, it had a levelling influence : at the Coffee House 'you will see blue ribbons and stars sitting familiarly with private gentlemen as if they had left their

[1] In Ned Ward's *Wealthy Shopkeeper* (1706) his day is thus apportioned rise at 5 ; counting-house till 8 ; then breakfast on toast and Cheshire cheese , in his shop for two hours then a neighbouring coffee house for news , shop again, till dinner at home (over the shop) at 12 on a 'thundering joint' ; 1 o'clock on Change ; 3, Lloyd's Coffee House for business , shop again for an hour , then another coffee house (not Lloyd's) for recreation, followed by 'sack shop' to drink with acquaintances, till home for a 'light supper' and so to bed, 'before Bow Bell rings nine'

quality and degrees of distance at home.' But that was not all. In days before telegrams and effective journalism, news could be most easily obtained at the Coffee House. The Windsor, at Charing Cross, advertised itself as supplying the 'best chocolate at twelve pence the quart and the translation of the *Harlem Courant* soon after the post is come in.' Not only was news sought for its political, military and general interest, but for the strictly business purposes of commerce, particularly at Lloyd's. Edward Lloyd, whose surname instantly rises to men's lips when they speak of shipping to-day, was, when he walked the earth, nothing more nor less than a Coffee House keeper in Lombard Street in the reign of Queen Anne. To his house merchants came for the latest information and for the personal intercourse and advice necessary for all transactions. Newspapers had then no commercial column and no details of shipping. The spoken word did many things that print does to-day, and for merchants the word was spoken at Lloyd's. Before the end of the Queen's reign, Lloyd had set up a pulpit for auctions and for reading out shipping news.

The feud of High Church against Low Church and Dissent was the chief theme of political and ecclesiastical anger and eloquence. Nevertheless, in another aspect, the reigns of William and Anne were a period of purely religious activity and revival, which left a permanent mark on the life of the country, and sowed the seed of great developments in the future. An age to which we owe the Charity Schools and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge was not wholly absorbed in the quarrels of High Church and Low. In some of these better activities, members of the two parties co-operated with each other and with the Dissenters.

The religious revival had its origin in the brief and stormy reign of James II. The Tory pamphleteer, Davenant, in the early years of Anne, thus recalled how those times had stirred men's souls :

The measures King James the Second took to change the religion of the country, roused up fresh zeal in the minds of all sorts of men , they embraced more straitly what they were in fear to lose Courtiers

did thrust themselves into the presence to quit their offices, rather than be brought to do what might prejudice the Church of England. Nor had the licentious ways of living in fleets and armies shaken our seamen and soldiers in their principles They all stood firm. The clergy showed themselves prepared to die with their flocks and managed the controversial parts of Divinity with primitive courage and admirable learning The Churches were everywhere crowded, and the prospect of persecution, though peradventure at some distance, begot devotion.

The symptoms of this moral and religious revival did not wholly subside with the crisis that gave it birth. In the first instance it gave an immense impetus to the work of the already existing Religious Societies inside the Church of England. These Societies were groups of 'serious young men,' who came together, usually under the influence of some active clergyman, to strengthen each other in religious life and practice. The original idea of John Wesley, many years later, was merely to form such 'societies' within the Church resembling those which that zealous Churchman his father had helped and defended in the reigns of William and Anne. The first object of these groups was to promote a Christian life in individuals and families, to encourage church attendance, family prayers and Bible study. But more public activities soon grew out of the impulse thus given. Of these activities some were carried on in rivalry to the Dissenters, others with their co-operation.

The Dissenters, who were excluded from both the Universities by law, and from many schools either by law or by custom, had started all over the country a number of excellent schools and academies of their own, covering the whole field of primary, secondary and higher education. These caused much jealousy, and at the end of Anne's reign the High Churchmen at last succeeded in passing the Schism Act to suppress them—an act of persecution repealed under George I. But the Church also reacted to the challenge of the Nonconformist schools in a more generous fashion. In the reign of Anne, Charity Schools were founded by hundreds all over England, to educate the children of the poor in reading, writing, moral discipline, and the principles of the Church of England. They were much needed, for the State did nothing for the education

of the poor, and the ordinary parish had no sort of endowed school, though in many villages 'dames' and other unofficial persons taught rustics their letters in return for small fees; here and there an endowed Grammar School gave secondary education to the middle class.

The able men at the head of the Charity School movement introduced the principle of democratic co-operation into the field of educational endowment. They did not depend merely on the support of a few wealthy founders. The policy at headquarters was to excite the local interest of a parish in the setting up of a school. Small shopkeepers and artisans were induced to subscribe and to collect subscriptions, and were taught to take a personal interest in the success, and a personal part in the control of the school for which they helped yearly to pay. The principle of 'joint-stock enterprise' was being applied to many sides of life in that era, among others to the cause of philanthropy and education By the end of Anne's reign there were 5000 or more boys and girls attending the new Charity Schools in the London area, and some 20,000 in the rest of England. The movement was already being taken up in Presbyterian Scotland by the General Assembly of the Church. Essential parts of the scheme were to clothe the children decently while at school, and to apprentice them to good trades afterwards. In 1708 a 'poor boy' could be clothed at nine shillings and twopence, and a 'poor girl' at ten shillings and threepence in one of the London schools.

Another characteristic organization of this period was 'The Society for the Reformation of Manners.' In its open ranks Churchmen and Dissenters co-operated against the licence of the age. Scores of thousands of tracts were issued against drunkenness, swearing, public indecency and Sunday trading. We know not what success attended the *Kind cautions against swearing* distributed among the hackney coachmen of London, and the similar *Kind cautions to watermen* distributed among the West Country bargees! More effective, perhaps, were the innumerable prosecutions instituted. Magistrates were shamed into enforcing laws which had become obsolete These activities aroused furious opposition. Some of the High Churchmen, like Sacheverell, clamoured for the 'ancient discipline of the

Church' to suppress vice, immorality, heresy and schism, instead of this newfangled Society for the Reformation of Manners in which laymen and even Dissenters were allowed to take a part, appealing to lay magistrates instead of to Church Courts. Some prudent Bishops like Sharp, and Judges like Holt, feared that organized delation would lead to ill-feeling, corruption and blackmail. Many magistrates positively refused to receive the evidence of the philanthropic informers. The mob in some places was dangerous, and at least one active member of the Society was murdered outright.

Nevertheless there were tens of thousands of successful prosecutions. It was said that no one but a person of quality could safely swear in a public place. There was, indeed, a strong body of opinion that supported these proceedings. Many quiet citizens had found the magistrates, ever since the Restoration, scandalously lax in restraining drunkards from annoying the sober, in protecting women from insult, and in preserving any show of decency and order. Nor was Sunday trading really desired by the bulk of the community. The Mayor of Deal, a courageous and energetic man, undertook single-handed a crusade against the behaviour of the town, carried most of his points and was re-elected Mayor in 1708. It is indeed probable that many of the prosecutions, especially for swearing and for travelling on Sunday, were vexatious, and the time came under the Georges when the Society was doing quite as much harm as good, and could disappear. But its activities in the reign of Anne helped to make the streets and taverns less unpleasant for decent people, to reduce drunkenness and to secure Sunday as a day of rest from business and labour.

The more gloomy side of the English Sunday struck a German visitor in 1710:

> In the afternoon to St James's Park, to see the crowds No other diversion is allowed on Sunday, which is nowhere more strictly kept; not only is all play forbidden, and public-houses closed, but few even of the boats and hackney coaches may ply Our hostess would not even allow the strangers to play the *viol di Gamba* or the flute, lest she be punished

He added, rather sourly, that Sunday observance was the only visible sign that the English were Christians at all.

But the most important and lasting impression of the religious revival was made by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and its off-shoot, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. The self-same men were the supporters of both, above all the indefatigable Dr. Thomas Bray. The spirit afterwards characteristic of the movement that abolished the Slave Trade and Slavery, inspired these voluntary societies of evangelists, lay and clerical, High and Low Church, Nonjuror and Nonconformist. The last years of William's reign and the first of Anne's saw them fully at work. The diffusion of Bibles and of other religious literature was their chief object. They were therefore great advocates of the Charity Schools where the poor could be taught to read them ; the two movements went side by side. The Society's publications were welcomed by Marlborough in the army, and by Benbow and Rooke in the fleet. Cheap Bibles and Prayer Books were furnished in the country districts. And a supply of Bibles and other books to America was begun on a large scale, and to the rest of the world on a scale, modest indeed as compared to the gigantic work of the Society in later years, but ever growing with the growing power and wealth of England oversea. These activities betokened an instinctive movement of the English religious world to get away, on one side at least, from the denominational and political feuds in which it was entangled, into a field of broader vision, where zeal might produce something better than hate.

In the reign of Anne, as also long before and long after, religious differences were the motive force behind political passions. It is doubly impossible, therefore, for the English historian to ignore religion, if he would explain other phenomena. But he must not be tempted to forget that there was more in the religious sense of the nation than the feuds out of which, incidentally, our political liberties in large part arose The religious life of many quiet parishes and humble families moved on its way, little concerned with partisanship of High and Low Church; English religion was, in the main, a free and healthy function of that old-world life, nicely guiding itself between superstition and fanaticism on the one side and material barbarism on the other.

And in spite of bitterness of party warfare, the prevalent frame of mind among educated persons already partook of that calm, broadminded optimism characteristic of the Eighteenth-Century Briton. It has been well said :

Addison's England was fortunate in having behind it not only the Glorious Revolution of 1688, but such a poet as Milton, such a physicist as Newton, and such a philosopher as Locke.

All the dearest ambitions of men and of Britons had been realised, the Constitution had been established and 'freedom' secured; Homer and Vergil had been equalled if not outdone, the law which preserves the stars from wrong, had been made manifest, and the true workings of the mind had been revealed All these things had been done not only by Englishmen but by Christians. The brilliant explanations of Newton and Locke had not only removed the strain of living in a mysterious universe, but confirmed the principles of religion. (Basil Willey, *Seventeenth Century Background*, p 264.)

Two miles away from the Parliament at Westminster and the Queen's Court at St. James's lay the centre of the greatest City in the world, less amenable to the jurisdiction of Court and Parliament than any other portion of English soil. London was governed by her own freely elected magistrates; policed, in so far as she was policed at all, by her own constables; guarded by her own militia; and rendered formidable to the neighbouring seat of government by the largest and least manageable mob in the island. With only a tenth part of her present population, and much less than a tenth of her present area, London had more than her present relative importance. She surpassed her nearest English rivals, Bristol and Norwich, at least fifteen times in number of inhabitants. Her merchants and her markets controlled the larger business operations of the towns and villages of England, 'sucking the vitals of trade to herself.' It was the peculiar boast of the men of Bristol that they alone kept their trade independent of London, bringing American goods to their own port and disposing of them in the west through their own carriers and agents. Everywhere else the strings of trade were pulled from the capital. 'Norwich buys Exeter serges, Exeter buys Norwich stuffs, all at London.' Every county joined in the great national business of supplying London with food, coal or raw material. In return she sent to every county the finished

goods of her own luxury trades, and the distant products of her foreign merchandise. To the port of London belonged practically all the East India trade of the country, most of the European, Mediterranean and African, and much of the American.

The lower strata of the population of the capital, the dockers and unskilled casual labour of a great mart and port, lived under the most filthy conditions of overcrowding, without sanitation, police or doctors, and far beyond the range of philanthropy, education and religion. Such was their state both in the City proper and in the liberties beyond, in the days of Defoe. The death-rate among them was appalling, and was still going up because they were learning to drink spirits instead of ale. The privileged sanctuary of outlaws in 'Alsatia,' so outrageous to the dignity of the neighbouring lawyers at the Temple, had indeed been abolished a few years before Anne came to the throne, but the fraternity of thieves, highwaymen and harlots had only been scattered thence to spread themselves more thickly over the whole metropolitan area. Their secret organizer, the great Jonathan Wild, flourished at this period, ostensibly as a zealous magistrate, really as a receiver of stolen goods on an immense scale Some of his methods of preserving discipline among his subordinates are ascribed to Peachum in the opening scene of the *Beggar's Opera*, which was written immediately after Wild's belated exposure, trial and execution in 1725 His life's story argues an inefficiency on the part of magistrates and constables that only began to be remedied in the middle of the century, when the famous brothers Fielding set up their office in Bow Street.

Even honest workmen in the ranks of unskilled labour in London were totally without education : Jonathan Brown, a leading personality among the bargemen, confessed to Calamy, the dissenting preacher, that he and his companions 'had never so much as heard who or what Christ was,' though they could easily be set on by their betters to burn Meeting Houses or Popish Chapels according to the political requirements of the hour. It was to combat this state of things that the Charity Schools were being founded by public subscription, and that in 1711 Parliament voted

the taxpayers' money to build fifty new churches in the suburbs, to seat several hundred thousand persons unprovided for by the Established Church ; the Dissenters, whom the Parliamentary Committee reckoned at 100,000 in that district, had already provided their own chapels.

But London was above all a city of contrasts. The port and mart where the goods of England and the world were exchanged, required not only the muscular efforts of unskilled labour, but a supervising army of foremen, clerks, shopkeepers and middlemen of every variety. Moreover, London was not only a mart ; she was also the seat of manufactures, of finishing processes and luxury trades, employing the most skilled workmen in the island. Many thousands of Huguenot silk manufacturers had recently settled in Spitalfields, and other skilled trades previously conducted in France were now practised in Long Acre and Soho by refugees who were rapidly becoming Englishmen and were already voting Whig to secure the toleration that they precariously enjoyed for their Calvinist worship. The finest native craftsmanship was also concentrated in London. In the best shops of the City the apprentices were sons of country gentlemen, likely to die richer than their elder brothers, and dressing in full-bottomed wigs when off duty. Greater London was the centre of English literary and intellectual life, and of fashion, law and government. For all these reasons the capital contained, alongside the most brutal ignorance, an immense and varied stock of skill and intellect. London wits were sharpened, not only by the processes of national and world commerce, but by daily contact with the lawyers and politicians of Westminster, and with the noblemen and persons of fashion of St. James's. During the season, the leaders of society lived in private mansions or in boarding-houses west of Temple Bar, and were as much Londoners as the annually returning swallow is English.

Such a city, containing more than a tenth of the population of England and a good half of its trained thinking power, placed beside the seat of government at Westminster in juxtaposition so close as to form a single metropolis, could not fail to exercise a decisive influence on the course of English history in the days when the difficulties

of travel still isolated Court and Parliament from the other towns and shires of the land. At no time, indeed, did London seek to govern England as Rome had governed Italy or as Athens sought to govern Greece. She accepted the government of England by the Monarchy or by Parliament, so long as the rulers of the land remained at Westminster outside her gates, leaving her ancient municipal liberties undisturbed, and so long as they conducted the religious and foreign affairs of the country in the main in accordance with principles that were popular in London. The Kings and Queens whom she favoured—Henry VIII, Elizabeth, William III and Anne—left behind them political structures that survived. Those who quarrelled with her built for the day—Mary Tudor, the two Charleses and Jameses, and the Protector—though Oliver and the second Charles each owed his rise to power largely to her support.

The Tower of London, which was to have overawed the citizens, had been built by William the Conqueror on the side of the City away from Westminster. Partly for that reason, it had not overawed them long In Stuart times it could not, in its isolated position, serve to protect Westminster and Whitehall from the insults of the London mob In Anne's reign the Tower still served as the great Arsenal whence cannon and gunpowder were shipped to the wars oversea ; it also contained the Mint and its machinery for coining the money of the Realm, presided over by Newton himself as Master. The outer walls enclosed a network of streets inhabited by the officers of these two establishments. On occasion it was still a State prison. But already it had its lighter side, for it served as the Zoo and the Museum of the Capital. Visitors were taken to see the Crown Jewels, and the newly finished Armoury where a line of English Kings sat mounted in battle array. The stock of lions and other wild beasts had been maintained ever since the days when the Tower had been a favourite residence of mediaeval kings ; it was finely replenished by presents to Queen Anne from the monarchs of North African 'Barbary,' with whom the English merchants traded, and with whom the captors of Gibraltar made treaties of alliance against France and Spain.

Between the Tower and Temple Bar stretched the length of the City proper ; its meagre breadth extended northwards from the river only as far as the bars of Smithfield, Holborn and Whitechapel.[1] But the march of bricks and mortar had burst the municipal bounds, chiefly in a westerly direction, attracted towards the seat of national government at Westminster. At the Strand began the jurisdiction of that City. But the municipal privileges of Westminster were no rival to those of London. Neither London nor the Court nor Parliament had ever wished to have to deal with a Lord Mayor of Westminster. So Westminster was never permitted to enjoy self-government, or to acquire a corporate sense. It was ruled by twelve burgesses appointed for life by the High Steward, and even their powers were being rapidly superseded by those of the Justices of the Peace and of the Vestries of the different parishes. It is true that the parliamentary franchise in Westminster was democratic, and in the days when most boroughs had a narrow franchise, the election of a member of Parliament for Westminster caused unusual political excitement long before the time of Charles Fox, as when General Stanhope stood in 1710 in the Whig interest and was defeated after a fierce contest and a hot canvass. But Westminster's local government was a mere bureaucracy, so far as it was anything better than an anarchy of rival jurisdictions.

On the other hand, the City of London enjoyed complete self-government in an unusually democratic form. At that time very few boroughs in England were so free of the element of oligarchy, unless it were Ipswich and Norwich. In London as many as 12,000 ratepaying householders voted in their respective Wards to elect the 26 Aldermen and 200 Common Councillors. These ratepayers of the Wards were almost identical with the Liverymen of the 89 Gilds and Companies : in their double capacity they controlled by their votes the antique and complicated machinery of London self-government.

The electorate of shopkeepers chose men of their own class to represent them on the Common Council, rather than the great merchant princes known in the world of high

[1] These 'bar' boundaries, were, of course, more extensive than the original City bounded by the wall and gates, *e.g* Temple Bar was farther west than Ludgate

finance and politics. The City magnates were more often chosen as Aldermen. Common pride in the privileges and power of London, and jealous care for her independence, prevented a serious breach between the great men of the Exchange and the shopkeeping democracy. But there was sometimes friction, and in the course of Anne's reign a tendency became apparent for the democratic Common Council to be Tory, and for the Mayor, Aldermen and wealthy City magnates to be Whig.

The jurisdiction of London's elected magistrates was not confined to the area of their own City. Their power stopped short of Westminster, but they clipped it in on every side. They possessed the Shrievalty of Middlesex and the Bailiwick of Southwark. They administered and taxed the port of London. The Lord Mayor was Conservator of the river from Gravesend and Tilbury up to a point just above Staines Bridge—a course of over sixty miles. London levied coal duties in a radius of twelve miles, and enforced her monopoly of markets in a radius of seven.

The City proper was the most densely populated acreage in England. It was not, as in later times, abandoned to 'cats and caretakers' at nightfall, the merchant prince and the shopkeeper slept, each with his family, over his place of business—servants and prentices above in the garrets, and porters and messengers packed away anywhere in cellarage and warehouse. Old Jewry and Basinghall Street, in particular, were reputed to contain the homes of some of the richest men in England. But the nobility of the realm had already deserted their ancestral palaces in the crowded City and the Strand, whence gardens were vanishing apace ; the grandees resided, during the season, round Covent Garden, Piccadilly, Bloomsbury or St. James's Square, or in some part of Westminster. And gentlemen from the country, civil servants, members of Parliament and professional men had smaller houses in these same regions, clustering round the mansions of the nobility. Such is the origin of many famous London 'Squares.'[1]

[1] Thus Bloomsbury Square, originally called Southampton Square, was a new fashionable quarter, built after the Restoration. The 'Square' was the first piece of properly planned development on the Bloomsbury estate of the last Earl

But the rich merchants still inhabited their beloved City for reasons alike of business and sentiment. They had also their country houses and villas among the woods, fields and pleasant villages within a twenty-mile radius of London. In their suburban and riverside retreats—in Hampstead, West Ham, Walthamstow, and below Epsom Downs, and especially along the green shores of the Thames from Chelsea upwards—there was perhaps as much good eating and drinking done by Londoners as in the City itself. The poorer sort walked out for a holiday in the country to favourite spots like Dulwich.

The river was the most crowded of the London highways. Passengers in boats were perpetually threading the heavy commercial traffic, to the accompaniment of volleys of traditional abuse and chaff exchanged between boatmen and bargees. On the north bank, between London Bridge and the Parliament Stairs were at least thirty landing-places, where boats waited by the steps to carry people along or across the river. Statesmen and parsons going over to Lambeth, or prentices and budding barristers on lighter errands to Cupid's Garden hard by, one and all crossed by boat. There were ferries with platforms to take a coach and horses. For until Westminster Bridge was built in 1738, London Bridge was the only road over the river. The street that stood upon it had been rebuilt in a more modern style since the ravages of the Great Fire, but the projection of its ancient piers still hindered and endangered traffic. To 'shoot the bridge' was still an adventure; it was said that London Bridge was made for wise men to go over and fools to go under.

The big shipping, therefore, came no higher than the Bridge. Below it, a forest of masts covered the Pool of London, with which no scene in the world save Amsterdam could compare. The fairway was the more crowded because scarcely any of the great docks had then been dug

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of Southampton, on whose death it passed to his daughter Rachel and her 'dear lord,' the Whig hero executed in 1683 It was one of the earliest of the London squares, and was given that form in order to leave open the view from the front of the great mansion, Southampton (later Bedford) House that occupied its north end A century passed before Russell Square was similarly developed out of the fields to the north of the great House *The Russells in Bloomsbury*, Scott Thomson, chaps. II and III

out, except those at Deptford, and the single dock at Blackwall used for the vessels of the East India Company.

Amid the hayfields on Thames bank stood Chelsea Hospital in solitary grandeur, inhabited by four hundred redcoated pensioners of Sedgemoor, Landen and the Boyne, discussing the weekly news of Marlborough's doings with the professional earnestness of Corporal Trim. A little way off lay the village of Chelsea, where a few persons of fashion had taken the fancy to build themselves retreats, as far removed from the turmoil of London and Westminster as Kensington Palace itself.

Since coal was burnt on almost every London hearth, the air was so infected that a foreign scholar complained 'whenever I examine London books I make my ruffles as black as coal.' On days when the north-east wind carried the smoke cloud, even Chelsea became dangerous to the asthmatic, as the mild philosopher Earl of Shaftesbury had reason to complain. There is no wonder that King William with his weak lungs had lived at Hampton Court when he could, and at Kensington when he must. Anne, on her accession, could safely move the royal residence from country to town, from Kensington to St. James's Palace. But that was all the satisfaction she would give to her loving subjects ; not only was she often at Bath and yet more often at Windsor, but even when she came to town, the doors of St. James's were open only to her Ministers and her female favourites, and to those whom Ministers or favourites introduced by the front stairs or the back. Throughout her reign she was an invalid. What asthma was to William, gout or dropsy was to Anne. To be jolted in a coach to Westminster to open Parliament, or to St. Paul's to give public thanks for some famous victory, was a penance that she could only occasionally consent to endure.

Queen Anne therefore kept Court as little as William. Metaphorically as well as literally, the Whitehall of the Merry Monarch lay in ruins, never to rise again Except the Banqueting House of tragic memory, the whole Palace had been burnt in 1698, and its roofless walls still cumbered the river bank. Buckingham House was still the residence of a subject. The fashionable world parading in sedan chairs and six-horse coaches in the Mall, or sauntering in the more

private garden immediately below the windows of St. James's Palace, had to be content with remembering that they were near the invisible Queen. It was more to the point that in the other direction the Houses of Parliament were but a few minutes' walk away.

'The Court' had been the microcosm and throbbing heart of England ever since the days of Alfred, through Norman and Plantagenet times, through the spacious days of Henry and Elizabeth down to Charles II; his Court was not only the scene of much pleasure, liberty and scandal, it was also the centre of patronage for politics, fashion, literature, art, learning, invention, company-promoting, and a hundred other activities of the King's eager subjects seeking notoriety or reward. But after the Revolution the glory of the Court grew dim. Neither the political position of the Crown, nor the personal temperament of those who wore it was the same as of old. Stern William, invalid Anne, the German Georges, farmer George, domestic Victoria, none of them desired to keep a Court like Queen Elizabeth's. Henceforth the Court was the residence of secluded Royalty, pointed out from afar, difficult of access save on formal occasions of proverbial dullness. Patronage was sought elsewhere, in the lobbies of Parliament, in the ante-chambers of Ministers, in the country houses of the pleasantest aristocracy in the world,—finally in an appeal to the educated public. This decline of the Court had many consequences, direct and indirect, on English life. It had no analogy in contemporary France, where Versailles still drew men like a magnet, and impoverished the life of chateau and province.

CHAPTER XI

Dr Johnson's England [*circa* 1740–1780)[1]

I

Population—Medicine and Philanthropy—Justice—Local administration—Religion—Education—Universities—Wales

The first forty years of the Eighteenth Century, the reign of Anne and the rule of Walpole, constitute an age of transition, during which the feuds and ideals of the Stuart era, lately a lava flood scouring the land with devastating heat, were being channelled and congealed into fixed, durable Hanoverian forms. In this way the age of Marlborough and Bolingbroke, of Swift and Defoe, was the meeting point of two epochs. It is only in the years that followed (1740–1780) that we find a generation of men wholly characteristic of the Eighteenth Century ethos, a society with a mental outlook of its own, self-poised, self-judged, and self-approved, freed from the disturbing passions of the past, and not yet troubled with anxieties about a very different future which was soon to be brought upon the scene by the Industrial and the French Revolutions. The gods mercifully gave mankind this little moment of peace between the religious fanaticisms of the past and the fanaticisms of class and race that were speedily to arise and dominate time to come. In England it was an age of aristocracy and liberty ; of the rule of law and the absence of reform ; of individual initiative and institutional decay , of Latitudinarianism above and Wesleyanism below ; of the growth of humanitarian and philanthropic feeling and endeavour ; of creative vigour in all the trades and arts that serve and adorn the life of man.

It is a 'classical' age, that is to say an age of unchallenged assumptions, when the philosophers of the street, such as Dr. Johnson, have ample leisure to moralize on the human scene, in the happy belief that the state of society and the

[1] George II, 1727–1760 George III, 1760–1820 Dr Johnson, *b* 1709, *d* 1784. Seven Years' War, 1755–1761 War of American Independence, 1776–1782.

modes of thought to which they are accustomed are not mere passing aspects of an ever-shifting kaleidoscope, but permanent habitations, the final outcome of reason and experience. Such an age does not aspire to progress though it may in fact be progressing ; it regards itself not as setting out but as having arrived ; it is thankful for what it has, and enjoys life without 'deep questioning which probes to endless dole.' And therefore the men of this 'classical' age looked back with a sense of kinship to the far-off Ancient World. The upper class regarded the Greeks and Romans as honorary Englishmen, their precursors in liberty and culture, and the Roman Senate as the prototype of the British Parliament. The mediaeval period, with its 'gothic' aspirations and barbarisms, sank for a while below the horizon of study and sympathy, so that the eye of taste could range back without hindrance across the gulf of time, and contemplate on its further shore the only civilization which could claim to be as classical, as poised, as enlightened and as artistic as the fortunate present.

Compared to the self-complacency of the mid-Eighteenth Century, the proverbial self-complacency of the Victorians is modesty itself, for the Victorians were, within certain limits, ardent and successful reformers, and admired themselves for the improvements they made. But to the typical men of the period of Blackstone, Gibbon and Burke, England appeared to be the best country possible in an imperfect world, requiring only to be left alone where Providence and the Revolution of 1688 had so fortunately placed her. Their optimism about England was based on a general pessimism about the human race, not on a belief in perpetual and world-wide 'progress' such as cheered simple hearts in the Nineteenth Century.

It is true that the men who were least content were those who looked closest at the realities of English life—Hogarth, Fielding, Smollett and the philanthropists ; they indeed exposed particular evils as unsparingly as Dickens himself. But even their strictures kept within the limits of the classical and conservative philosophy of the time. Nor was the self-complacency of that age altogether unjustified, though it was unfortunate because it sustained an atmosphere inimical

to any general movement of reform. It was a society which, with all its grave faults, was brilliant above and stable below.

In the course of the Eighteenth Century the population of England and Wales rose from about five and a half millions when Queen Anne came to the throne, to nine millions in 1801. This unprecedented increase, the herald of great changes in the life of our island, was not caused by immigration: the entry of cheap Irish labour which now first became an important feature of our social and economic life, was counterbalanced numerically by English emigration overseas. The advance in population represented a rather larger birth-rate and a very much reduced death-rate. The survival of many more infants and the prolongation of the average life of adults mark off modern times from the past, and this great change began in the Eighteenth Century. It was due mainly to improved medical service.

In the first decades of the Century the death-rate had risen sharply and passed the birth-rate. But this dangerous tendency was reversed between 1730 and 1760, and after 1780 the death-rate went down by leaps and bounds.

Both the rise of the death-rate and its subsequent fall have been attributed in part to the growth and decline of the habit of drinking cheap gin instead of beer. The dire consequences of that change in the habits of the poor have been immortalized in Hogarth's famous delineation of the horrors of 'Gin Lane' contrasted with prosperous 'Beer Street.' In the third decade of the Century, the epoch of the *Beggar's Opera*, statesmen and legislators had deliberately encouraged the consumption of gin by throwing open the distilling trade and by placing on spirits far too light a tax. Distilling, said Defoe, consumed corn and was therefore good for the landed interest, and so thought the Parliament of landlords. But as the appalling social consequences were gradually brought to their notice by the enlightened philanthropy of the age, a series of hesitating steps were taken to mitigate the evil. But it was not really checked until 1751, when spirits were highly taxed and their retail by distillers and shopkeepers was stopped (24 G. II, c. 40).

'The Act of 1751,' says the historian of Eighteenth
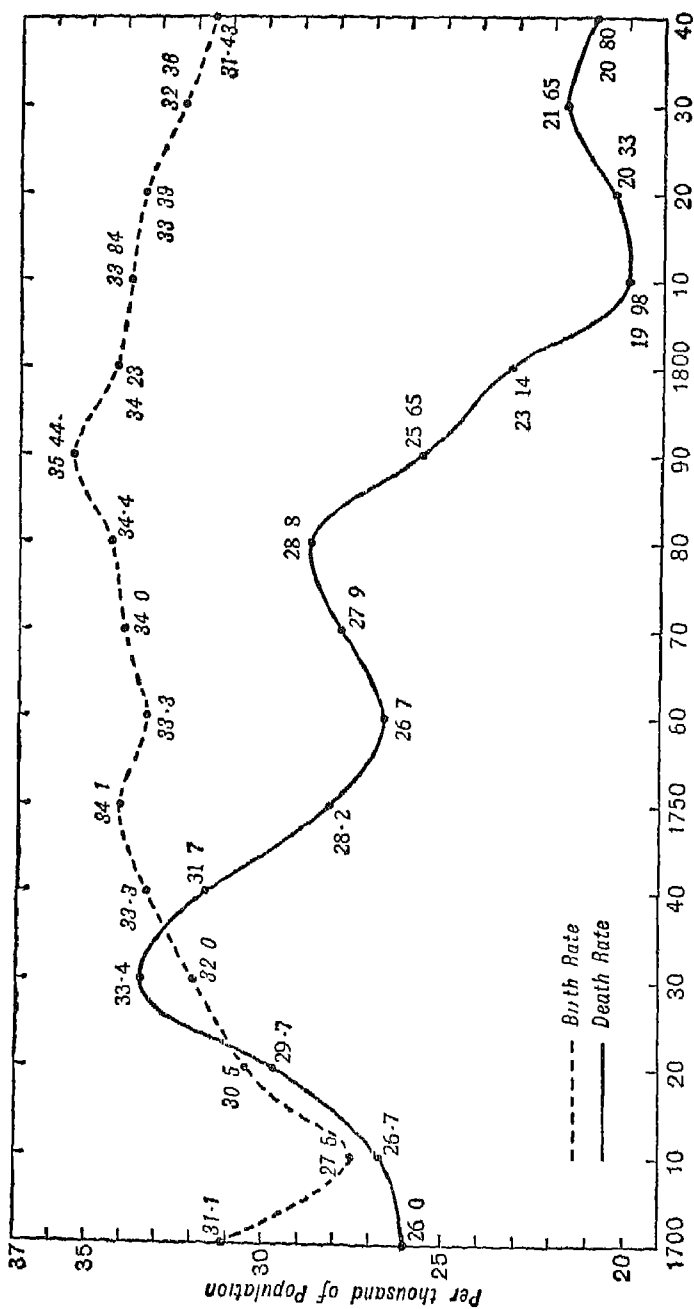
Diagram from *Population Problems of the Age of Malthus* G. Talbot Griffith. Cam. Press, 1926.

Century London, 'really did reduce the excesses of spirit-drinking. It was a turning-point in the social history of London and was so considered when this time was still within living memory.' Even after that blessed date medical men still attributed an eighth of the deaths of London adults to excess in spirit-drinking; but the worst was over, and after the middle years of the Century tea became a formidable rival to alcohol with all classes, both in the capital and in the country at large

At the height of the gin era, between 1740 and 1742, the burials in the London region had been twice as many as the baptisms! The capital had been supplied with inhabitants by the unfailing stream of immigrants from the healthier and more sober countryside. The change for the better after the middle of the Century was very great In 1750 the London death-rate had been 1 in 20; by 1821 it had fallen to 1 in 40. The population of greater London doubled between 1700 and 1820 (674,000 rose to 1,274,000), but the annual number of registered burials was unaltered. In other words, although the target that London exposed to the darts of Death was twice as large in 1820 as it had been a century before, the number of hits he scored showed no increase. (See Mrs. George, *London Life in the Eighteenth Century*, pp. 24–38.)

While the period of cheap gin lasted (1720–1750) it had done much to reduce the population of the capital. In the country at large, its ravages had been severe, but ale had held its own better in the village than in the town. Social historians have indeed sometimes exaggerated the effect of gin-drinking on vital statistics outside the London area. For example, gin cannot account for the rapid increase in the death-rate between 1700 and 1720, for in those years the great consumption of cheap spirits had scarcely begun. And whereas the death-rate in all England, as distinct from the London area, fell rapidly from 1730 to 1750, those were precisely the years when gin-drinking was at its worst.

We must therefore look for other causes, besides the decline of the consumption of spirits, to account for the remarkable fall in the death-rate that marked the middle period of the Century, and still more its last twenty years. The two reasons why death began to take a smaller toll

of English infants, children and adults, were improved conditions of life and improved medical treatment. The great advance in agriculture during the Eighteenth Century gave more abundant food to many, though not to all The advance in locomotion and the changes in industrial method gave more employment and higher wages and brought more numerous and more varied articles of purchase within the cottager's reach. It is true that the industrial and agricultural revolution had some most unhappy effects on society and on the amenities of life in village and town. It did not always make for content, possibly not on the average for happiness. But it certainly provided more food and clothing and other articles per head of the population, though their distribution was scandalously unequal. And this greater abundance, by lengthening human life, was one cause why the population continued to rise.

But an even greater check upon the death-rate was the advance in medicine. Throughout the Eighteenth Century the medical profession was moving out of the dark ages of sciolism and traditional superstition into the light of science. The Physician, the Surgeon, the Apothecary and the unlicensed practitioner were all going forward apace in knowledge and in devoted service, especially to the poor, who had hitherto been horribly neglected. Science and philanthropy were the best part of the spirit of the 'age of enlightenment' and this spirit inspired the better medical training and practice of individuals.

At the beginning of the Century, smallpox had been the scourge most dreaded, as destructive of beauty and still more destructive of life. The woman traveller, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, introduced inoculation from Turkey, and an Inoculation Hospital was set up in London. Although the remedy was suspected as unnatural and even impious, it made some headway and reduced the ravages of the disease. But smallpox still carried off a thirteenth of each generation until, at the close of the Century, Jenner discovered vaccination.

Scotland was beginning to make her great intellectual contribution to life south of the Border. The union of brains was following the Union of Parliaments and of commerce. It was the age of Hume, Smollet, Adam Smith and

Boswell. And in this same period Sir John Pringle, the Hunter brothers and William Smellie came from Scotland to London ; the Hunters, by their teaching, converted British surgery from the trade of the 'barber-surgeon' into the science of the specialist ; Smellie similarly revolutionized the practice of midwifery ; while Pringle reformed military hygiene, on scientific principles which had also a great influence on the habits and the treatment of the civilian population.

The great improvement in professional skill was supported by the foundation of Hospitals, in which the age of Philanthropy gave sober expression to its feelings, just as the age of Faith had sung its soul in the stones of cloisters and Cathedral aisles. Lying-in hospitals were founded in the principal towns. County hospitals for all sorts of patients were set up. In the capital, between 1720 and 1745, Guy's, Westminster, St. George's, London and Middlesex Hospitals were all founded ; the mediaeval St. Thomas's had been rebuilt in the reign of Anne, and at Bart's teaching and practice were improving apace. In the course of 125 years after 1700, no less than 154 new hospitals and dispensaries were established in Britain. These were not municipal undertakings—municipal life was then at its lowest ebb ; they were the outcome of individual initiative and of co-ordinated voluntary effort and subscription.

At the same time the growing benevolence of the age was moved to cope with the appalling infant mortality among the poor and especially among deserted bastard children. Jonas Hanway, who did much to reduce these evils, had declared that 'few parish children live to be apprenticed.' And thousands of infants did not even live to be parish children, but died abandoned in empty rooms or exposed in streets by mothers to whom they would only mean expense and shame. Captain Coram, with his kind sailor's heart, could not endure the sight of babes lying deserted by the roadside, while respectable citizens passed by with the shrug of the Pharisee. For years Coram agitated the project of a Foundling Hospital ; at length he obtained a charter from George II ; Handel gave an organ ; Hogarth painted a picture ; subscriptions poured in, and in 1745 the Hospital was completed and opened. Many infant lives were

saved, and many deserted children were brought up and apprenticed to trades.

A few years after the good Captain had died, a bad moment occurred in the history of the institution he had founded. In 1756 Parliament made a grant to its funds, on condition that all children brought to the Hospital should be admitted. Fifteen thousand were brought, and the not unnatural consequence was that of this unmanageable multitude only 4400 lived to be apprenticed. After that disastrous experiment, the Foundling Hospital again became a private institution with a limited entry—and a reduced death-rate. It long continued to do good work, till in the happier social conditions of the early Twentieth Century it was moved out of town, and the 'Foundling site' was secured as a playground for all kinds of children, and rechristened 'Coram's Fields.'

Early in the reign of George III, Hanway's persistent efforts were crowned by an Act of Parliament which compelled the parishes of the London area to keep their 'parish infants' no longer in the workhouses where they died apace, but in country cottages where they lived and throve.[1]

In the same spirit, General Oglethorpe had drawn attention to the scandal of debtors' prisons. In 1729 he induced Parliament to enquire into the horrors of the Fleet and Marshalsea, where the gaolers tortured debtors to death in the endeavour to extract fees from men who in the nature of the case had no money. English prisons remained for the rest of the Century a national disgrace, being still farmed out to wretches of this kind by the local authorities who would not be at the trouble and expense to maintain them by properly paid public officials[2] But Oglethorpe had at least called

[1] Hanway (1712–1786) is also famous for introducing the umbrella into England For many years he carried one, in spite of the jeers of the populace and the interested anger of sedan chairmen and hackney coachmen, until in the last years of his life his example was generally imitated But it would be more true to say that he re-introduced the custom, for in 1710, two years before Hanway was born, Swift had written in his *City Shower* ·

'The tuck'd up sempstress walks with hasty strides
While streams run down her oil'd umbrella's sides'

It is therefore probable that Hanway had seen umbrellas in use in London when he was a small boy

[2] John Howard, in 1773, began his life's work on prisons by a vain attempt to induce the justices of Bedfordshire and the neighbouring Counties to pay regular salaries to the gaolers in lieu of fees extorted from the prisoners

attention to the state of things and mitigated some of its very worst abuses. Previous generations had seldom enquired what went on inside these houses of woe.

The gallant General also became the founder and first governor of the new colony of Georgia, whither he transplanted many debtors and impoverished persons. He well deserved Pope's eulogium—

> One, driven by strong benevolence of soul,
> Shall fly, like Oglethorpe, from pole to pole

'Strong benevolence of soul' was characteristic of many in that age. It dictated the extraordinary domestic arrangements of Oglethorpe's formidable friend Dr Johnson. From beginning to end of the Century, the new Puritanism of the ardently religious, such as Robert Nelson, Lady Elizabeth Hastings, the Wesleys, Cowper and finally Wilberforce, strove to practise the charity of the New Testament in place of the harsher precepts of the Old with which Cromwell's troopers had marched to battle. It was no accident that Uncle Toby, the Vicar of Wakefield, Mr. Allworthy and Parson Adams were leading characters in English fiction during its first great period A keener sensitiveness to the needs and sufferings of others, particularly of the poor, was not only reflected in literature but was seen in the lives of philanthropists and in the successive activities of the age—the foundation first of Charity Schools; then of Hospitals ; and, in the last years of the Century, of Sunday Schools. It overleapt the boundaries of race and colour. It melted the hard prudence of statesmen. 'Stormy pity' inspired much of the eloquence and some of the errors of Burke and of Fox on India and on France , and at length stirred the great rebellion of the English conscience against the slave-trade.

Yet while the new humanitarian spirit inspired private initiative, it had as yet little effect on executive, municipal or legislative action. Private employers treated their servants better than the Government treated its soldiers and sailors. The fleet had to be maintained by the haphazard and iniquitous compulsion of the press-gang, because voluntary recruiting was inadequate owing to the notorious conditions on board the royal ships. The life of the fisherman and the

merchant sailor was hard enough, but it was better than life on a man-of-war, where the food was foul and scanty, the pay inadequate and irregular, the attention to health nil, and the discipline of iron. The good Admiral Vernon, who suffered in the reign of George II for being the sailors' outspoken friend, declared that 'our fleets are defrauded by injustice, manned by violence and maintained by cruelty.'

The private of the army was no better treated. At home he had no barracks, but was billeted in ale-houses on a population that hated the red-coats and treated them accordingly They were the more unpopular because they acted as the only efficient police force against rioting and smuggling. As to discipline, one soldier of George II had received 30,000 lashes in sixteen years—'yet the man is hearty and well and in no ways concerned.' While such was their lot at home, garrison duty in the West Indies was tantamount to a sentence of death. These were the men who by sea and land won England her empire and defended her trade and secured her wealth and happiness at home, and such was their reward.

Throughout the Century, Parliament went on adding statute after statute to the 'bloody code' of English law, enlarging perpetually the long list of offences punishable by death: finally they numbered two hundred. Not only were horse and sheep stealing and coining capital crimes, but stealing in a shop to the value of five shillings, and stealing anything privily from the person, were it only a handkerchief. But such was the illogical chaos of the law, that attempted murder was still very lightly punished, though to slit a man's nose was capital. The effect of increased legal severity in an age that was becoming more humane, was that juries often refused to convict men for minor offences that would lead them to the scaffold. Moreover it was easy for a criminal, by the help of a clever lawyer, to escape on purely technical grounds from the meshes of an antiquated and over-elaborate procedure. Out of six thieves brought to trial, five might in one way or another get off, while the unlucky one was hanged. It would have been more deterrent if they had all six been sure of a term of imprisonment.

To make matters worse, the chances of arrest were small,

for there was no effective police in the island, except the 'runners' of the office which the Fielding brothers, about the middle of the Century, set up in their house in Bow Street.[1] Until the soldiers were actually called out, there was no force capable of dispersing a disorderly crowd. Hence the disgraceful incident of the Gordon Riots (1780), when seventy houses and four gaols were burnt by the London mob. Indeed, the wonder is that our ancestors preserved public order and private property as well as they did. They must have been, on the average, at least as moral and law-abiding a folk as our own generation. For what would be the effect in our great cities to-day of abolishing the police?

Yet, until the Code Napoleon was received on the Continent, it is possible that English justice, bad as it was, may have been the best in the world, as Blackstone boasted. It had at least two advantages over the European codes of the *ancien régime*. It gave the prisoner in political cases a real chance to defend himself against the government, an improvement made by the Treason Law of 1695, and by the general tendency of political and judicial practice since the Revolution. And in no cases, political or other, was torture permitted to extort evidence or confession. But it cannot be said that English justice eschewed torture as a means of punishment, for although breaking on the wheel was unknown in our island, the floggings, particularly in the army and navy, often amounted to torture.

The English were still fond of witnessing the punishment of those whose actions they disapproved. Two passages may be cited from the Diaries of Parson Woodforde, a benevolent soul unusually kind to men and animals:

1777 July 22 Robert Biggen, for stealing potatoes, was this afternoon whipped thro' the streets of Cary [Somerset] by the Hangman at the end of a cart He was whipped from the George Inn to

[1] The novelist Henry Fielding and his remarkable half-brother Sir John, who was blind from birth, were the best magistrates London had in the Century. Actually they were Stipendiary Justices of Westminster In a ballad of the period, the Highwayman sings

> I went to London one fine day
> With my sweet love to see the play,
> Where Fielding's gang did me pursue
> And I was ta'en by that cursed crew

the Angel, from thence back through the street to the Royal Oak in South Cary and so back to the George Inn. He being an old offender there was a collection of 0 17 6 given to the Hangman to do him justice. But it was not much for all that—the Hangman was an old Man and a most villainous looking Fellow indeed For my Part I would not contribute one Farthing to it
1781. April 7. Gave my servant Will leave to go to Norwich ten miles by road this morning to see the three Highwaymen hung there today Will returned about seven o'clock in the evening They were all three hung and appeared penitent.

Whether or not English justice was on the whole less bad than the continental practice of the day, the philosophers of Europe and of England now began their famous attack on the existing systems of law and punishment. This greater sensitiveness to evils which all previous ages had accepted as matters of course, was part of the general humanitarian movement, connected on the continent with Voltaire and the 'philosophers,' and in England connected equally with 'philosophy' and with religion. The Italian reformer, Beccaria, in his attack on the penal codes of Europe was followed by Howard's exposure of the still scandalous state of prisons at home and abroad, and by Bentham's analysis of the useless and complicated absurdities of English law, a vested interest dear to the heart of the most conservative of professions.

The excellent idea of the rule of law, as something superior to the will of the rulers, was strong among the Eighteenth Century English. It had been secured by the events of the Revolution and by the consequent irremovability of Judges, who were no longer jackals of government, but independent umpires between the Crown and the subject.

This high conception of the supremacy of law was popularized by Blackstone's *Commentaries on the Laws of England* (1765), a book widely read by educated people in England and America, for it was a legally-minded age. The fault was that the law thus idealized was regarded too much as static, as a thing given once for all, whereas, if law is indeed to be the permanent rule of life to a nation, it must be apt to change with the changing needs and circumstances of society. In the Eighteenth Century, Parliament

showed little legislative activity, except in private acts for enclosure of land, for turnpike roads, or other economic measures. In administrative matters there was a lag in legislation, at a time when great industrial developments were every year changing social conditions, and adding to the needs of a growing population.

Therefore Jeremy Bentham, the father of English law reform, regarded Blackstone as the arch-enemy, who stood in the way of change by teaching people to make a fetish of the laws of England in the form which they actually bore at the moment, a form dictated by the needs not of the present age but of ages long past.[1]

The first blast against Blackstone was blown by young Bentham in his *Fragment on Government* in 1776, that seminal year which saw the publication of Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, the first part of Gibbon's *History*, and the American Declaration of Independence. When the octogenarian Bentham died in 1832, the laws of England had only just begun to be altered from what they had been when he first denounced them in Blackstone's day. Yet his prolonged efforts had not been in vain, for he had converted the rising generation. Onwards from that time our laws were rapidly changed in accordance with the commonsense, utilitarian principles that Bentham had laid down.

Reform was to be the specific work of the Nineteenth Century. The specific work of the earlier Hanoverian epoch was the establishment of the rule of law ; and that law, with all its grave faults, was at least a law of freedom. On that solid foundation all our subsequent reforms were built. If the Eighteenth Century had not established the law of freedom, the Nineteenth Century in England would have proceeded by Revolutionary violence, instead of by Parliamentary modification of the law.

The abuses of the poor-law, of which so much was heard in Eighteenth Century England, were due to want of modern organs of government, and above all to an entire lack of central organization and control. The problem of the

[1] Professor Holdsworth thinks that Bentham somewhat exaggerated the conservative optimism of Blackstone, who was not in all ways as blind as his critic made out

poor and of unemployment was in its essence national—or at least regional—yet every petty parish dealt with it separately, in a state of hostility to every other. Rural ignorance and parochial jealousy were left to cope with the terrible problem according to their own devices, and the chief anxiety felt was to drive out of the parish anyone who might conceivably become a burden on the poor-rate, a policy which checked the fluidity of labour and severely aggravated unemployment. But the problem of the poor in England had this advantage over the problem of police and prisons, that it was legally obligatory to raise a poor-rate in every parish to deal with its poor, whereas the ratepayers regarded it as an unusual hardship if the magistrate raised any rate to pay for roads, prisons, sanitation or police.

Rural England was governed by the patriarchal sway of the Justices of the Peace. It lay with them to decide if a local rate should be raised for any purpose, and how it should be spent. The Justices, nominally appointed by the Crown, were really appointed by the Lord Lieutenant influenced by the opinion of the gentry of the shire. Nominally State officials, the J.P.s really represented local territorial power. The Privy Council no longer, as in Tudor and early Stuart days, kept them in awe and guided their action on national principles. The Revolution of 1688, in one of its aspects, had been a revolt of these unpaid local magistrates against the Central Government which had overstrained their loyalty in religion and politics. Owing to the infatuation of James II, the privileges of Parliament and the liberties of Englishmen were reasserted at the price of an excessive lack of central control over local authorities even in matters that were not political but social. The Privy Council by aiming at absolute power in all things, had lost powers which it had formerly exercised for the general good. In the Eighteenth Century the Justices of Peace might rather have been said to control the Central Government through the grand national Quarter Sessions of Parliament, than to be under any central control themselves. No local authority had then to consider 'Whitehall.'

The powers and functions of the J.P.s covered all sides of country life. They administered justice in Quarter or

Petty Sessions, or in the private house of a single magistrate. They were supposed to keep up the roads and bridges, the prisons and workhouses. They licensed the public houses. They levied a county rate when a rate was levied at all. These and a hundred other aspects of county business lay in their control. Yet they had not any proper staff, or any effective bureaucracy to carry out local administration. For that would have meant a big County rate which men were unwilling to pay; they preferred inefficient local government provided only it was cheap. Modern English practice is so different in this respect that it is difficult to realize how great has been the change.[1]

In the middle years of the Century, Fielding, Smollett and other observers of the injustices of life, bitterly satirized the irresponsible power of the J.P.s and its frequent misuse in acts of tyranny and favouritism. There was a corrupt type of J.P. known as 'trading justices,' men of a lower order of society who got themselves made magistrates in order to turn their position to financial profit. But generally speaking, the Justices who did most of the work in rural districts were substantial squires, too rich to be corrupt or mean, proud to do hard public work for no pay, anxious to stand well with their neighbours, but often ignorant and prejudiced without meaning to be unjust, and far too much a law unto themselves.

It is a common error to regard the Eighteenth Century in England as irreligious. An ethical code based on Christian doctrine was a rule of life to a much larger proportion of the community than it had been in the late mediaeval and Tudor periods. Indeed, the age of Wesley, Cowper and Dr. Johnson was perhaps as 'religious' as the Seventeenth Century itself, though it had ceased to fight with the sword about rival doctrines of Christianity, and was therefore somewhat more tolerant of still wider differences of opinion.

Locke's argument that Toleration was not merely politically expedient but positively just and right, became

[1] The annual cost of poor relief between 1782 and 1793 was two millions a year; *all other kinds of expenditure met out of local rates did not exceed £200,000 a year!* Halévy, *Hist. of Eng People*, II, p 233 (Pelican ed).

generally accepted as the Eighteenth Century went on. It is arguable that this does not make that much abused era any less Christian. Human experience had so long associated religion with intolerance, that when intolerance cooled, people thought that religion had decayed. The deduction may be challenged.

Writing in the reigns of James II and William, even Locke had maintained that neither Atheist nor Romanist had an absolute claim on society for toleration, because the one undermined morality and the other the State. But in effect both were to benefit by the more liberal and latitudinarian philosophy which his influence helped to impose on the succeeding age.

Locke's *Reasonableness of Christianity* (the very title marks a new brand of thought and religion) was the starting-point of two movements, the Latitudinarianism that became for a while the prevalent tone of the Established Church, though not of Methodism ; and the English Deistic movement which all respectable people regarded askance.

In the first thirty years of the Century the 'Deists,' such as Toland, Tindal and Collins, were allowed to print their cautiously expressed views without being prosecuted ; while they were answered not only by the satire of Swift but by the arguments of men who outmatched them in intellect—Bishop Butler, Bishop Berkeley, Bentley and William Law. Voltaire, the bolder and more formidable disciple of these English Deists, found no such antagonists in France, but had more to fear from active persecution by Church and State. Partly for that reason continental Deism became more uncompromising and more anti-Christian than English. Indeed, the most recent historian of Eighteenth Century thought speaks of 'that peculiarly English phenomenon, the holy alliance of science and religion, which persisted (in spite of Hume) till near the close of the Century.' (Basil Willey, *The Eighteenth Century Background*, p. 136.) David Hartley, after whom Coleridge named his son, proclaimed this 'holy alliance.' In the words of Pope's comfortable epigram :

> Nature and Nature's laws lay hid in night ;
> God said, *Let Newton be !* and all was light !

The harmony of science and religion was nobly symbolized by the erection in 1755 of Roubillac's statue of Newton in the ante-chapel at Trinity College, Cambridge.

It is true that, in the early years of George III's reign, there were Britons of the intellectual calibre of Hume and Gibbon who were avowed sceptics. Yet even Gibbon thought well to veil his real thought in the decent obscurity of the ironical. And as every reader of Boswell's *Johnson* is aware, these great sceptics and their lesser followers were ill spoken of in society, while the batteries opened upon them by orthodox writers were overwhelming in quantity, though no longer in quality. In 1776, a date usually regarded in retrospect as belonging to the period most marked by infidelity and laxity of doctrine, Hume wrote to Gibbon about the reception of the first part of his Roman history, 'the prevalence of superstition in England prognosticates the fall of philosophy and the decay of taste.' Hume was too pessimistic, but he was speaking from real experience.

In any case, the scholarly scepticism of the English Eighteenth Century was addressed only to a highly educated audience. Its optimistic philosophy was the outcome of upper-class conditions of life. When, in the period of the French Revolution, Tom Paine appealed to the multitude on behalf of Deism as the proper creed of democracy, a new age had arrived. In the lifetime of the fastidious and conservative Gibbon, it has been said that infidelity, like hair-powder, could only be worn by the aristocracy. The mass of the nation was either actively or passively Christian, accepting the religion that it was taught. The lowest strata of society had indeed been taught nothing at all, but these also the Charity Schools and the Wesleyan mission were striving to raise out of ignorance to the mental level of understanding Christians.

English Eighteenth Century religion both within the Establishment and among the Dissenting bodies, was of two schools, which we may call for brevity the Latitudinarian and the Methodist. If either is left out of the foreground, the social landscape of that age is wrongly delineated. Each of these two complementary systems had its own function ;

each had the defects of its qualities, which the other made good. The Latitudinarian stood for the spirit of Tolerance, for lack of which Christianity had for centuries past wrought cruel havoc in the world it set out to save, the Latitudinarian stood also for Reasonableness in the interpretation of religious doctrines, without which they were unlikely to be received by the more scientific modern mind. Methodism, on the other hand, renewed the self-discipline and the active zeal without which religion loses its power and forgets its purpose; and this new evangelism was allied to an active philanthropy. Both the Latitudinarianism and the Methodism of that era have suffered change with the changing times. But the principles which they respectively rescued and embodied have flourished in new forms and combinations, which preserved religion as a powerful force in English life through many changing generations.

Ever since the Revolution, political circumstances had favoured the Latitudinarians. And after the accession of George I the Whig statesmen, who held the keys of higher Church patronage, felt specially bound to protect the Hanoverian dynasty by encouraging the broader churchmanship of scholar statesmen like Gibson and Wake and even of the questionable Hoadly, and discouraging 'enthusiasm,' which in Walpole's day meant the High Church and Jacobite fanaticism of Atterbury and Sacheverell. As the Century wore on, 'enthusiasm' of all sorts, including Wesley's, was regarded as bad form by the clergy of the Establishment and by the upper class.

By the time that George III ascended the throne, the Church was fully reconciled to the House of Hanover, and the political motive for Latitudinarianism ceased to operate. But the movement continued, driven forward by its own momentum and by forces deeper than political. Locke and Newton ruled from their graves. The increasingly scientific spirit of the age demanded that 'the reasonableness of Christianity' should be proved and emphasized. The miraculous seemed less actual, and to some less credible. 'Unalterable law' in the Universe, such as the law of gravitation which preserved the stars from wrong, was now regarded as an attribute of God's glory.

The spacious firmament on high,
With all the blue Ethereal sky,
And spangled Heavens, a shining frame
Their great Original proclaim
Th' unwearied Sun, from day to day,
Does his Creator's Power display
And publishes to every land
The work of an Almighty hand.

That hymn of Addison's had appeared in the *Spectator* in 1712, but it echoed down the Century, till young Coleridge and Wordsworth 'took up the wondrous tale.'[1]

It was easy for such a religion to slide into Unitarianism or Deism. Indeed, the English Presbyterian body largely became Unitarian, with the philosopher and scientist Priestley as its leading man In previous centuries religion had been, first and foremost, dogma. Now, it was fashionable to preach it as morality, with a little dogma apologetically attached. The religion of the Established Church has been thus described by Canon Charles Smyth :

In the Anglican Church of the Eighteenth Century, the dominant influence was that of Archbishop Tillotson (1630–1694) His legacy was partly good and partly evil. On the one hand, he established as the idiom of the English pulpit, in an age in which our churches, like the great churches of the friars in the later Middle Ages, were designedly 'fitted for auditories,' a plain, practical and perspicuous prose. The triumph of the Tillotsonian style marked a decisive break with the traditional forms of pulpit oratory, deriving from the mediaeval Church Latimer, Andrewes, Donne and Taylor were all, in their different ways, essentially mediaeval. It is possible to see how Tillotson saved Anglican homiletics from degenerating into a morass of pedantry and affectation On the other hand, the content of his preaching was little more than a prudential morality, based rather on reason than on revelation, and appealing deliberately to sober common sense The Gospel of Moral Rectitude rendered to the English character a service which only bigotry would ignore , for 'if, as is the case, the Englishman wherever he is placed, carried with him a sense of duty, this is due to Tillotsonianism.' (Baring Gould.) Yet it falls far short of the Christian

[1] *Cf* Coleridge's *Hymn before Sun-rise, in the Vale of Chamouni.* For Wordsworth's relation to Locke, etc , see Mr Basil Willey's *Seventeenth Century Background*, chap XII, and his later and equally valuable work *The Eighteenth Century Background*

gospel: although it still sits enthroned, as our true National Religion, if not in the pulpits of the Church of England, at least in the consciences of English men and English women. (*The Priest as Student*, S.P.C.K., 1939, pp. 263–264.)

In the early years of George III, the parson was rising in the social and cultural scale, living on equal terms with the gentry as never before. But he was not for that any more in touch with the bulk of his parishioners. His sermons, carefully composed, were read from the pulpit as literary exercises, meant to flatter the taste of the elegant young people who sat in the high pew around the slumbering squire, but too abstract and impersonal to move the patient rustic audience in the body of the church. And in the new industrial and mining districts the neglected inhabitants altogether escaped the ministrations of the Establishment, whose antiquated geography was seldom brought up to date by the creation of new parishes. That mission field was left to Wesley.

It was natural that an aristocratic, unreforming, individualistic, 'classical' age should be served by a Church with the same qualities and defects as the other chartered institutions of the country. There was perfect liberty for the individual parson to act according to his own lights, however eccentric. He might have as many twists in his mind as Laurence Sterne, he might even, if he were so ill bred, be a 'methodist' like Cowper's dangerous friend, John Newton, or Berridge of Everton whose preaching threw the people of his own and other men's parishes into the physical agonies of conversion. More often the parson was a 'typical Englishman,' kindly, sensible, mildly pious. It was a Church renowned for scholarship, culture and freedom. But little pressure was exerted either by episcopal authority or by public opinion to compel the clergy to exert themselves more than they wished.[1]

[1] To understand the English Eighteenth Century Church, and the country life of which it was an essential part, read the *Diaries* of the Rev James Woodforde, beginning with Mr John Beresford's introduction. The receipt of his tithe and the working of his own glebe farm kept parson Woodforde in touch with agricultural life.

'1776, Sep. 14 Very busy all day with my barley, did not dine till 5 in the after noon, my harvest men dined here today, gave them some beef and some plumb Pudding and as much liquor as they would drink. This evening finished

A living was regarded, like a seat in Parliament or a College Fellowship, as 'a piece of patronage' awarded as a favour and enjoyed as a privilege. An amusing illustration of this way of thought is found in the following epitaph, recorded in Nichols' *Literary Anecdotes* (III, p. 52):

Here rests all that was mortal of Mrs Elizabeth Bate,
Relict of the Reverend Richard Bate,
A woman of unaffected piety
And exemplary virtue.

She was honourably descended
And by means of her Alliance to
The illustrious family of Stanhope
She had the merit to obtain
For her husband and children
Twelve several employments
In Church and State
She died June 7, 1751, in the 75th year of her age.

It was characteristic of the age that Gibbon in his Autobiography records a passing regret that he 'had not embraced the lucrative pursuits of the law or of trade, the chances of civil office or India (sic) adventure, *or even the fat slumbers of the Church.*' Ecclesiastical history written by Archdeacon Gibbon would have been as scholarly and as voluminous, but would perforce have been even more decorous and subtly ironical than the actual masterpiece of Edward Gibbon, Esquire.

The social gulf between rich and poor clergy was still almost as wide as in mediaeval times. But the proportion of the well-to-do was greater, for they now included not only prelates and pluralists, but a number of resident parish clergy of good family and connections, living in the parsonage and attending to its duties. The rise in the value of tithes and glebe farms, with the improvement of agriculture, helped this development. In Queen Anne's reign, out of some 10,000 livings, as many as 5597 had been worth less than £50 a year; a hundred years later only 4000 were below £150. Throughout the Eighteenth Century, country gentlemen came more and more to regard livings

my harvest, and all carried into the Barn—8 acres. Dec 3 My frolic for my people to pay tithe to me this day I gave them a good dinner, surloin of beef roasted, a leg of mutton boiled and plumb puddings in plenty'

in their gift as worth the acceptance of their younger sons. The ideal arrangement, well established by the time of Jane Austen, as her readers know, was a good Rectory, with a bow window, built in a pleasant spot a mile from the manor-house, and inhabited by a son or son-in-law of the squire. The family group was kept together in that way, and the religious needs of the village were served by a gentleman, of education and refinement though perhaps of no great zeal—for it was only after the beginning of the Nineteenth Century that the gentleman-parson was likely to be 'serious,' that is to say, evangelical.

But half the livings of England were not so endowed as to support a squire's son. There was still a large class of poor parsons, though not so numerous as in the days of Chaucer, or the days of Charles II when Eachard had written his *Grounds and Occasions of the Contempt of the Clergy*, of which the chief were their poverty and their lowly birth. But even in the reign of George III there were still thousands of impoverished and despised 'black-coats,' occupying livings of fifty to a hundred pounds a year, or drawing salaries of fifty pounds as curates to absentee pluralists. Pluralism was not, however, always an abuse, for often the best arrangement possible was that a single clergyman should serve two neighbouring parishes, neither of which could by itself support a parson.

The Bishops, almost without exception, were either relations of noblemen, or former chaplains to noblemen or tutors to their sons. Some of them, like Joseph Butler, Berkeley and Warburton, were great philosophers or scholars. But none had been raised to the Episcopate for services rendered to the Church, but for services rendered to learning, to lay patrons or to political parties. Church promotion, like many other good things, had been swept into the net of Whig and Tory party patronage, which had succeeded the royal patronage of times gone by. In the Middle Ages the Bishops had been the King's civil servants ; now their secular duties had been cut down to regular attendance at the sessions of Parliament, to vote for the Minister who had appointed them and who might yet promote them—for some Bishoprics were worth ten times as much a year as others.

But the Eighteenth Century prelate, having discharged his Parliamentary duties, had more leisure to devote to his ecclesiastical functions than those mediaeval Bishops could afford who had been whole-time servants of the Crown. Some, though by no means all, of the Hanoverian Bishops laboured arduously in their dioceses, especially on journeys over long, bad roads to confirm the faithful. Between 1768 and 1771 the Archbishop of York laid his hands on the heads of 41,600 candidates for confirmation, and the Bishop of Exeter in 1764–1765 confirmed 41,642 in Cornwall and Devon alone. It is impossible in face of such figures, to say that the Bishops were entirely neglectful of their ecclesiastical duties, or that the religious zeal of the population ran wholly into the Wesleyan mission. There is much evidence that Church life, in many districts at least, was strong and vigorous. Nevertheless, there was elsewhere much laxity and neglect. At any rate, the aristocratic clergy we have described were more often examples of the Latitudinarian merits than of the Methodist virtues.

The way of life which came to be called 'Methodism' was older than its name and older than the mission of the Wesley brothers. As boys, they had been brought up in its atmosphere in the Epworth rectory of their High Church father. It was a way of life devoted not only to religious observance but to self-discipline and work for others. It was seen to perfection in the lay non-juror Robert Nelson, and it inspired those Churchmen and Dissenters who collaborated with him during the reigns of William and Anne in founding the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge and the Charity Schools. It was seen to advantage in the strict, beneficent life of the charming Lady Elizabeth Hastings (1682–1739), immortalized by Steele's epigram 'to love her was a liberal education'; she devoted her great wealth to charity, in particular to well-devised schemes for the schooling and the University education of poor scholars. 'Methodism' in one form or another inspired much of the philanthropic work of the century that ended with Wilberforce.

This 'method' of religious life was widely spread among

the trading and professional classes, whether Church or Dissent. It was at once Puritan and Middle Class in character ; it was even stronger among the laity than the clergy ; its devotees were not withdrawn from the business of life but strove to dedicate it to God. 'Conduct, not dogma, stamped the Puritan of the Eighteenth Century. . . He was irresistibly drawn towards the service of man, who through misery or ignorance, or debauchery, deprived God of the glory that was His due To men of such a mould charity was obligatory.'[1] The citadel of this way of life was the middle-class home, with its family worship, whence it went out to convert the souls, educate the minds and care for the bodies of the neglected poor.

The greatest and most justly famous of the manifestations of 'methodism' was the revivalist preaching of the Wesleys and Whitefield, which deeply moved a vast mass of human beings hitherto neglected by Church and State. And fortunately John Wesley's genius lay not only in his power as a revivalist preacher but in his gifts as an organizer. By forming his converts into permanent congregations he began a new chapter in the religious, social and educational history of the working class. The coincidence in time of Wesley and the Industrial Revolution had profound effects upon England for generations to come.

The 'steady laicisation of religion' was the logical outcome of the Protestant atmosphere of the England of that day. The active part taken by the laity, individually and collectively, in religious organization and philanthropic work related thereto had been marked in the days of Robert Nelson under Queen Anne, and was yet more in evidence a hundred years later, particularly among the Wesleyan congregations.

Another important contribution made to modern English religion by the Eighteenth Century was the hymn-book. Isaac Watts (1674–1748), John Wesley's brother Charles and others of less note, produced a body of hymns which, alike in Church and Chapel, gradually displaced the metrical

[1] Miss Jones' *The Charity School Movement* (Cambridge Press, 1938), pp 6–7 and *passim* That remarkable book and Professor Norman Sykes' chapter in *Johnson's England* (Oxford Press, 1933), and his *Birkbeck Lectures* for 1931–33 and *Life of Gibson* throw new light on Eighteenth Century religion

version of the psalms in popularity with congregations who loved to make a joyful noise before the Lord.

Among other ways of dedicating life to God and man was the quiet work of the Quakers. They left to Wesley the task of popular revivalism, wherein they themselves had laboured so fervently in the days of their founder. They had now settled down into bourgeois respectability, redeemed by the spirit of love that permeated with its pure influence the exclusive but philanthropic society of Friends. Early in the reign of George II they were already famous for their knack of prospering in honestly conducted business, the poet Matthew Green, who died in 1737, had written of the Quakers and their unorthodox doctrines :

> They, who have lands, and safe bank stock,
> With faith so founded on a rock,
> May give a rich invention ease
> And construe scripture how they please.

The Friends had ceased to be a scandal to Mr. Worldly Wiseman, and had become an accepted national institution.

The humanitarian spirit of the Eighteenth Century with the care it bestowed on the bodies and minds of the poor and the unfortunate, made a real advance towards better things. But even so it had its faults. The foundation of hospitals and the improvement of medical service and infant welfare were pure gain. But the educational work done, valuable as it was, is more open to retrospective criticism. The Charity Schools, followed by the Sunday School movement that took on such large proportions after 1780, were indeed the first systematic attempt to give any education to the bulk of the working people, as distinct from selected clever boys to whom the old Grammar Schools had given opportunity to rise out of their class. The new Charity Schools and Sunday Schools had the merit of trying to do something for all, but they had the demerit of too great an anxiety to keep the young scholars in their appointed sphere of life and train up a submissive generation. Modern education may in our time have gone too far in an opposite direction, creating an unwanted intellectual proletariat. But the Eighteenth Century fault, carried over into the education

of the early years of the Nineteenth, was excessive emphasis on the difference of classes and the need for 'due subordination in the lower orders.'

The historian of the Charity Schools has well written :

> The Eighteenth Century was marked by a very real sense of pity and responsibility for the children whose physical and spiritual interests were lamentably neglected, coupled with a determination to reform them by application of what Defoe aptly called 'the great law of subordination.' The political and religious unrest of the Seventeenth Century contributed in no small degree to the desire of the upper and middle classes to establish social discipline among the poor, who in contemporary opinion were peculiarly susceptible to the poison of rebellion and infidelity . . But it would be a misreading of the age of benevolence to see in the prominence enjoyed by the principle of subordination a harsh and unsympathetic attitude of the superior to the lower classes Far from it. The Eighteenth Century was the age of well defined social distinctions, and it used a language in accordance with its social structure.[1]

But in the early Nineteenth Century, the age of Hannah More, too much of the education and charity bestowed on the poor continued to be class-conscious and patronizing, when an equalitarian spirit unknown in the Eighteenth Century was beginning to render such anxious condescension unpalatable and out of touch with the needs and problems of a different age.

> God bless the squire and his relations
> And keep us in our proper stations

was a sentiment that scarcely aroused comment in the days of Sir Roger de Coverley, but this Sunday School attitude became a cause of scoffing and offence after the Industrial Revolution had put an end to the unconscious simplicity of traditional feudalism.

While the Eighteenth Century made a beginning of mass instruction by starting the Charity and Sunday Schools, it lost ground in Secondary Education by permitting many of the old Grammar and endowed schools to decay. It was indeed a general feature of the age that, while private

[1] Miss M. G. Jones, *The Charity School Movement*, p. 4. And see Prof. Tawney's review of it in the *Economic History Review* for May 1939.

enterprise and philanthropic zeal opened new paths, chartered institutions grew lazy and corrupt. The resounding defeat of James II's attack on law and chartered rights gave to the hundred years that followed a legal and conservative character that was carried even to excess. To show a charter was to be above criticism. There was no talk of Reform, either of Parliamentary Constituencies, Town Corporations, Universities or Charitable Institutions, until near the end of the Century, and then, alas, ' the unhappy example of France ' made Reform anathema. Just as the co-optive municipal oligarchies spent their corporate revenues on gluttonous feasts and neglected the duties of town government, in the same spirit the headmasters of endowed schools often neglected and in some cases closed their schools and lived on the endowment as if it was their private property.

But the loss thus incurred by Secondary Education was made good by private schools, financed by fees only, which made much progress in the Eighteenth Century. Such schools, including the Dissenters' Academies, supplied at moderate cost a good education, in which living languages and science held a place besides classics. The old endowed schools had no more use than the Universities for such newfangled subjects.

The Dissenting Academies, that contained men of the calibre of Priestley, also to some extent made good the deficiencies of Oxford and Cambridge. The only two Universities in England excluded all who were not churchmen, and gave so bad and so expensive an education to those whom they deigned to admit, that their numbers shrank to miserable proportions, not half what they had been in the days of Laud and Milton.

Indeed, the spirit of chartered monopoly was seen at its worst on the banks of Isis and Cam. The College Don could hold his Fellowship for life, unless he took a Church benefice ; he was not compelled to do any academic work, he was not permitted to marry, and in most Colleges he was forced to take Holy Orders. In their lazy, self-indulgent, celibate clericalism the Dons of the Eighteenth Century resembled the monks of the Fifteenth, and were about as much use. Gibbon, who as a Gentleman

Commoner was admitted to the Fellows' table at Magdalen, Oxford, in 1752, thus describes their habits:

'From the toil of reading or thinking or writing they had absolved their conscience. Their conversation stagnated in a round of college business, Tory politics, personal stories and private scandal; their dull and deep potations excused the brisk intemperance of youth'

At both Universities the undergraduates were entirely neglected by the great majority of the Fellows, though here and there a College Tutor zealously performed duties that ought to have been shared by the whole Society. Noblemen's sons and rich Fellow Commoners, who were much in evidence, and for whom large allowance was made in matters of discipline, were often accompanied by private tutors of their own. The Professors of the University seldom performed any of their supposed functions. No lecture was delivered by any Regius Professor of Modern History at Cambridge between 1725 and 1773; 'the third and most scandalous' of the holders of that Chair died in 1768 from a fall while riding home drunk from his Vicarage at Over.

At Oxford, by 1770, no serious examination at all was held for a degree. At Cambridge the Mathematical Tripos offered a real test for the rival merits of the more ambitious candidates for honours. Gibbon indeed declared 'Cambridge appears to have been less deeply infected than her sister with the vices of the Cloyster: her loyalty to the House of Hanover is of a more early date, and the name and philosophy of her immortal Newton were first honoured in his native Academy.'

The movement of internal reform, by which the two Universities put themselves upon the road of self-improvement, only began in the very last years of the Century. It may be dated in Trinity, Cambridge, from the crisis of 1787, when it was decided after a severe struggle which carried the disputants before the judgment seat of the Lord Chancellor, that its Fellowships must be justly awarded according to the results of a careful examination. After that change, the College at length drew ahead of its rival St. John's in numbers and academic pre-eminence, though ... College of Wordsworth and Wilberforce continued to ...at distinction.

The notorious Jacobitism of Oxford under the first two Georges had been highly significant of the limitation of the power of government, and the immunity secured to the subject by charter and the rule of law. Church patronage was in the hands of the Whig Ministers, who would sooner have made a Mohammedan than a Jacobite Bishop. But the Oxford and Cambridge Colleges were outside their jurisdiction, and the failure of James II's attack on the Universities was a red-light warning which preserved academic liberty in England from interference by future governments. If Oxford Dons, after securing their emoluments by taking Hanoverian oaths, chose to get fuddled on Jacobite toasts, King George's Ministers could do nothing about it. In this manner the essential liberty of the Universities, which had been infringed in various degrees by Tudors, Stuarts and Cromwellians, was established by Eighteenth Century practice In some respects this immunity was abused, but we may thank God that it was preserved, when we consider the state of slavery into which academic life has fallen in countries which had no such venerable tradition of the rule of law and the liberty of the subject.[1]

Yet in spite of the decadence of the only two Universities that then existed in England, in spite of the decay of the endowed schools specially charged with secondary education, the intellectual life of the country was never more brilliant, and the proportion of men of genius per head of population in the irregularly educated England of George III was immensely greater than in our own day. It would seem that the very highest products of the human mind are the outcome of chance and freedom and variety rather than of uniform organization—of the balance of town and country rather than the dead weight of life in great cities, of literature rather than of journalism, of arts and crafts rather than of the machine. But even if the future can never again produce giants like Burke, Gibbon and Johnson, let alone Milton, Newton and Wren, the number of educated people capable of enjoying an

[1] For the Universities at this period see A. D Godley's *Oxford in the 18th Century*; C. E Mallet, *History of the University of Oxford*, vol III; D Winstanley, *Unreformed Cambridge*; Gunning's *Reminiscences of Cambridge from the year* 1780 For Oxford in 1774–5 an intimate and delightful picture will be found in Parson Woodforde's *Diaries*

intellectual life of some kind may yet be greater than in the past.

In the Eighteenth Century the Welsh people recovered, through the instrumentality of religion and education, the consciousness of a spiritual and intellectual life of their own, separate from that of England. The story is singular as well as important

The Welsh-Englishman, Henry VIII, intended by his political union of the two countries to make the Welsh a part of the English people on free and equal terms. To a large extent he succeeded, because there was no English exploitation of the land and its inhabitants as in Ireland, nor did religion divide the two races. The Welsh gentry in Tudor times adopted the English language, outlook and literature, and ceased to patronize the native Bards. The peasants, having no other leadership, acquiesced ; but they continued to speak their own tongue, and to sing its songs to the harp.

In Elizabeth's reign the Church, by translating the Bible and Prayer Book into Welsh, began unconsciously to counteract the Anglicizing policy of the State. That was the seed of much that followed, but it was long ere the full harvest came up. English Puritanism of the Cromwellian type did not attract the Welsh, who remained Cavalier so far as they took any side at all. King Charles's regiments of foot who perished at Naseby came for the most part from the hills of Wales.

When the Eighteenth Century opened, the smaller Welsh squires, like their counterparts in England, were being bought out by the larger landlords. Wales was becoming, legally, a land of great estates ; but in its fundamental social structure it was a land of small peasant farms , they averaged thirty to a hundred acres each, they were held on short or annual leases, and were devoted to the old-fashioned subsistence agriculture, feeding the families who cultivated them, rather than serving the market. There were few big farmers, and few middle-class people of any sort. Under the cloak of the great estate system, Wales was in reality an equalitarian democracy of peasant farmers ; and in South Wales there were miners as well.

Wales was a land of old enclosure, like other Western and

Celtic parts of the island. The open-field system had never existed there, except in those parts of Pembrokeshire where the English had settled ; and there too enclosure was now taking place. The ordinary Welsh farms were fenced with stone walls or sod banks.

The traditional ways of these remote and rustic folk were not in Stuart times disturbed by the impact of any emotional movement—social, national, political or religious They were devoted to their traditional music of harp and song, and their religion consisted largely in the singing of hymns But they were too illiterate to be in the full current of the Bible-reading Protestantism of the day. Economically, and intellectually, Wales was shut off from English penetration by the geographic difficulties of approach. As late as 1768 Arthur Young described Welsh mountain roads as 'mere rocky lanes, full of hugeous stones as big as one's horse.'

If, then, the Welsh were to have a religious or educational revival of any sort they must make it for themselves ; and they did. Beginning in the reigns of William and Anne and going on throughout the Eighteenth Century, Welsh philanthropists promoted an educational and religious mission among their countrymen. The Methodist Churches eventually became the most important part of Welsh evangelicalism, but it had started before John Wesley was born.

To teach the peasant to read, and to put the Welsh Bible into his hands were the motives of those who established popular education throughout the length and breadth of Wales. In England, too, no doubt, the Charity and Sunday Schools were founded for religious reasons, but they were associated with the more mundane objects of defending the State Church either against Dissenters or against Jacobites, and of training up the children of the poor to be industrious and amenable members of a carefully graded social economy. In the simpler, equalitarian peasant society of Wales no such problems presented themselves, and 'middle-class' ideas of utility were unknown ; those who founded the Schools desired only to save the souls of men and women, that is to say, to bring them up as Bible-reading, evangelical Christians. This object was achieved, and at the same time the Welsh people, by

becoming literate, had new vistas of intellectual and national culture opened to them, coloured always by religion but spreading out into other spheres.

The historian of the Charity Schools, herself a Welsh woman, has written :[1]

'It would be difficult to exaggerate the importance and effect of the Charity School movement upon the history and character of the Welsh people. The steady concentration upon piety as the aim and end of all instruction changed a gay and simple people, indifferent in religion and lacking in political consciousness, into a people whose dominant interests were religious and political The Bible had become the Welshman's manual. Its language was his language, its teaching dominated his social and political life. In it, and in the hymns of Williams of Pantycelyn, the emotional and intellectual interests of the peasantry found satisfaction

The political influence of the Charity School movement was no less important Modern Welsh nationalism is the child of the literary and linguistic renaissance of the Eighteenth Century, and in this, as in the religious revival, the charity school movement played a part of chief importance Before the schools began their work, Welsh, once 'the language of princes and poets,' was in danger of destruction By the end of the Eighteenth Century it was again the medium of poetry and prose, no longer princely, but bearing upon it the marks of its peasant origin and pious inspiration'

[1] *The Charity School Movement, A Study of Eighteenth Century Puritanism in Action* M. G. Jones, Fellow of Girton College, 1938, p 321.

CHAPTER XII

Dr. Johnson's England

II

The Agricultural and Industrial Revolutions begin—Improved communications—Overseas Trade—The City

Although 'the Industrial Revolution' is by far the most important movement in social history since the Saxon conquest, it is as difficult to say when it began as to decide when 'the Middle Ages' came to an end. Capitalism, coal, transoceanic commerce, factories, machinery, and trade unions had all, as we have seen, had their part in English life long before the Hanoverian epoch. But the last half of the Eighteenth Century is regarded as the time when industrial change, stimulated by scientific invention and a rising population, entered decisively on that headlong career that shows no sign of slackened pace to-day.

With similar qualifications we may ascribe 'the Agricultural Revolution' to the Eighteenth Century. The immense increase then brought about in the agrarian productiveness of the island was rendered necessary by the rapid growth of its population, which in those days could not have been fed from overseas. This pressing national need was successfully met and exploited, owing to the peculiar social and economic conditions of the time. In the Eighteenth Century the landlords as a class were able and willing to devote their personal attention and their accumulated wealth to the improvement of the land and the methods of cultivation. The capital created by the incipient industrial revolution was much of it conducted by the channel of the great-estate system to fertilize agriculture with money derived from cloth, cotton, coal and commerce. But capital also flowed in the opposite direction, from land into industry: many of the new industrialists who set up factories, mills and businesses in the Eighteenth Century, derived the money they so employed from their own or

their fathers' success as cultivators of the land. The County Banks, now growing up in great numbers, assisted this double flow of capital from industry into agriculture and from agriculture into industry.

Indeed, the connection of the agricultural with the industrial revolution was more than a coincidence in time. Each helped on the other. They may indeed be regarded as a single effort by which society was so reconstructed as to be able to feed and employ a population that was rising in numbers with unexampled rapidity, owing to improved medical conditions.[1]

The changes effected in a hundred years may be summarized by contrasting the situation in the reigns of George II and George IV.

When George II (1727–1760) began to reign, manufacture was a function of country life. The 'manufacturers' —a term then used to describe not the capitalist employers but the hand-workers themselves—inhabited ordinary villages each of which supplied its own clothes, implements, and buildings of the commoner kind, as well as its own bread, meat and beer. Only the 'gentleman's seat,' in the park near at hand, sent to the county capital or to London for its best furniture, its books, china and other amenities in an age of taste and expense, and its more refined wants for the table, though its ordinary food still came off the estate.

Moreover, many rustic villages manufactured not only cheap goods for their own use, but some special line of luxury goods for the market. To take one example out of very many: I possess an Eighteenth Century grandfather clock, still keeping good time, which was made in the small Warwickshire village of Prior's Marston. The woollen cloth, which still constituted the chief item in home and foreign trade, was still manufactured, as regards the main

[1] In Eighteenth Century Ireland the population rose even faster, from about one and a half millions to four millions. But social conditions and racial characteristics in that island were not favourable to economic change, and instead of industrial or agricultural revolution, there was chronic starvation and frequent famine among the potato-fed population, culminating in the disaster of 1847.

In a well-known passage of the *Wealth of Nations* (Bk. I, ch. xi), Adam Smith connected the physical strength and beauty of the Irish in London with the potato diet of their own land! Whether he was right about that or not, potatoes were an easy but dangerous way of feeding a vast population.

processes in the countryside, and the rapidly growing cotton industry was conducted in the cottage. The towns took some part in the manufacture, but were chiefly distributing centres : Bristol and Norwich disposed of cloth made in Cotswold and East Anglian villages ; Leeds and Halifax sold goods woven in the stone farms or cottages each with its field and cow, scattered along the steep sides of the Yorkshire clothing dales.

The towns of early Hanoverian England subsisted, not so much by the goods they themselves manufactured, as by their markets, their shops and their commerce. London indeed was industrial as well as commercial, and already displayed many characteristics of modern 'great city' life. Birmingham had always been a town of small industries. And the ports had a sea-life of their own, from great Bristol and its growing rival Liverpool, to little Fowey and Aldeburgh, whose best days already lay in the past. But most other towns were appanages of the countryside which each served. They had forgotten the jealous civic patriotism of the walled mediaeval burgh, and had lost the manufacturing monopoly of its gilds. They were markets for farmers, and meeting-places to which the gentry and their families resorted to shop, to dance and to conduct the affairs of the County. Many squires of the middling sort, especially those who lived more than a hundred miles from the capital, not being able to afford a 'London season,' built themselves good houses in or around the county town, whither their families, on matrimonial hopes intent, migrated from their rural homes for a part of every year. Cathedral cities flourished deferentially in the venerable shadow of clerical patronage. But larger county towns such as Newcastle-on-Tyne and Norwich were, in addition, entrepôts of national trade.

The England over which George IV reigned (1820–1830) was already very different. By that time there had grown up, especially in the West Midlands and the North, a new portent—a number of 'manufacturing towns' and urban districts, given over to factories and machine industry, quite dissociated from the rural life of the country around. The harmonious fabric of old English society suffered a perpendicular cleavage between town and country, as well

as expanding the old lateral cleavage between rich and poor. It is true that at that date the harsh distinction between rural and urban life was still confined to certain regions, but during the reign of Victoria it became universal.

A corresponding change in country life itself was already far advanced in the reign of George IV. The manufacture of specialized goods, including many processes of cloth and cotton manufacture, had left the country cottages for the factory regions. The improvement of roads had abolished the need for a self-sufficing village, and dwellers in the country now bought in the town articles which their fathers and mothers had made for themselves. Many a village tailor, carpenter, brewer, miller and harness-maker found his occupation gone. The huswife's spindle seldom now twirled on the cottage floor: the term 'spinster' was becoming an anachronism. And the modern farmer produced corn and meat primarily for the town market, only secondarily for home consumption.

By 1820 the 'agricultural revolution' had enclosed the open fields into rectangular hedged fields, where scientific rotation of crops and of pasture could be conducted, and fat stock fed up to a size and weight undreamed of in earlier times Hundreds of thousands of acres of waste and old woodland had also been enclosed for arable.[1] Even the familiar figure of the highwayman had gone from the macadamized roads, since the heaths and thickets where he lurked had been ploughed up. The orderly new 'plantations' were guarded by gamekeepers, man-traps and spring guns.

The changes so effected have been called in retrospect 'the agricultural revolution,' because they worked not by expansion of an old economic and social system but by the creation of a new one. Great compact estates cultivated in large farms by leasehold tenants employing landless labourers covered more and more of the acreage of England, at the expense of various forms of petty cultivation and ownership. Small squires, and peasants with diminutive rights in the soil were bought out to make room for the new order. The open fields of the great midland corn area were enclosed

[1] If Gregory King's estimate (1696) and the Board of Agriculture return of 1795 are approximately correct, two million acres had been added to the agricultural land of England and Wales in a hundred years

into the chess-board pattern of fenced fields which has ever since been the hall-mark of the English landscape. And even in the half of England where enclosed fields had always been the rule, analogous social changes were taking place. For everywhere the larger owners were consolidating their estates by purchase ; everywhere squires and farmers were busy with new methods. And everywhere better roads, canals and machines were diverting industry from cottage and village to factory and town, thereby cutting off the peasant family from spinning and other small manufacturing activities by which its meagre budget had been eked out.

Taking into account the great variety of local conditions, it is true to say of England as a whole that enclosure was only one, but possibly the most important, of the many changes that combined to reduce the numbers of the independent peasantry, while increasing the aggregate wealth of the countryside.[1]

These changes were still going forward apace in the era of Trafalgar and Waterloo, but they had set in on a great scale between 1740 and 1789, and the whole process may therefore be considered in this chapter. When completed it had changed the immemorial manner of life in rural England.

In the reigns of the later Stuarts and George I the enclosure of open fields, commons and waste was proceeding rapidly, by agreement between the parties concerned or by purchase ; but enclosure was still a local expedient rather than a national policy. But after the third decade of the Eighteenth Century the work began to be carried on by a

[1] In the Lake District, Wordsworth observed that between 1770 and 1820 the number of the freehold 'statesmen' was halved and the size of their holdings doubled: the little farms were amalgamated, because they proved insufficient to support families when the invention of the 'spinning jenny' concentrated spinning in factories and so took away profitable work from the peasant's wife and children. Thus the change was not in that district due to enclosure, for the dales had long before been covered by a network of stone walls which the small freeholders themselves had erected round their own fields.

In the Midland shires, on the other hand, enclosure of the open fields was a determining cause of the disappearance of many small peasants with rights in the land. On the other hand, even in Midland and Eastern counties, enclosure did not by any means always reduce the number of owner cultivators of the yeoman type; see Clapham, I, pp. 103–105, and J. D. Chambers' article in *Ec. Hist. Rev.*, Nov. 1940.

new and more wholesale procedure : private Acts of Parliament were passed which overrode the resistance of individual proprietors to enclosure ; each had to be content with the land or the money compensation awarded to him by Parliamentary Commissioners whose decisions had the force of law. Batches of these revolutionary Acts were hurried through every Parliament of George III (1760–1820), assemblies not otherwise famous for radical legislation But this was the radicalism of the rich, often at the expense of the poor.

The pace of the enclosure of land grew more rapid every decade from 1740 onwards, and was fastest of all at the turn of the century. By the time Victoria came to the throne the work of enclosing the open cornfields was nearly complete, though the enclosure of commons continued for the first thirty years of her reign. The area seriously affected by the enclosure Acts comprised about half the English Counties, running south from the East Riding of Yorkshire through Lincoln and Norfolk and the Midland Shires to Wilts and Berks More than half the total acreage of Northamptonshire was enclosed by Act of Parliament, and over forty per cent. of Hunts, Beds, Oxford, and the East Riding ; Leicester and Cambridge Shires were not far behind.

But Kent, Essex, Sussex, the Northern and Western Counties and Wales were little affected by the Enclosure Acts, because so much of their acreage consisted either of fields enclosed many ages ago, or else of moorland pastures so extensive that no one could afford to enclose them until the age of wire fencing. Thus not two per cent of the area of Northumberland came under the Enclosure Acts, although precisely at this period its landlords were investing great sums of Tyneside capital in agricultural improvement.

For the age of enclosure was also the age of new methods of draining, drilling, sowing, manuring, breeding and feeding cattle, making of roads, rebuilding of farm premises and a hundred other changes, all of them requiring capital. Ever since the Restoration there had been a rapidly increasing movement to accumulate land in large compact estates ; the magnates of the realm, the great political Peers, owned a much larger, and the lesser rustic squires a much smaller acreage of England in 1760 than in 1660.

The landlord class had therefore more capital and more credit to devote to the now fashionable cause of agricultural improvement.

Owners of large compact estates took the lead—men like 'turnip Townshend,' the retired statesman early in George II's reign; and forty years later 'Coke of Norfolk,' the friend of Fox and enemy of George III. Both Townshend and Coke introduced into Norfolk new crops and new methods—above all, root crops and the marling of light land. Their example put their backward county at the head of English agriculture. Between 1776 and 1816 Coke so improved his land as to raise the rental of his Holkham estates from £2200 to £20,000 a year, and yet make the fortunes of the tenants who paid these higher rents; he granted them the security of long leases on strict terms as to cultivation. And according to radical Cobbett, they spoke of their landlord as affectionate children speak of their parents. His 'sheepshearings' at Holkham became famous all over Europe, and were attended by agricultural experts who gathered, sometimes six hundred together, in that remote corner of Norfolk, to see how land should be farmed and sheep fed Eighty of the visitors at a time could be taken under the roof of their princely host, and the rest were billeted in the neighbouring farms.

Townshend and Coke had imitators among their brother landlords in every shire. And the farmers of the new type, like Robert Bakewell of Leicestershire, breeder of improved sheep and cattle, were themselves active innovators. The net result was a great increase in the amount of corn produced for the national consumption as bread and beer, and an even greater increase in the numbers and size of the animals. For much of the best land in England, hitherto cultivated in vast open cornfields where the cattle strayed among the stubble in search of food, was now enclosed in moderate-sized fields divided by hawthorn hedges, wherein beasts could be pastured on good grass. And at the same time much more of the arable land was used for raising crops such as artificial grass and roots, to feed the cattle and sheep through the winter.

And so, for the first time since mankind took to farming, the wholesale slaughter of stock at the end of autumn ceased.

Salted meat was replaced by fresh beef and mutton. The immediate result was that scurvy and other skin diseases, which had afflicted even the noblest households like the Russells and Verneys in the Seventeenth Century, grew rare even among the poor. The new facilities for feeding animals all the year round encouraged landlords and farmers to purchase pedigree stock and to study scientific breeding. The average weight of cattle and sheep sold at Smithfield doubled between 1710 and 1795.[1]

Nor was this astonishing increase in the production of beef and mutton made at the price of any diminution of arable. On the contrary, the output of wheat and barley was for a long while able to supply bread and beer for a home population that nearly doubled itself in the course of the Century, while the corn bounties kept up English exports ; it was only in the last half of the Century that, as the population rose even more rapidly, the imports of grain from abroad gradually equalled and then passed the quantity exported.

The improvement of land was carried to such a point that wheat was grown where only rye, oats or barley could be grown before. The soil and climate of England is only in a few regions, chiefly in East Anglia, suited to the cultivation of wheat. Yet such was now the artificial improvement of the land by capital supplied by the great estates, that in the course of the Eighteenth Century, Englishmen of all classes became so dainty as to insist on refined wheat bread that had previously been regarded as a luxury of the rich. This new demand began in the town but spread to the country, even to paupers. The abandonment of the coarser wholemeal breadstuffs was bad for the purity of the loaves actually provided by dishonest bakers, bad for the health and bad for the teeth of the English race. But it was a proof of the efficacy of capitalist high-farming [2]

[1] Equally remarkable was the improvement in all kinds of horses in Eighteenth Century England. In the Stuart era the English had gone to Arabia and Barbary for sires to their race-horses and hunters In the reign of George III all the world came to England for horses, from the race-horse to the hardly less noble cart-horse. The horse was then essential to sport, travel and agriculture, and to all these the English gentlemen of the age were devoted

[2] *The Englishman's Food*, J C Drummond and A. Wilbraham (1939), pp. 157, 195, 222–226 , *The Bread of our Fathers*, Sir William Ashley, 1928.

The social price paid for economic gain was a decline in the number of independent cultivators and a rise in the number of landless labourers. To a large extent this was a necessary evil, and there would have been less harm in it if the increased dividend of the agricultural world had been fairly distributed. But while the landlord's rent, the parson's tithe, and the profits of farmer and middleman all rose apace, the field-labourer, deprived of his little rights in land and his family's by-employments in industry, received no proper compensation in high wages, and in the Southern Counties too often sank into a position of dependence and pauperism.

The rapid rise in the numbers of the population kept down the market price of labour, at the very time when the labourer was losing his independent sources of livelihood. The wage-earner of George III's reign could therefore make no such bargain for a living wage as his forbears in the reign of Edward III had been able to make, when the Black Death had rendered labour scarce Moreover, the poor were now unarmed and untrained to war. 'Bows and bills' no longer rendered the commonalty formidable as in the period of the rising of 1381 : in those days they had not been afraid, in spite of Parliamentary Statutes, to come out again and again, with old archers at their head, on strike for the wages and the rights they claimed

Nor could the hard case of the peasant any longer win such ready hearing from statesmen and publicists as during the far less extensive enclosures of Tudor times. Enclosure had then been regarded as a public crime ; now it was regarded as a public duty. Without sympathy from the classes that were framing the Enclosure Acts, the peasant was unable to state his own case with effect. If he lost his strip in the open cornfield, or the pasture for his cow upon the common, the few guineas given him in exchange were soon dissipated in the public house. Even if the Parliamentary Commissioner awarded him some distant acre of land in lieu of his common rights, how could he afford to enclose and drain it ? He could only sell it again cheap to the big men, engaged in sharing out the new compact farms that were taking the place of the common and the open field. For they alone could afford to fence and drain

at their own charges, as an investment of capital that might some day bring large returns.[1]

In future, to farm the land of England one must either have capital of one's own or have behind one the capital of others. The tenant farmer benefited by his landlord's capital and both had resort to loans from the Bank. The English banking system grew with the enclosure of land, for even the wealthy did much of their fencing and other improvements on borrowed money. Under such a system the poorest class, who had no credit, had little chance of farming with success, and that chance was further diminished by the too frequent disregard of their interests in the new distribution of the village lands. The enclosure of commons, though very desirable from the point of view of national production, meant depriving the poor man of his cow and geese and often of many other small rights of fuel-cutting and so forth, by which he had eked out an independent livelihood. (Ernle, *English Farming*, pp. 305–307.)

It is, indeed, by no means certain that under the new system the rural poor were worse off materially than they had been in the past (Clapham, *Ec. Hist. Mod. Britain*, Bk. I, chap. IV). But they had less economic independence of squire and farmer. In an aristocratic age that did not seem to signify. But when, in the following era, democracy, armed with new strength in the cities, turned a hard, sharp eye on the 'agricultural interest,' it felt an instinctive dislike for an aristocratic preserve There was no longer in England, as there still was in other European countries, a peasantry to plead for protection. And so, at the end of Victoria's reign, when the pinch of foreign competition came at last, the urban electorate would listen to no proposal to save British agriculture from ruin.

In the Eighteenth Century, many of those who were

[1] The great expense and difficulty of enclosing and draining the land of a village is illustrated in detail in the case of Bourn, described in Gunning's *Reminiscences of Cambridge*, II, pp 244–250. In addition to the fencing, an entirely new system of draining had to accompany enclosure, when the furrows between the old strips (that had acted as drains as well as boundaries) were filled up. This ridge-and-furrow draining had in the long run been bad for the soil and the enclosers spent much money in levelling the surface and putting drains underground The ridge was sometimes five feet above the furrow!

divorced from the land by the change of system, went off not unwillingly and made good elsewhere. Of the mercantile, industrial and professional families who grew up and flourished in the new and wealthier England, a large proportion were descended from small squires, yeomen and peasants who had migrated to the towns, with the price of their land in their pockets. The biographies of eminent Victorians often begin with the 'yeoman ancestor.' The Colonies too profited by that sturdy type. Many also of the freehold yeomen retained their own farms and rented other farms besides, rising to greater prosperity through the agricultural changes. The Englishman's instinct to 'better himself' gave the impulse to the rapid growth of wealth, power and intelligence in the country, the towns and oversea. It is only in certain directions that the English are 'a conservative nation.' In the industrial and agricultural 'revolutions' they blazed the trail for the whole world. And because they were the first to tread the new ground, they made some terrible mistakes.[1]

The movement from country to town, alike of men and of manufactures, was conditioned by the improvement of roads and of water carriage. Arthur Young, with the interests of the countryside always at heart, rejoiced to note that when a good turnpike road was made, opening out new markets and enabling new ideas to circulate by the come-and-go of more frequent travel, rents in the district soon rose with the improvement of agriculture. On the other hand, he saw and deplored the beginning of that 'rural exodus' which has been going on ever since. And that also he ascribed to the better roads. In his *Farmer's Letters* (ed. 1771, p. 353), he wrote :

To find fault with good roads would have the appearance of paradox and absurdity, but it is nevertheless a fact that giving the power of expeditious travelling depopulates the Kingdom. Young men and women in the country villages fix their eyes on London as the last

[1] On the agricultural revolution of the Eighteenth Century see Mr Orwin's chap X of *Johnson's England* (1933), Mr East's chap XIII of Dr Darby's *Historical Geography of England* (1936), Gilbert Slater's *The English Peasantry and the Enclosures of Common Fields* (1907), Hammond's *Village Labourer* (1911), Lord Ernle, *English Farming*, chaps vii–xi For the early Nineteenth Century see Clapham, vol I, chap v

stage of their hope They enter into service in the country for little else but to raise money enough to go to London, which was no such easy matter when a stage coach was four or five days in creeping an hundred miles. The fare and the expenses ran high. *But now!* a country fellow, one hundred miles from London, jumps on a coach box in the morning, and for eight or ten shillings gets to town by night, which makes a material difference; besides rendering the going up and down so easy, the numbers *who have seen London* are increased tenfold, and of course ten times the boasts are sounded in the ears of country fools to induce them to quit their healthy clean fields for a region of dirt, stink and noise

Without improving communications neither the industrial nor the agricultural revolution could have taken place. The subjects of Queen Anne had great ships in which they sent heavy goods with ease to America and to India, but inside their own island they were still dispatching sacks of coal and hardware strapped to the sides of pack-horses, because wheeled traffic would have stuck in the mud and broken in the ruts of English roads wherever their route crossed a pocket of clay. This state of things had to be changed before much more could be done in the way of economic progress.

There was no effective highway authority, either local or central Not the county but the parish was charged, most absurdly, with the upkeep of highroads used for the most part by travellers from a distance. The parish naturally scamped the work or left it undone. As it appeared impossible in the Eighteenth Century to reform or readjust local government, recourse was had to private initiative, in which the improving spirit of that age resided. Turnpike companies were granted Parliamentary powers to erect gates and toll bars, and mulct the actual users of the roads, in return for remaking and maintaining some particular stretch of highway. Between 1700 and 1750 as many as four hundred Road Acts were passed; between 1751 and 1790 sixteen hundred! This was the principal machinery by which land communications were steadily improved throughout the Hanoverian epoch. There were many stages in the improvement of roads, and as many in the corresponding improvement of vehicles. In the days of Queen Anne, the 'glass coach' had been tugged along at a walking

pace by a team of six horses. By 1750 the stage-coach, drawn by two or four horses, was lighter and more rapid; but it still had no springs, had heavy wheels like a waggon, carried six inside but had no seats for passengers outside, though the humble were sometimes allowed to cling to the luggage on the roof. Stoppages and overturns were frequent; and the red-coated guard with his blunderbuss was much in requisition, for the highwayman, still at the height of his glory, could easily ride down any attempt to escape. In 1775 the Norwich coach was waylaid in Epping Forest by seven highwaymen, of whom the guard shot three dead before he was himself killed at his post.

Private carriages, also, gradually became more light and elegant as the roads improved To drive a lady in a phaeton built for two, with its high wheels and smart pair of horses, was a fashionable diversion in the last part of the Century. For long journeys a usual practice was to hire post-chaises with postilions, especially on main thoroughfares where a regular change of horses could be obtained at the posting inns. The roads were thronged as they had never been in any past age, for while the number of vehicles increased the number of riders had not yet diminished. The degree of social, commercial and intellectual intercourse in the days of Dr. Johnson, due largely to improved traffic, was a cause and a characteristic of the high civilization of the period [1]

Indeed, a rage for travel seized on Englishmen of all classes, each according to his means. The wealthiest made the grand tour of France and Italy, after six months or two years spent partly in inns and partly as guests in the houses of the foreign nobility, they returned to their country homes with a rich spoil of pictures and statues, selected by their good taste or foisted on their ignorance. The walls of English manors were crowded with genuine and spurious Old Masters from oversea, side by side with the home products that Reynolds, Romney and Gainsborough were supplying in such profusion. The English 'milords' (and all English gentlemen were 'milords' to the foreign innkeeper) had almost the monopoly of tourist travel in Europe,

[1] In 1774 Parson Woodforde paid £4 8s for a post-chaise from Oxford to Castle Cary in Somerset, a distance of a hundred miles which he performed in a day This shows the speed but also the expense of 'post-shaying'

and their requirements became the standard of posting inns from Calais to Naples. In 1785 Gibbon was told that 40,000 English, counting masters and servants, were touring or resident on the Continent.

At home the improved roads carried visitors so far afield that in 1788, according to Wilberforce, 'the banks of the Thames are scarcely more public than those of Windermere,' though as yet no one but the shepherds went up the neighbouring mountains Owing to better roads and vehicles, Bath in the days of Beau Nash was so crowded with visitors that it was thought worth while to rebuild its streets in a style befitting the solid splendour and comfort of that age. And at the first census of 1801 this fashionable resort was found to contain 30,000 inhabitants and to stand ninth in the list of English cities in order of population.

But the condition of the roads still varied greatly according to the nature of local soils. As late as 1789 the highways in Herefordshire, after the autumnal rains set in, were impassable to waggons and carts, and for half the year the county families could only visit one another on horseback, the young ladies riding pillion behind their brothers; towards the end of April the surface was levelled by means of 'ploughs,' each drawn by eight or ten horses. (Gunning's *Reminiscences*, I, p. 100.) In most counties, however, such primitive conditions no longer applied to the main highways but only to the by-roads

By constant experiment in new engineering methods and new road surfaces, Turnpike Trustees finally reached the perfection of Macadam's roads, along which the Tantivy coaches, with relays of horses at the coaching inns, cantered at anything up to ten miles an hour, in the brief interval of highway glory between Waterloo and the Railways. By 1840 there were 22,000 miles of good turnpike roads in England, with nearly 8000 toll gates and side bars.

As the highways improved, the transport of goods progressed at the same steady pace as the traffic of passengers. The waggon first supplemented and at length superseded the pack-horse. One of the commonest sounds upon the road was the chime of bells announcing the approach of a waggon drawn by four great horses, from whose collars the music was suspended. By an unwritten law of the road,

the waggon team had precedence, and all other traffic must draw aside to let it pass.

The improvement of 'inland navigation' was hardly less important than the improvement of roads in opening the way to industrial change. The first half of the Eighteenth Century had been a period of much activity in deepening the navigable rivers and supplying them with locks; the second half saw the construction of new artificial waterways. The Duke of Bridgewater is known as 'the father of inland navigation,' but he could be more accurately described as the father of English canals, for there had always been 'inland navigation' on the natural course of rivers: York, Norwich and many other centres of up-country commerce had always depended on their water traffic. (See the map of English rivers at the end of this volume.) His Grace of Bridgewater, like many other Peers, was a coal owner, and took his duties and opportunities as such very seriously. To link up his Worsley collieries with Manchester by canal, this great nobleman in 1759 allied his Parliamentary influence and his capital to the genius of his half-illiterate engineer Brindley. That famous partnership, so characteristic of the English as contrasted with the continental nobility, set going the movement that in the next fifty years netted all England with waterways. Improved engineering technique pierced tunnels through the Pennines and Cotswolds, and carried aqueducts high across river valleys.

The canal movement began in the rapidly developing industrial region of South Lancashire and the West Midlands, and soon spread over the whole country. In the 'sixties, Brindley, supported by his Duke, carried through the remarkable engineering feat of the Manchester-Liverpool Canal. In the following decade they linked the Mersey to the Trent by the Grand Junction Canal: its effect on those parts of the countryside which it served was thus described by Thomas Pennant in 1782:

The cottage, instead of being half covered with miserable thatch, is now covered with a substantial covering of tiles or slates, brought from the distant hills of Wales or Cumberland. The fields, which before were barren, are now drained, and by the assistance of manure, conveyed on the canal toll-free, are clothed with a beautiful verdure

Places which rarely knew the use of coal are plentifully supplied with that essential article upon reasonable terms, and, what is of still greater public utility, the monopolizers of corn are prevented from exercising their infamous trade; for, communication being opened between Liverpool, Bristol and Hull, and the line of Canal being through countries abundant in grain, it affords a conveyance of corn unknown in past ages.

The canal system and the turnpike roads did more than stimulate the exchange of goods inside the island; they hastened the growth of overseas trade. Goods from Europe, America, Asia, and Africa could now be distributed in much greater quantities throughout the length and breadth of England; and they could be more readily purchased abroad by the increased export of coal and manufactured goods. For the heaviest mineral and textile products of the Black country and the Pennines, and the fragile ware of the Staffordshire Potteries could now be easily carried by water to the ports of London, Liverpool, Bristol or Hull for shipment oversea.

In this way the whole character and scope of British commerce began to assume its modern form of supplying necessaries for all, instead of merely luxuries for the rich. In the Middle Ages, England's overseas trade had been a quest for wine, spices, silks and other fashions for nobles, knights and merchants, little affecting the peasant population. In Stuart times this was still true in the main, although the greater tonnage of ships meant a bigger bulk of imports and exports, and the use of articles of luxury was spreading among the larger and wealthier middle classes of that era. But it was only in the Eighteenth Century that articles of general consumption were brought from oversea to clothe the bodies and quench the thirst of the King's humbler subjects.

To give one example out of many; in Charles II's reign thousands of well-to-do Londoners frequented the 'coffee-houses,' to enjoy the fashionable new drinks brought over by the East India Company. But early in the reign of George III all classes in town and country were drinking tea in their own homes. In his *Farmer's Letters* for 1767 Arthur Young complained that 'as much superfluous money is expended on tea and sugar as would maintain four

millions more subjects on bread.' Tea drinking had become a national habit, a rival to the consumption of spirits and beer ; 'the cups that cheer but not inebriate' were already as well known and as highly valued in the labourer's cottage as in the poet Cowper's parlour. In 1797 Sir Frederick Eden wrote :

'Any person who will give himself the trouble of stepping into the cottages of Middlesex and Surrey at meal-times, will find that in poor families tea is not only the usual beverage in the morning and evening, but is generally drank in large quantities at dinner.'

The poor sweetened the bitter herb with large quantities of sugar. Sugar from the British West Indian Islands was now on every table, whereas in Shakespeare's day a very limited luxury supply had come from Mediterranean ports.[1]

Until the younger Pitt reduced the high duties, the scale on which smuggling was carried on was prodigious. In 1784 Pitt calculated that thirteen million pounds of tea were consumed in the Kingdom, of which only five and a half millions had paid duty. (Lecky's *England*, ed. 1902, V, p. 296.) Smuggling added to the interest of people's lives almost as much as poaching, and was regarded as equally innocent. Parson Woodforde, a truly good as well as 'respectable' man, wrote on March 29, 1777 : 'Andrews the smuggler brought me this night about 11 o'clock a bagg of Hyson Tea 6 pound weight. He frightened us a little by whistling under the parlour window just as we were going to bed. I gave him some Geneva and paid him for the tea at 10/6 per pound.' The inhabitants of this inland rectory thought and spoke of 'Andrews the smuggler' just as one might speak of 'Andrews the grocer' !

With tea, sugar and tobacco finding their way into all homes (whether through the custom house or the smuggler's cave) and with timber mainly supplied from abroad,[2] we

[1] As late as 1700 England consumed only 10,000 tons of sugar, though she had by that time 'sugar colonies' of her own But by 1800 she consumed 150,000 tons That is to say, allowing that the population had doubled, the average use of sugar by each Englishman had risen seven and a half times in the Eighteenth Century. For the tea-habits of the working class, see J. C Drummond, *The Englishman's Food*, pp 242–244

[2] Between 1788 and 1802 Britain imported nearly 200,000 loads of fir timber every year from Northern Europe (Clapham, I, p 237).

are approaching the historical confines of modern England, a community that subsists as the centre of a great overseas Empire and a greater overseas trade providing articles of common consumption for all classes. And already, when George III came to the throne, some of England's chief home industries, particularly the rapidly expanding cotton manufacture of Lancashire, depended absolutely on raw material brought from distant lands. It was left to the Victorian era to add bread and meat to the list of goods supplied mainly from oversea. That removed the last limit assignable to the expansion of the little island in wealth and population, but gave a dangerous pledge to fortune in time of war.

To return to the mid-Eighteenth Century. The port of London received ships from every quarter of the globe; but it monopolized the East Indian trade of England. Not only saltpetre, spices and silks continued to pour into the Thames from China and India, but tea, porcelain and woven cotton goods were now being imported from those distant parts in such quantities that they came within the reach of the mass of the population. They created new wants and the popular demand was so great that home-manufacturers took to making cotton goods and china ware.

The American trade was shared by London with Bristol and Liverpool Liverpool in the Middle Ages had been subsidiary to the port of Chester but, as the estuary of the Dee silted up, the old Roman city gradually lost its sea trade, and the upstart town at the mouth of the Mersey took its place. In the census of 1801 Liverpool showed 78,000 inhabitants, more than any provincial city except its neighbour Manchester-Salford with 84,000.

The branch of American trade specially belonging to Liverpool was the slave-trade, which was closely connected with the cotton manufacture of Lancashire. More than half the slaves carried across the Atlantic made the 'middle passage' in the holds of English ships, though the horrible commerce was shared by French, Dutch and Portuguese competitors. In 1771 as many as fifty-eight 'slavers' sailed from London, twenty-three from Bristol and one hundred and seven from Liverpool. They transported 50,000 slaves that year.

One of the first to object to the slave-trade on moral grounds was Dr. Johnson, and another was Horace Walpole, who as early as 1750 wrote to Mann—

'We have been sitting this fortnight on the African Company we, the British Senate, that temple of liberty, and bulwark of Protestant Christianity, have this fortnight been pondering methods to make more effectual that horrid traffic of selling negroes. It has appeared to us that six-and-forty thousand of these wretches are sold every year to our plantations alone! It chills one's blood I would not have to say that I voted in it, for the Continent of America!'

The Liverpool 'slavers' carried cargoes of finished Lancashire cotton goods to Africa, exchanged them for negroes, took the slaves across the Atlantic and returned with cargoes of raw cotton, besides tobacco and sugar. The planters of the West Indian Islands and the American mainland bought Lancashire cotton goods to clothe their slaves, and the supply of negro labour from Africa enabled them to provide the raw material of the great Lancashire industry. The guilty trade and the innocent manufacture were mutually assistant in more ways than one.

Cotton goods were also used by all classes in England, and were already a formidable rival to 'good English cloth.' In a pamphlet of 1782 we read . 'As for the ladies, they wear scarcely anything now but cotton, calicoes, muslin, or silks, and think no more of woollen stuffs than we think of an old almanac. We have scarcely any woollens now about our beds but blankets, and they would most likely be thrown aside, could we keep our bodies warm without them.' In the middle of the Century the great increase of the raw material of cotton gave employment to many thousands of men, women and children in their own homes. The cotton worker's cottage was a miniature factory ; the women and children were engaged in picking the cotton, the men in weaving it. This domestic system was a source of independence and livelihood to many families and to many single women who would otherwise have been paupers. But it was not an ideal mode of life. For when the home was a workshop for cotton, it could be neither clean nor comfortable, and the huswife who was in fact a manufacturer

could only give odds and ends of her time to cooking and household duties [1]

As the Century went on, inventions like Arkwright's gradually moved more and more of the work into regular cotton mills. They stood beside running water in the hill country; until steam replaced water-power, the cotton industry was not concentrated in towns. The Census of 1801 showed that Lancashire had risen in a hundred years from a County of some 160,000 to a County of 695,000 inhabitants, the richest and most populous next after Middlesex. This change was due to the cotton worked in cottage homes or in the mills beside the Pennine streams, to the overseas commerce of Liverpool, and to the trade and various textile manufactures of Manchester.

Cotton was already great, but woollens were still the greatest and by far the most widely diffused national industry, still the favourite of Parliament, protected and encouraged by an elaborate code of laws against the export of raw wool and the import of made cloth. After the invention of Hargreaves' 'spinning jenny' (1767) and Crompton's 'mule' (1775) wool spinning gradually moved from the cottage to the factory, from the country to the town, though the process was not complete till the Nineteenth Century. But the more skilled art of weaving was still conducted in farms or cottages containing one or more looms each. The weaving of woollen cloth was still a source of additional wealth to hundreds of agricultural villages all over England. The merchants of the cities—Leeds, Halifax, Norwich and Exeter—collected and disposed of the goods. Only with the coming of steam-power in a later age did the weavers follow the spinners from the cottage to the factory, from the village and small town to the great city. For several generations of gradual change the domestic and the factory systems existed side by side in the textile industries.

The British West Indian islands and the Southern Colonies of the mainland sent to the mother country not only cotton but sugar and tobacco. It was the age of the long churchwarden pipe. Then, rather suddenly, in the early

[1] Ivy Pinchbeck, *Women Workers and the Industrial Revolution*, chap. VI.

years of George III smoking went out of fashion among the upper classes. '*Smoking has gone out*,' said Dr. Johnson in 1773 (Boswell's *Tour to the Hebrides*, Aug. 19). And it remained 'out' for eighty years. Army officers were still to be seen,

> Like Mars
> A smoking their pipes and cigars,

as a symbol of their dare-devil attitude to life! But for other gentlemen to take tobacco was regarded as 'low' or 'fast,' until the Crimean War brought back into fashion smoking and wearing beards, both in imitation of 'our Crimean heroes.'

But the mass of the people were not bound by the vagaries of fashion, and the national consumption of tobacco increased as the reign of George III went on. So did the wearing of cotton and the use of sugar. The West Indian Islands were therefore regarded as the richest jewels of the English Crown. The nearest approach to 'American millionaires' known in the England of that day were Creoles, British owners of West Indian slave plantations, in which much English capital was invested. The other wealthy class from overseas of whom there was talk and criticism, were the 'nabobs.' The nickname was given to those returned Anglo-Indians who had exploited the new conquests of Clive with an unscrupulous greed, to which the next generation of the English rulers of India put a check. The 'nabobs' raised the price of Parliamentary seats and made themselves otherwise objectionable to the old-established aristocratic society into which they intruded with their outlandish ways.

The northern colonies of the American mainland took English cloth and other manufactured goods, and sent back timber and pig-iron. Timber, iron and naval stores had also to be sought in Scandinavia and the Baltic, for Eighteenth Century England, having exhausted its natural forests, was short of wood for ship-building, house-building and fuel. Coal largely made good the fuel deficiency for domestic purposes and for many manufactures, but it was only now beginning to be applied on a large scale to the smelting of iron. And so, in spite of England's potential

wealth in iron-ore, much iron was imported from lands which still had virgin forests to burn.

The manufacturing progress of Eighteenth Century England, rapid as it was, did little to harm the amenities of the island in that fortunate era. London was still the only 'great city,' and Wordsworth in 1802 thought that 'earth has not anything to show more fair' than the sight of it from Westminster Bridge. For buildings still added to the beauty of the land, and ships to the beauty of the sea. The 'coal and iron age' was yet to come.

Josiah Wedgwood (1730–1795) is a characteristic figure of this time, when industry, already beginning to move towards mass production, was not yet divorced from taste and art. He is typical of the fine bourgeois life of Eighteenth Century England Middle-class employers, even while developing their business on a great scale, were still in close personal touch with their employees, and many of them took an active part in the best cultural and artistic life of the period. 'Captains of industry' were not necessarily 'Philistines.'

The importations of the English and Dutch East India Companies had already inspired Europe to rival Asia in the beautiful art of porcelain. Nor was England behind in the race. The 'china' of Chelsea, Bow, Derby and Worcester vied with the exquisite products of Sèvres and Meissen. These, indeed, were all luxury articles, above the reach of ordinary purses. But Wedgwood, in his Staffordshire works, catered for all classes with his pottery and jasper ware, creating a big market both at home and abroad. He was equally successful in the 'Useful' and the 'Ornamental' Branch of his productions. He laboured with equal zeal at finding new types of beauty, some drawn from the classical models of newly discovered Pompeii, and at extending and cheapening his business. He experimented ceaselessly with new scientific methods, new moulds and new designs. He was indefatigable in promoting canals and turnpikes to reduce his costs of transport and percentage of breakages, and connect his remote Staffordshire potteries, built far inland, with his raw material of china clay in Cornwall and with the overseas markets he hoped to exploit. Between 1760 and 1790 he succeeded in filling not only

England but Europe and America with his goods. During this period pewter went out of general use, and was succeeded by earthenware plates and vessels, so that eating and drinking became more hygienic and more delicate. In the next generation, men no longer spoke of 'common pewter' but of 'common Wedgwood.' Thus a Radical paper writes satirically of 'lords and ladies' as the 'china trinkets of the nation, very superior to the common wedgewood pottery of the mass of the people.' (The *Black Dwarf*, Sept. 17, 1817.)

The most potent and characteristic phase of the whole Industrial Revolution, the connection of iron with coal, was only now beginning. From the reign of Queen Anne onwards, successive generations of the Darby family had been evolving by practical business experiment the application of coal-coke to the smelting of iron, in place of wood-charcoal. In 1779 the third of the Abraham Darbys completed the world's first iron bridge, spanning the Severn at 'Ironbridge,' near the family works at Coalbrookdale, Shropshire. The great development of the iron trade that followed, with increasing momentum especially in the early Nineteenth Century, took place chiefly in South Wales, South Yorkshire and Tyneside, regions where coal and iron were found together, either near the sea or with easy access to it by river or canal. But the 'coal and iron age' cannot be dated earlier than the Napoleonic wars.

'In 1769 Arkwright patented the water frame, and James Watt his steam engine: 1769 therefore was the birth year of mechanical power in cotton and engineering. Both Watt and Arkwright had their atmosphere, the atmosphere of mechanical speculation in the bustling north.' The patents issued in the quarter of a century following 1760 were more numerous than those issued in the previous century and a half. (C. R. Fay, *Great Britain from Adam Smith to the Present Day*, 1928, p. 303.)

The Industrial Revolution was well under way. Of the nine millions to which the population of England and Wales had risen at the end of the Century, about one-third were engaged in agriculture but 78 per cent. still lived in the country.

The constant growth of England's home industry and overseas trade throughout the Eighteenth Century depended on the finding of money for those purposes. And it was not then so readily available as in later times ; government was a strong competitor in borrowing. But the technique of the money market was being perfected in London. After the decline of Holland, the City 'became the centre of the world's finance, where capital was more easily to be had than anywhere else on the globe.'

Joint-stock methods had suffered a set-back with the bursting of the South Sea Bubble in 1720, but they lived down that discredit, and men learnt to be a little wiser in the future. The Joint-Stock Company was indeed admirably suited to the social structure of that aristocratic but commercially minded Century, for the landed magnate could, without becoming that abhorred thing 'a tradesman,' meet on the board the City man and act with him, so that the political influence of the one could be joined to the business brains of the other. But even more than the Joint-Stock Company, the growth of provincial Banks all over the island financed both the industrial and the agricultural revolutions. These Banks were family or one man concerns, therefore not always secure, but on the whole able to supply the needs of expanding business with the necessary funds.

Then, too, there were the Jew and the Quaker, both rising into the front rank in the City and the Banking World of England, each bringing certain qualities of value.

Between the time when the Jews were expelled by Edward I and the time when they were readmitted by Cromwell, the English had learnt to manage their own financial and business affairs. There was therefore no danger of Hebrew domination and of the answering reaction of anti-semitism. By Hanoverian times, England was strong enough to digest a moderate influx of Jews and, as the prosperity of Holland declined, many of them moved from Amsterdam to London and became prominent there in stock-broking. The Jew helped the development of 'the City.' 'He was ubiquitous and enterprising, persistent but not pugnacious, he ran after customers without regard to his dignity, and made a profit out of articles and

transactions which other people rejected or despised. For international finance the Jews had a special bent, overcoming by their tribal bonds the boundaries of nations, and yet as individuals retaining that mental detachment which is so necessary to financial analysis.'[1] During the Seven Years' War, Sampson Gideon was important in the City as a banker ; in the next generation the Goldsmids came to the front ; and in 1805 Nathan Rothschild founded the most famous of all Jewish houses in London, usefully linked with the family's establishments in other European lands. But besides the great City Jews, there was also a low type of Hebrew moneylender now prominent, abhorred not without reason by his victims, the impecunious and unthrifty of all classes.

The Quakers, too, were becoming a power in finance. They took to Banking, like the Gurneys of Norwich, and had much to do with the establishment of the best English tradition therein ; honest, quiet, liberal and peace-loving, they had a steadying effect on the excitable violences and Jingoisms of the financial world.

[1] C R Fay, *Great Britain from Adam Smith to the Present Day*, p 128

CHAPTER XIII

DR JOHNSON'S ENGLAND

III

Social conditions favourable to art and culture—Love of natural landscape—Country house life—Sport—Food—Drama and music—Newspapers—Printing and publishing—Libraries—Domestic servants.

IF the England of the Eighteenth Century, under aristocratic leadership, was a land of art and elegance, its social and economic structure was assistant thereto. As yet there was no great development of factories, producing goods wholesale, ruining craftsmanship and taste, and rigidly dividing employers from employed. A large proportion of wage-earners were fine handicraftsmen, often as well-educated, as well-to-do and socially as well considered as the small employer and shopkeeper.

Under these happy conditions, the skilled hands produced, for the ordinary market, goods of such beautiful design and execution that they are valued by connoisseurs and collectors to-day: china, glass and other ware, silver plate, books beautifully printed and bound, Chippendale chairs and cabinets, all sorts of articles for ornament and use. Even the commonest type of grandfather clocks that told the time in farmhouse kitchens, were simple and effective in design, the outcome of a tradition followed with individual variations by innumerable small firms.

Architecture was safe in the plain English style now known as 'Georgian.' In those days all buildings erected in town or country, from town halls and rural mansions to farms, cottages and garden tool-houses, were a pleasure to the eye, because the rules of proportion, in setting doors and windows in relation to the whole, were understood by common builders: those simple folk, by observing the rules of proportion laid down for their guidance in Gibbs' handbooks, kept hold of a secret afterwards lost by the pretentious architects of the Victorian era, who deserted the plain English Georgian style to follow a hundred exotic

fancies, Greek, mediaeval or what not, and were book-wise in everything concerning their work, except the essential.

In the Eighteenth Century, art was a part of ordinary life and trade. The pictures of Hogarth, Gainsborough, Reynolds, Romney and Zoffany, the school of miniature portraits that culminated in Cosway; the engravings of Vertue and Woollett; the busts and statues of Roubillac; the furniture and decorations of the Adam brothers—these were not outbreaks of genius in protest against its surroundings, but the natural outcome of the ethos of the age, parts of a process of supply and demand. And the same may be said of the literary world of Gray, Goldsmith, Cowper, Johnson, Boswell and Burke. In its quiet, settled unity of aim and thought it was a classical age, unlike the vexed Victorian, when most of the great men—Carlyle, Ruskin, Matthew Arnold, the Preraphaelites, William Morris, Whistler, Browning and Meredith—were in a state of revolt against the debased ideals of their time, or were fighting berserk each to impose his own strange genius upon the public. Yet the Eighteenth Century, it is true, produced the greatest rebel of all: William Blake was born in 1757.

The spirit bloweth where it listeth: the social historian cannot pretend to explain why art or literature flourished at a particular period or followed a particular course But he can point out certain general conditions favourable to a high level of taste and production in Dr. Johnson's England

Wealth and leisure were on the increase, widely diffused among large classes; civil peace and personal liberty were more secure than in any previous age; the limited liability of the wars we waged oversea with small professional armies gave very little disturbance to the peaceful avocations of the inhabitants of the fortunate island. Never was an Empire won at smaller cost than was ours in Canada and India. As to Australia, Captain Cook had merely to pick it up out of the sea (1770). Even the disastrous war in which we threw away the affections of the old American Colonies, though it caused a considerable disturbance in trade, otherwise affected but little the even tenor of life in the defeated country, because our hold on the sea, though challenged, was maintained; even when the French fleet for a while

sailed the Channel (1779) it was not starvation but invasion that we had to fear, and the danger soon passed. And so it was again in the Napoleonic Wars. The fact that our island grew most of its own food and also commanded the paths of the ocean, was the dual basis

'Of Britain's calm felicity and power,'

which Wordsworth viewed with a just complacency, as he surveyed sea and land together from the summit of Black Comb, in the twentieth year of the War with Revolutionary France. One year of modern totalitarian war is more dislocating to society and more destructive of the higher branches of civilization in England, than a cycle of warfare in the days of the elder or the younger Pitt.

But wealth and security cannot alone account for a great age of taste and art. The Victorian age was even more wealthy and even more secure; yet the houses it built and the things it put into them (except the books) were of no high order. In the Eighteenth Century, taste had not yet been vitiated by too much machine production. Both the maker and the purchaser of goods still thought in terms of handicraft. The artist and the manufacturer were not yet divided poles asunder. They were both men of a trade supplying a limited public, whose taste was still unspoiled because it had not yet seen much that was really bad. Life and art were still human, not mechanical, and quality still counted far more than quantity

Another circumstance favourable to the arts in the Hanoverian epoch was the aristocratic influence which coloured many aspects of life besides politics. The social aristocracy of that day included not only the great nobles but the squires, the wealthier clergy, and the cultivated middle class who consorted with them on familiar terms, as we read in Boswell's Johnsonian dialogues, and in the life-history of the most princely of professional men, Sir Joshua Reynolds. That great society, broad-based on adequate numbers, and undisputed in its social privilege, could afford to look for quality in everything. The higher ranks of this aristocracy set the tone to the bourgeoisie and professional class, and they in return supplied the nobles with brains and ideas—as, for instance, Burke supplied Lord

Rockingham. The leaders of the Eighteenth Century were not harassed by the perpetual itch to make money and yet more money, to produce more and yet more goods no matter of what sort, as were those mighty children of Mammon who in the Nineteenth Century set the tone to England, America and all the world. The aristocratic atmosphere was more favourable to art and taste than either the bourgeois or the democratic have since proved in England, or the totalitarian in Europe.

Indeed, aristocracy functioned better as a patron of art and letters than even the old-fashioned form of Kingship. Monarchy may sometimes have taste, as in the France of Louis XIV and XV, but it concentrates everything at Court as the one acknowledged centre of light and leading. But the English aristocracy had not one centre but hundreds, scattered all over the country in 'gentlemen's seats' and provincial towns, each of them a focus of learning and taste that more than made up for the decay of learning at the official Universities and of taste at the Hanoverian Court. George II patronized Handel's music but nothing else It did not matter, because patronage had passed into thousands of other hands—though not yet into the hands of millions Oxford University did nothing for Gibbon, and Royalty had nothing to say to him except, 'Hey, what Mr. Gibbon, scribble, scribble, scribble!' But the reading public of the day was just of the size and quality to give proper recognition to his greatness the moment his first volume appeared (1776).

Eighteenth Century taste was not perfect. The limits of its sympathy in literature are notorious. Even in art, too much, perhaps, was thought of Reynolds and not enough of Hogarth and Gainsborough. By the foundation of the Royal Academy in 1768 Sir Joshua made the purchase of pictures fashionable among the rising middle class seeking a hall-mark of gentility. No doubt he thereby conferred a material benefit on his brother artists by creating a yet wider demand for their wares But did that most noble knight unwittingly prepare the way for the vulgarization of art? And did his Royal Academy serve to stereotype overmuch particular kinds of painting and sculpture?

The romantic circumstance of the discovery of the buried

cities of Herculaneum and Pompeii excited an immense curiosity, which had better consequences, perhaps, for archaeology than for art. Graeco-Roman statuary of the second order was taken as the standard of judgment, and the next generation of Academy sculptors, Nollekens and Flaxman, insisted that all statues, even of contemporary British statesmen, must be moulded on that fashion, must be draped in the toga of the ancients (like the statue of Fox in Bloomsbury Square) and in other respects must cease to follow the true Renaissance tradition of Roubillac (died 1762). Oddly enough, at the very same time Benjamin West reversed this law of clothes as regards historical *painting*; in spite of the grave but friendly remonstrances of Sir Joshua himself, West insisted that his picture of the death of Wolfe (exhibited in the Academy of 1771) should show the general and his men in contemporary British uniform and not in ancient armour, as modern heroes in battle were wont to be painted for their greater renown. By his obstinacy in favour of this bold innovation, West won a charter of liberty for the school of historical painting which he founded, and which he made exceedingly popular especially through the medium of engravings.

But in spite of the vagaries of fashion in art and much variety in the powers of its leading practitioners, the tone of the Eighteenth Century was favourable to high quality in the arts and crafts. England was filled full of beautiful things of all kinds, old and new, native and foreign. Houses in town and country were as rich as museums and art galleries, but the books, the engravings, the china, the furniture, the pictures were not flaunted or crowded for exhibition, but were set in their natural places for domestic use in hospitable homes.

Indoors and out it was a lovely land. Man's work still added more than it took away from the beauty of nature. Farm buildings and cottages of local style and material sank into the soft landscape, and harmoniously diversified and adorned it. The fields, enclosed by hedges of bramble and hawthorn set with tall elms, and the new 'plantations' of oak and beech, were a fair exchange for the bare open fields, the heaths and thickets of an earlier day. Nor indeed had all these disappeared. And near to almost

every village was a manor-house park, with clumps of great trees under which the deer still browsed.

In the last decade of the Century arose the great school of landscape painters, chiefly in water-colour—Girtin and the youthful Turner, soon to be followed by many more, including Crome and Cotman of the Norwich school, and Constable himself. They depicted England at her best, at the perfect moment before the outrages on her beauty began. In earlier years the fashionable demand had been for portraits and subject pictures rather than for landscapes, in spite of the power in that line shown by Gainsborough and Richard Wilson. But all through the period there had been growing up a conscious admiration of scenery, of landscape in its broader outlines. It was reflected and stimulated by literature from the first appearance of Thomson's *Seasons* in 1726, onwards through Cowper, till Wordsworth finally transformed and sublimated the theme. But no written word could express the unique glory of our island, which the painters alone could show, the shifting lights and shades of sky, earth and foliage in our water-laden atmosphere. Thus the joy of the English in their land received its expression in letters and in art, at the hands of Wordsworth and the landscape painters, just as the Eighteenth Century closed and the new era began.

As far back as the reign of George II, this novel delight and interest felt in the wilder and larger features of landscape had altered the fashion of laying out the 'grounds' of a country house. The formal garden, the walks decorated by leaden statuettes in the Dutch style prevalent under William and Anne, and the yew hedges clipped into fantastic shapes, were swept away in order to bring the grass and trees of the park up to the walls of the manor-house; the fruit and vegetable garden within its high brick walls, now regarded as an essential appendage of a country house, was placed at a little distance, out of sight of the front windows. These changes were conducted under the influence of William Kent and his successor 'Capability Brown,' so called from his habit of saying, when called in to consult on the new laying out of a gentleman's grounds,

'I see great *capability* of improvement here.'

No doubt there was loss as well as gain. It was sad that hundreds of those charming lead figures were cast away, to be melted down to shoot Americans and French. But the abolition of Dutch gardens to make room for grass slopes and trees visible from the windows, testified to the growing delight in natural scenery, which soon led Englishmen to take pleasure even in mountain forms, to flock to the Lake District, and in the following century to the Scottish Highlands and the Alps, hitherto abhorrent to civilized men.

This instinctive craving for the larger features of untamed nature was an inevitable reaction on the part of a society growing over-civilized. In older times forests and thickets were everywhere close at hand, and man was constantly at war with the wilderness, in those days he sought relief from the struggle in formal gardens. Now he had conquered. The countryside, though still beautiful, was tamed down to an affair of hedgerows and 'plantations.' So nature in her shaggy reality must be deliberately sought out further afield, in accordance with Rousseau's mystic doctrines.

The taste for mountains which began in the latter part of the Eighteenth Century, was accompanied by a corresponding love for the 'seaside,' hitherto neglected. It is true that in the first half of the Century the new custom of resort to 'seaside watering-places' had been medicinal in purpose. At the doctor's orders people went to inhale the sea air at the village of Brighthelmstone (Brighton), or drink the well-water at Scarborough, and even to dip in the waves. A picture of Scarborough beach in 1745 shows male visitors swimming, and at Margate by 1750 'Beale's bathing machines,' dragged by horses took either sex into the water, which they could enter down a ladder under cover of a hood, and thence if they wished swim out.

But those who went for the medicine of the body, found also a medicine of the soul. The contemplation of the sea and of coast scenery added an attraction which drew ever larger crowds to the cliffs and sands, primarily for health, but also for a mental pleasure that was a part of health. It is significant that in the latter part of George III's reign the waves of the sea were, for the first time, being truly

and lovingly delineated by Turner. Ships had been well painted before, but not the real waters on which they sailed. Poets had often before described the terrors of the ocean ; now they also described its beauty and exhorted it to roll on !

In the Eighteenth Century, for the first time, the sites of new country houses were chosen for aesthetic, not merely for practical reasons. They were often placed on rising ground to 'command the prospect.' This was rendered possible by the increasing control of the wealthy over artificial supplies of water. Cowper, who disapproved of 'the great magician Brown,' complained that the houses he induced people to build on exposed hill tops were very cold until trees had grown up to protect them, and that his landscape gardening cost so much as to ruin many of his more enthusiastic patrons (*The Task*, Book III) Certainly people tended to 'overbuild' themselves, and mortgaged their estates in their zeal for 'improvement,' like the last Earl Verney of Claydon.

Fashion has many odd vagaries. A taste for artificial ruins preceded by many years the 'Gothic revival' in literature, religion and architecture. Before Pugin or Sir Walter Scott were born, and half a century before their influence was felt, ruined mediaeval castles were being erected as part of the 'landscape,' and fanciful 'Gothic' ornament was fastened on to some houses.[1] But fortunately the mansions which the Eighteenth Century folk built for their own habitation were for the most part sound Georgian, sometimes with touches of the classical, such as porticos and pediments, which could, however, be made to blend not unnaturally with the Georgian style, itself of renaissance origin. The more pretentious were in the Palladian or some other style that the owner had observed on his Italian tour.

In these country houses, great and small, life was lived at its fullest. The zeal for estate management and agricultural improvement took the squire out on his horse at

[1] Even before the building of the Gothic parts of Strawberry Hill begun by Horace Walpole in 1750, Gothic ornament in external and interior decoration of houses, of a very meretricious kind, was not unknown ; it was followed by a taste for 'Chinese' motifs But these fancies were exceptional. See Ketton-Cremer *Horace Walpole*, pp 151–154

all hours of the day, and the ladies at home were as usefully employed, organizing and providing for their large households, and themselves busy with the needle or in the preserving room. For weeks and months together large parties of visitors were entertained with much eating and drinking, with field sports, with music and literature, with cards and dice which sometimes brought ruin to host or guest. It was usual now for a country house to have a library proportioned to its size, filled with leather-bound volumes stamped with the family arms or crest—the English, Latin and Italian classics, and many large tomes of splendidly illustrated travels, local histories or books of engravings and prints. Twentieth Century civilization has nothing analogous to show to these private libraries.

In many respects it was a free-and-easy society. Charles Fox set the fashion of dressing carelessly. The House of Commons—the central point of the English aristocracy—produced the impression of *déshabillé* on a foreign visitor in 1782 :

'The members have nothing particular in their dress , they even come into the House in their great coats and with boots and spurs It is not at all uncommon to see a member lying stretched out on one of the benches, while others are debating. Some crack nuts, others eat oranges. There is no end to their going in and out , and as often as anyone wishes to go out, he places himself before the Speaker and makes him his bow, as if, like a schoolboy he asked his tutor's permission.' (Moritz, *Travels*, H Milford, 1924, p 53.)

Perhaps no set of men and women since the world began enjoyed so many different sides of life, with so much zest, as the English upper class at this period. The literary, the sporting, the fashionable and the political ' sets ' were one and the same. When the most unsuccessful of all great politicians, Charles Fox, said on his deathbed that he had lived ' happy,' he spoke the truth. Oratory at its highest, politics at its keenest, long days of tramping after partridges, village cricket, endless talk as good as ever was talked, and a passion for Greek, Latin, Italian and English poetry and history—all these, and alas also the madness of the gambler, Fox had enjoyed and had shared with innumerable friends who loved him. Nor had he been less happy during the long wet day at Holkham which he spent sitting under a

hedge, regardless of the rain, making friends with a ploughman who explained to him the mystery of the culture of turnips.

In versatility of action and enjoyment Fox represented the society in which he was so long the leading figure. All the activities of town and country, of public and private life, were pursued and relished by those liberal-minded, open-hearted aristocrats, whom their countrymen felt not the slightest wish to guillotine. The more fashionable among them had grave faults. In spite of the saying 'as drunk as a lord,' there is indeed ample evidence that excessive drinking was a habit among all classes of Englishmen, low as well as high. But heavy gambling and connubial infidelity were perhaps most observable in the highest grade of society at that time, before the evangelical influence, having dealt first with the common people, returned to lay a restraining hand on the upper class, fitting them for the ordeal of the Nineteenth Century, when their conduct would be canvassed and their privileges challenged. Meanwhile the hour was theirs and it was golden.

This classical age, when Dr. Johnson's Dictionary (1755) did much to fix the words recognized as good English, saw also the settlement of spelling by rules now insisted on among all educated people. In the age of Marlborough, even queens and great generals spelt very much as they liked. But in 1750 Lord Chesterfield wrote to his son:

> 'I must tell you that orthography, in the true sense of the word is so absolutely necessary for a man of letters, or a gentleman, that one false spelling may fix a ridicule upon him for the rest of his life. And I know a man of quality who never recovered the ridicule of having spelled *wholesome* without the w'

At the same time he advises the young man to read Plato, Aristotle, Demosthenes and Thucydides, whom none but adepts know, though many quote Homer. It is Greek, adds Chesterfield, that must distinguish a man; Latin alone will not. It is significant that the high-priest of fashion at that period when fashion meant so much, regarded classical scholarship of a very real kind as proper to the character of a gentleman.

Older forms of the chase were yielding to the pursuit of the fox. The hunting of deer, the King of sports in all past ages, became a memory, except on Exmoor and in a few other regions. As early as 1728 some Hunts had already come down to the ignominious 'carting' of deer, the beginning of the end. The reason is evident: the destruction of forests, the enclosure of wastes and the encroachments of agriculture caused the continual decrease of the herds of wild deer that used to roam the countryside at large. In the reign of George III, stags browsing under the oaks were an ornament to a gentleman's park, safely enclosed within its pales, but were no longer beasts of the chase. The owner or his gamekeeper would shoot them in season, for the table.

Hare-hunting, beloved of Shakespeare and of Sir Roger de Coverley, went out more slowly. Although fox-hunting was gaining ground throughout the Eighteenth Century, as late as 1835 a sporting magazine enumerated 138 packs of harriers as against 101 packs of fox hounds. The harriers had this advantage, that the countryman on foot could keep within view of the shorter circles of the hunted hare, more easily than he could follow the longer and straighter run of the fox. But although the democratic and pedestrian element formed a smaller part of the field in fox-hunting, 'the hunt,' with its red or blue coats, its hounds and horn, caught the imagination of all classes in the countryside; spirited fox-hunting songs were shouted as loudly and as joyously on the ale bench as round the dining table of the manor.

In the reign of George III fox-hunting had become in its essential features what it has been ever since, except that very few then joined a Hunt who were not resident in the County. But it had ceased to be an affair of one or two neighbours riding over their own lands. The hounds now ran over a whole district, and great Hunts like the Badminton, the Pytchley and the Quorn carried the science to the point where it has remained ever since The runs became longer as the Century advanced, and the Enclosure Acts, by cutting up the open fields with hedges in the hunting shires of the Midlands, made a greater call on the qualities of the horse and its rider. But even as early as

1736, Somerville, the squire-poet of *The Chase*, describes jumping as an important part of the game:

> with emulation fired
> They strain to lead the field, top the barred gate,
> O'er the deep ditch exulting bound, and brush
> The thorny-twining hedge.

Shooting in the Eighteenth Century was rapidly taking the place of the hawking, netting and liming of wild-fowl. Its procedure was moving towards present-day practice, but more slowly than that of hunting. 'Driving' the birds had not yet come in. The long, hand-cut stubble still made it easy for sportsmen to get near partridges, walking up to them behind the faithful setter. Pheasants were not driven out of covers high over the heads of the 'guns,' but were flushed out of the hedgerows and coppices by packs of yelping spaniels and shot as they rose. In northern moorlands, grouse were less numerous than to-day, but less wild. Blackgame and duck were very numerous on suitable land, and everywhere troops of hares did much injury to the farmer; rabbits were not quite such a pest as they are now (1939), because the proportion of grass land to arable was smaller. Ruffs and reeves, bittern, plovers, wheatears, landrails and other wild birds were shot as freely as more regular game.

The muzzle-loading flint-and-steel gun of slow ignition was very different from the modern ejector; its action being slower, it was necessary to shoot much further in front of the bird, a feat reflecting all the more credit on the performance of Coke of Norfolk, who on more than one occasion killed 80 partridges in less than a hundred shots. Reloading was a matter of time, and, if carelessly done, of danger; therefore after each shot the sportsman had to halt and the dog was bidden 'down charge' while the 'charging' of the gun took place. In the middle of the Eighteenth Century, gamekeepers, like Black George in *Tom Jones*, were not so generally respectable a class of men as their successors of a later day. They were often 'the worst of poachers, taking one brace for the master, and two for themselves.' But neither the gentry nor their keepers were the only people who took game; there was never a truce to the poaching war in old England.

In Stuart times cricket had grown up obscurely and locally, in Hampshire and Kent, as a game of the common people. The original method of scoring, by 'notches' on a stick, argues illiteracy. But in the early Eighteenth Century cricket enlarged both its geographic and its social boundaries. In 1743 it was observed that 'noblemen, gentlemen and clergy' were 'making butchers, cobblers or tinkers their companions' in the game. Three years later, when Kent scored 111 notches against All England's 110, Lord John Sackville was a member of the winning team of which the gardener at Knole was captain. Village cricket spread fast through the land. In those days, before it became scientific, cricket was the best game in the world to watch, with its rapid sequence of amusing incidents, each ball a potential crisis! Squire, farmer, blacksmith and labourer, with their women and children come to see the fun, were at ease together and happy all the summer afternoon. If the French *noblesse* had been capable of playing cricket with their peasants, their chateaux would never have been burnt.

Until the later years of the Century the two wickets each consisted of two stumps, only one foot high, about twenty-four inches apart, with a third stump or bail laid across them. The space between the stumps was known as the 'popping hole,' into which the batsman had to thrust the end of his bat, before the wicket-keeper could 'pop' the ball into it at the risk of a nasty knock for his fingers. The bowler trundled the ball fast along the ground against the low wicket; when, as often happened, the ball passed between the stumps without hitting them, the batsman was not out. The bat was curved at the end like a hockey-stick. Towards the end of the Century the game was radically altered by abolishing the 'popping hole,' adding a third stump, and raising the height of the wicket to 22 inches. The straight bat was soon adopted as a result of these changes.

Eighteenth Century Englishmen were much addicted to the pleasures of the table, and our island cooking had already taken on certain characteristic merits and defects. Foreigners were astonished at the vast quantity and excellent quality of the fish and of the red and white meat consumed,

but did not appreciate the English policy about vegetables, which only came in as trimmings to meat. English cooks seemed as incapable of turning out a vegetable dish as of producing anything better than 'blown water' by way of coffee. But, however served, vegetables from the kitchen gardens of rich and poor were now abundant and various: potatoes, cabbages, carrots and turnips, sprouts, cucumbers and salad were eaten with the meat as plentifully as they are to-day. And already sweet dishes and puddings—especially 'plumb pudding' as Parson Woodforde ominously spelt it—held pride of place on the English table.

Woodforde's flour bill for the year 1790, indicating the very limited amount of bread baked and eaten at the Rectory, was £5.7.6. For the same period his bill for meat was £46.5 0. The English middle-class household of this period was essentially carnivorous and well 'above the bread level' in its diet. For the same year his bill for malt for his home brewing was £22.18.6. The worthy parson recorded his meals in his diary: a good, ordinary dinner for a fair-sized company (1776) was 'a leg of mutton boiled, a batter pudding, and a couple of ducks.' Another (1777) consisted of 'a couple of rabbits smothered with onions, a neck of mutton boiled, and a goose roasted, with a currant pudding and a plain one, followed by the drinking of tea.' 'A very elegant dinner,' which he enjoyed at Christ Church, Oxford (1774), comes nearer to our conception of those corporate feasts in which the more privileged among our ancestors so much delighted:

'The first course was, part of a large cod, a chine of mutton, some soup, a chicken pye, pudding and roots etc Second course, pidgeons and asparagus, a fillet of veal with mushrooms and high sauce with it, rosted sweetbreads, hot lobster, apricot tart and in the middle a pyramid of syllabubs and jellies We had a desert of fruit after dinner, and Madeira, white Port and red to drink as wine We were all very cheerful and merry.'

In the country parts, riding home on a dark night 'when merry' was a frequent cause of accidents and death.

The young German, Moritz, who resided in England in 1782 with a meagre purse, fared less well than Parson Woodforde, for he was at the mercy of English landladies,

who treated him as too many of them still treat their unlucky guests

'An English dinner [he wrote] for such lodgers as I am, generally consists of a piece of half-boiled or half-roasted meat, and a few cabbage leaves boiled in plain water; on which they pour a sauce made of flour and butter.'

(This fluid, I suspect, was in Voltaire's memory when he said the English had a hundred religions and only one sauce!)

But, adds Moritz:

'The fine wheaten bread which I find here, besides excellent butter and Cheshire cheese, makes up for my scanty dinners The slices of bread and butter, which they give you with your tea, are as thin as poppy leaves But there is another kind of bread and butter usually eaten with tea, which is toasted by the fire, and is incomparably good You take one slice after the other and hold it to the fire on a fork till the butter is melted so that it penetrates a number of slices all at once · this is called *toast*'

Economic circumstances made the first half of the Eighteenth Century an age of relative plenty for the working class. Many of them, at least, breakfasted on beer, bread and butter, quantities of cheese, sometimes meat. At mid-day many made a plentiful if coarse meat meal. Smollett, in *Roderick Random* (1748), describes his entry into

a cook's shop, almost suffocated with the steams of boiled beef, and surrounded by a company of hackney coachmen, chairmen, draymen and a few footmen out of place or on board wages, who sat eating shin of beef, tripe, cowheel and sausages at separate boards, covered with cloths which almost turned my stomach

But the innumerable local varieties of wages and conditions of life make generalizations about working-class diet exceedingly unsafe. Many lived mainly on bread and cheese, some vegetables, beer and tea

The theatre had a vigorous popular life in Eighteenth Century England. In the early years of its resuscitation under Charles II it had been confined to London and to Court patronage. It now spread far and wide. Companies were established in the larger provincial towns, and

strolling players were always moving round the countryside, acting in barns and town halls before rustic audiences. Parson Woodforde records their periodic appearance in the Court House of Castle Cary, a Somersetshire village of 1200 inhabitants, where from time to time they acted *Hamlet*, the *Beggar's Opera* and other good pieces. Farquhar's *Beaux' Stratagem* remained a favourite long after the untimely death of its author in 1707, but there was a shortage of good new plays, until more than sixty years later Goldsmith and Sheridan again supplied a few first-rate comedies.

On the other hand, as we should expect in the country that so effectually patronized Handel's Oratorios, the musical side of the theatre was excellent. Thomas Arne (1710–1778) set Shakespeare's songs and wrote the incidental music of many plays And the English light opera (which had a continuous life from the *Beggar's Opera* to Gilbert and Sullivan) flourished exceedingly in the days of Dibdin (1745–1814). As a very young man he wrote the music of *Lionel and Clarissa* , and he long continued to supply his countrymen with the sentimental, patriotic and nautical songs they loved to sing, such as 'Poor Jack' and 'Tom Bowling.' To the people of England, music was not then an affair only of listening They were not ashamed to try their own voices, for they rode and walked and worked out of doors, not always in a hurry and not always in a crowd ; and indoors they had much leisure, and if they wanted music must make it for themselves

The dramatic genius of Garrick in the middle of the Century, and of Mrs Siddons after him, made the London theatre famous. The garbled versions of Shakespeare that they acted—*Lear* with a 'happy ending'—arouse our horror. But we must recognize the service done by the actors and the literary critics of that age, who between them persuaded the English that Shakespeare was the greatest glory of our nation He was read, quoted, known far more generally than to-day, for poetry and great literature had not then to meet any serious competition from printed matter of a more ephemeral kind. The reading world was just the size to give great literature its best chance. Milton was then known and honoured only less than Shakespeare.

The printed newspaper had by the middle of the century quite displaced the written 'news letter.' Early in George III's reign, its price was twopence or threepence owing to the tax, and in size it had grown to the 'folio of four pages' that Cowper expected every evening in his country retreat, and read aloud over the tea-cups to the ladies,

> Fast bound in chains of silence, which the Fair,
> Though eloquent themselves, yet fear to break.

Each of the four folio pages had four columns. After 1771, when the right to publish debates was silently conceded by the two Houses of Parliament, that task became an important function of the newspaper. Since the limited public that bought it was intensely and intelligently political, more than half the news space was in session time given up to these reports. One or more of the four folio pages were devoted to paying advertisements, telling of books, concerts, theatres, dresses and various kinds of people in want of domestic employment The rest of the paper was occupied by poetry, articles serious and comic, letters to the paper signed with the correspondent's name or pseudonym, snippets of information and gossip theatrical or social, interspersed with *Gazette* announcements and long official reports of foreign affairs. The modern newspaper was in the making But as yet its circulation was limited : 2000 was regarded as a good circulation ; in 1795 the *Morning Post* fell to 350, while the *Times* rose to 4800. Great fortunes could not yet be made or lost in journalism : the prize was influence, particularly in politics. There were a number of good provincial papers, like the *Northampton Mercury*, the *Gloucester Journal*, the *Norwich Mercury* and the *Newcastle Courant*.

Just as the theatre and the newspaper had, since the reign of Charles II, spread from the capital to the provinces, so had the printing and publishing of books. The lapse of the Censorship and the Licensing Act in the reign of William III had removed the legal restriction on the number of printing presses, with the result that not only were the printing and publishing firms in London greatly increased in number, but provincial presses were set up in many other

towns. The business of publishing and bookselling were then conducted by one and the same firm.[1] Between 1726 and 1775 there were about 150 of these firms in England outside London, and about as many in the Capital.

The vigorous literary and scientific life of many provincial towns in Dr. Johnson's day was stimulated by the local newspapers and the local publishing firms, which often attained to a high standard. Before the end of the Century such first-rate work as Bewick's *British Birds* with his famous woodcuts was being printed and published in Newcastle-on-Tyne. Eighteenth Century printing, though less fanciful than the Elizabethan, and less mechanically correct than the Victorian, was superior to both as a beautiful art.

Much publishing, especially of the large and expensive volumes in which that aristocratic century delighted, was done by subscription, for which the author touted among his friends and patrons. The fine private libraries accounted for much of the trade. But Circulating Libraries, of which the first was started in 1740, were to be found both in London and the provinces, particularly in the health resorts. Bath and Southampton had very fine Circulating Libraries. Book clubs among neighbours and private friends were also common.

Poetry, travels, history and novels all had a place in popular reading. The German Moritz, after his residence in England, bore remarkable testimony to our literary civilization at that period (1782) .

'Certain it is, that the English classical authors are read more generally, beyond all comparison, than the German , which in general are read only by the learned , or at most by the middle class of people The English national authors are in all hands, and read by all people, of which the innumerable editions they have gone through are a sufficient proof. My landlady, who is only a taylor's widow, reads her Milton , and tells me that her late husband first fell in love with her on this very account , because she read Milton with such proper emphasis. This single instance would prove but little , but I have conversed with several people of the lower class,

[1] The most long-lived of these was Longmans In 1724 Thomas Longman bought the business It is still a family concern and was conducted on the old site in Paternoster Row till its destruction by enemy action in 1940 Only the business is of course now confined to publishing only, bookselling having become a separate trade

who all knew their national authors, and who all have read many, if not all of them.'

In the course of the Eighteenth Century the accumulation of great consolidated estates by the nobility and wealthier gentry, and the developments of capitalist agriculture, led to the general disappearance of the small squire of £100 to £300 a year, who worked his own land or let a couple of farms. This particular type of man, once so important in the life and government of the countryside, was now much less in evidence. But his place was in some respects taken by an increased number of gentry and professional men living on various kinds of small incomes in the country, but less rooted in the soil than the old rustic squire. There was gain as well as loss in the change. It made for a higher level of culture: Mr. Bennet in *Pride and Prejudice* is an example of the new type, more attached to his library than to the land. Parson Woodforde, the diarist, had only £400 a year, but on that he was able to keep five or six servants indoors and out, to look well after his relations, to travel freely, and to exercise a generous hospitality to rich and poor. His habit of noting in his diary every sixpence he spent or gave, may indicate that he knew he had to be careful and therefore succeeded in living in such good style within a modest income.

The best type of domestic or outdoor employee cost only £10 a year and his keep: many were content with much less. On these conditions, armies of servants, male and female, filled the households of the gentry. Not a few became 'old servants,' privileged and intimate, whom their masters and mistresses never dreamt of turning off, it was an important and humanizing element in old English life. The floating population of maids, who soon went away to be married, learnt during their term of domestic service many arts of cooking and housekeeping, that afterwards served them well as wives and mothers. Villages and cottages had also their own immemorial traditions in these matters. In those days, when it was not yet possible to buy everything, including tinned meals, in the shop round the corner, the feckless and untrained housewife was more utterly disastrous and therefore less common than in the city life of to-day.

Books for Further Reading

In the notes and text of this and the previous chapters I have mentioned a number of works of value on special aspects of the subject I particularly commend the student to the social parts of Lecky's *History of England in the Eighteenth Century* and to a recent work of great value, *Johnson's England*, edited by Professor Turberville for the Oxford Press in 1933, with articles by many different authorities on special aspects of life in that period This book has now come down to a time in our annals when contemporary memoirs, novels, diaries and biographies and letters like those of Horace Walpole make the study of social history more real and very delightful A very remarkable short essay on Eighteenth Century England is pp 72-91 of the first volume of W P. Ker's *Collected Essays* (1925).

CHAPTER XIV

Scotland at the Beginning and at the End of the Eighteenth Century

The Union, 1707—Culloden and the Conquest of the Highlands, 1746

Since the scope of this work is confined to the social history of England, nothing has yet been said about the neighbouring kingdom of Scotland. For more than two centuries after the wars of Edward I and Wallace, English and Scots had few dealings with one another save at the point of the spear. In the reign of Elizabeth they ceased to be active enemies, because they had an interest in common, to defend the island against the powers of the Catholic reaction; but they adopted radically different forms of ecclesiastical polity, which further differentiated the character of social and intellectual life on the two sides of the Border.

By the accession of James VI of Scotland to the English throne (1603) his two kingdoms were linked by the uneasy bond of a Dual Monarchy. James himself understood Scotland better than England; but under his son and grandsons the smaller of the two kingdoms was governed in accordance with plans concocted in London by Bishops, courtiers or parliament-men, who knew nothing of Scotland's needs and habits, and only sought to make her serve some English partisan policy of the hour. The Edinburgh Privy Council took its orders from Whitehall. The Scots deeply resented this vassalage to England, whether the absent overlord was named Charles, Oliver or James. They wrapped the plaid of their own prejudices more tightly round them, and were more suspicious than ever of influences emanating from their over-great neighbour.

Under these political conditions, social life in the two countries continued to flow in separate channels. There were also economic and physical obstacles in the way of more international intercourse. Communications were hindered not only by tariffs but by the state of the Great North Road. London was nearly a week's journey from

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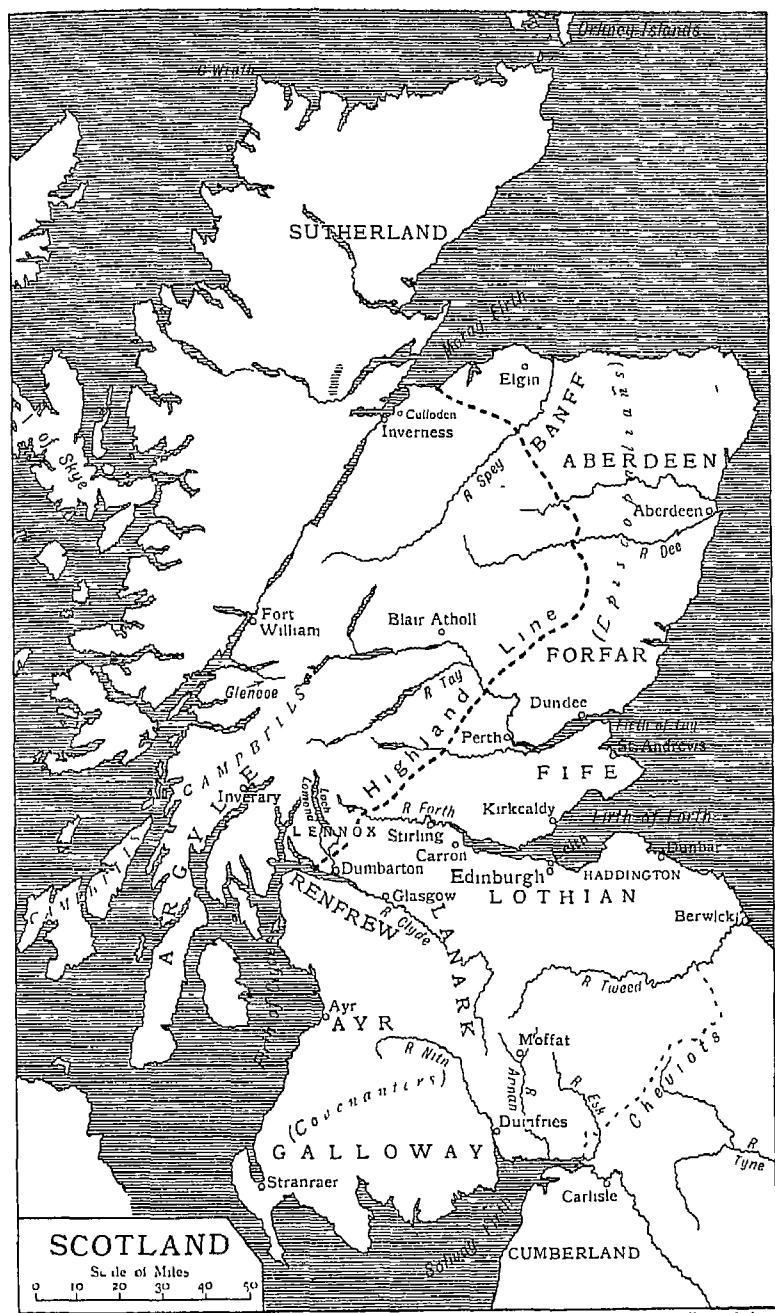
Edinburgh, and the English counties that lay nearest the Border were the most primitive and the most hostile to the Scots. In religion, in law, in education, in agricultural methods, in the mutual relation of classes, Scotland showed no tendency to approximate to English example, still less to give any lead to England.

Indeed, so repugnant to one another were the two neighbour nations over which King William uneasily reigned, that before his death in 1702 it had become clear to the wiser heads in both his Kingdoms that either there must be a closer political and commercial union, or else the crowns would again become separate and war would almost certainly ensue. For after the Revolution of 1688 the Edinburgh Parliament assumed a new attitude of independence, that rendered it impossible for the English any longer to control the affairs of Scotland through the instrumentality of her tame Privy Council. The system of Dual Monarchy was breaking down. The choice before the two countries lay between a closer union negotiated on equal terms, or the severance of the existing connection.

The right choice was made, though with deep misgivings on the part of the Scots. Under Queen Anne as first sovereign of the new State of 'Great Britain,' the Union took place of the Parliaments and commercial systems of the two nations made one, while their Churches and laws remained distinct. The Union of 1707 meant, in effect, that Scotland lost her Parliamentary life (which had never meant very much to her though it had meant rather more in recent years), while she gained in return full partnership in England's markets and colonies. That privilege opened to her the opportunity of getting rid at last of her grinding and perennial poverty.

For a generation or more the benefits of the Union seemed to hang fire. But after the liquidation of the Jacobite and Highland questions in 1745–1746, Scotland sprang forward along the path towards happier days Her agriculture, which had been to the last degree antiquated and miserable, could, before the Century closed, give lessons to the improving landlords of England. Scottish farmers, gardeners, engineers and doctors came south and taught the English many things. Englishmen began to

travel in Scotland and to admire both her mountains and her men. Scots took a large share in the commerce and colonization of the British Empire, in the wars of Britain, in the government of India. Released from the prison of poverty where she had languished for ages, Scotland burst into sudden splendour. Her religion lost much of its gloom and fanaticism, while remaining vital and democratic. The genius of her sons gave a lead to the thought of the world: Hume, Adam Smith, Robertson, Dugald Stewart, extended their influence not only over all Britain but into the salons of continental philosophers, while Smollett, Boswell and Burns made their native country famous in letters, and Raeburn in art. Thus the latter part of the Eighteenth Century saw the golden age of Scotland, which was prolonged for a second generation of glory when Sir Walter, with his Lays and romances, imposed the Scottish idea upon all Europe.

To bring out clearly the extent and character of the changes that took place in Scotland during the Hanoverian epoch, I shall in this chapter describe her first as she was at the time of the Union in the reign of Queen Anne,[1] and then as she had become in the middle years of George III.

[1] For this purpose I have availed myself of my account of Scotland in the second volume of my *England under Queen Anne*.

I

Scotland at the Time of the Union of 1707

King William, 1689–1702—Queen Anne, 1702–1714

Ever since the days of Burns and Sir Walter Scott the English have delighted in Scottish tradition and story, highland and lowland alike, sometimes to the point of sentimentality. They go to Scotland to admire her scenery, and in their own country and throughout their world-wide Empire they have acknowledged, not without envy, the sterling qualities of her sons. But in the reign of Anne, ignorance was still the fruitful parent of hostility and contempt. Contact between the two peoples was slight, and for the most part unfortunate. Scots still sought their fortunes less often in England than on the Continent of Europe Jacobite exiles lived in Italy and France. Presbyterian clergy and lawyers went to Dutch universities to finish their education at the fountain-heads of Calvinist theology and Roman law. Scottish overseas merchants dealt with Holland and Scandinavia, but were excluded from the Colonies of England. Englishmen who crossed the Cheviots on business were few, except the Borderers who nursed a traditional hostility to everything Scottish; the jealous Northumbrians used to warn travellers from the South that Scotland was 'the most barbarous country in the world.' Scottish drovers sold their cattle in the fairs of north England, but otherwise the business done between the two lands was so slight that the London mail bag sometimes brought only one letter to Edinburgh.

Perhaps not more than a dozen people in the year visited Scotland for pleasure. And of these few the weaker sort were speedily driven back across the Border by the badness of accommodation in the slovenly inns, where good French wine and fresh salmon could not alone compensate for the want of other palatable victuals, and for the utter filth of the lodging. And while the English traveller complained of his own treatment, he was no less bitter on the stabling

of his horse in a place 'hardly fit for a hog-house,' where the poor beast was offered straw to eat in place of hay. If indeed these tourists had come provided with introductions and could have enjoyed Scottish hospitality in gentlemen's houses, as the native gentry did upon their journeys, they would have fared less ill.

Nor was there in Scotland anything specially to attract the seeker after the beautiful as it was understood in those days. No Southerner then admired wild moorland scenery; the Scots doubtless loved, in their innermost hearts, the

land of brown heath and shaggy wood,

but they had not yet, through the medium of literature, expressed that still unconscious passion even to themselves, still less to their unfriendly neighbours. The Englishman who rode from Berwick to Edinburgh, despised the Lowland scenery as divided between melancholy wastes and ill-managed fields of oats. It was unenclosed; almost treeless; devoid, except in the immediate neighbourhood of Edinburgh, of the fine mansions and parks, well-built farms and stately parish churches which the traveller had left behind him in his own country. As to the Highland mountains, the very few Englishmen who ever penetrated into their recesses in the way of business or duty pronounced them 'horrid,' 'frightful' and 'most of all disagreeable when the heath is in bloom.'

The Scot was either a Jacobite or a Presbyterian, and in either capacity he alienated four-fifths of English sympathy And the English of all religions or none were shocked or amused at the rigour of the social discipline of the Kirk. Cromwell's troopers, in their day of power in Scotland, used to seat themselves in derision on the 'stool of repentance' in the parish churches; and in Anne's time that instrument of moral reformation was as alien to the free spirit of the English Dissenting sects as it was to the mild authority of the village parson. Calamy, the leader of the English Nonconformists, in his tour of fraternization among the Scottish Presbyterians in 1709, gave offence by calling some proceedings of their Church Assembly 'the Inquisition revived.' And apart from all questions of politics and religion, the national and personal pride of the Scot

appeared to the unimaginative Englishman ridiculous when associated with poverty. That a 'gentleman' should be proud though out-at-elbows seemed absurd to the English merchant in his broadcloth. And the Scot, when at every turn he encountered this vulgar scorn, only became more silent and more dour.

The Scots, indeed, regarded the English with sour aversion, as purse-proud and overbearing neighbours. Popular poetry, tradition, history—strong influences on an imaginative and emotional race—all pointed to England as the ancient enemy. Four centuries of intermittent warfare with the Southerner formed the subject of Scottish legend and ballad. Hardly a place in the Ancient Kingdom but its inhabitants could tell how the English had burnt it. And Flodden, still unavenged, was the lyric theme vibrating in every Scottish heart.

The Edinburgh Parliament, though it had become somewhat more important after the Revolution, had never stood for much in the social life and imagination of the people. It held its sessions in the great hall off the High Street, known as the Parliament House, after the Union it was assigned to the lawyers of the capital, and still remains the most famous room in Scotland There, under its high, open-timbered roof, Nobles, Barons and Burgesses sat together; they were reckoned as three separate Estates, but they debated and voted in a single Chamber.

The Barons, or County members, unlike the corresponding class in the English House of Commons, were not elected on a popular franchise of forty-shilling freeholders, but were each chosen by a few score gentlemen who happened to be, in the eye of the old Scottish law, tenants-in-chief of the Crown. The Burghs, too, were all of them as 'rotten' as the rottener part of the English Boroughs. The representative element was therefore weaker in the Scottish than in the English Parliament; such representation of the people as there actually was, could only be called 'virtual.' Partly for this reason, partly because the social structure of Scotland was still essentially feudal and aristocratic, the Nobles were the most powerful element in the Chamber. It was chiefly they who led its debates, headed its factions and formulated its acts and policies

The predominance of the aristocracy was not confined to Parliament. In each district of the countryside the common people were attached by custom, pride, awe and hope of protection to some great House that represented their region in the eyes of Scotland. The lairds, as the Lowland gentry were called, were trained to use the arms with which they commonly rode abroad ; the local nobleman entertained them royally at banquets in his mansion, espoused their quarrels, pushed their interests, and confidently expected them in return to follow his standard, if he raised it for the Government that had given him office, or against the Government that had neglected his claims.

If Whig and Jacobite came to blows, as they nearly did on several occasions under Anne, and as they actually did in 1715, it would be to the banners of Argyle, Atholl, Mar or some other grandee that each region would rally, in the Lowlands only to a less degree than in the Highlands. If all the nobility had been united against the Government, the little Scottish army would not long have availed to hold them down. But like other classes they were divided. And nearly all who engaged in politics were greedy of office, for nearly all were embarrassed by the need of keeping up feudal state on the meagre rentals and payments in kind of a countryside desperately poor ; and they had all been taught to regard office as the natural remedy of a great nobleman's finances. But many, both in the Jacobite and in the Whig camp, were patriots as well as self-seekers, and some were, besides, shrewd and politic statesmen, who knew how to pursue their country's true interest, and whose aristocratic position and upbringing set them above the necessity of courting popularity with the mob. Such were the men who passed the Union.

After the Nobles came the lairds or country gentlemen. Their tall, stone mansions, each with its corbel-stepped gable roof, stood up gaunt and fortresslike in the treeless and hedgeless landscape. Architecture did not flourish as in England. Many of these country houses had grown up by clumsy additions to the war-towers of former days. There was seldom any window on the exposed north side, even when it commanded the best or the only view of the landscape. The day of lawns, avenues and walled gardens

was yet to come. The farm buildings, with their homely smells and litter, abutted on the mansion ; the cornfields came up to its walls on one side, and on another was an ill-kept garden of kale, physic-herbs and native flowers.

The interior was equally devoid of luxuries common in the south of the island. The furniture was of the simplest, the floors had no carpets, the walls were usually devoid of paper, panelling, arras or pictures. The bed-chambers had no fire-places, except in the envied 'fire-room.' The drawing-room held a closed bed ready for guests, since it was not always safe for a convivial laird to ride home o'nights, any more than for Tam o' Shanter from his humbler festival. Hospitality took the form of plentiful plain meats served in one course, washed down by Scottish ale and French brandy and claret—and, in the Highlands, by the local whisky. Tea was only known to the Scottish subjects of Queen Anne as an expensive medicine. Thrift was a dire necessity, but hospitality was a national instinct. Neighbours would arrive on horseback on surprise visits of half the day in length ; they were heartily welcome, for the means of passing the time in a country house were fewer than in contemporary England.

Near Edinburgh and other towns golf was a time-honoured institution. And all over Scotland hares, grouse, blackgame and partridges were pursued with dogs, hawks, and snares, and less often with the long gun. But the red deer, once common, were already withdrawing into the Highland glens. The extraordinary abundance of salmon and trout afforded not only good sport, but a cheap food for the people. In some parts the gentry despised salmon as a dish that cloyed, and farm-hands struck if they were fed upon it every day

The gentry of the Lowlands were divided not unevenly into Presbyterian and Episcopalian, a division scarcely distinguishable from the political division of Whig and Jacobite. Tories there were none, in the English sense of the word, for the Tory was an Episcopalian who had accepted the Revolution Settlement because it left his Church established and privileged, whereas in Scotland the Revolution left the Episcopal Church disestablished, and not

even tolerated according to law; Scottish Episcopalians, therefore, were necessarily Jacobites, looking to a counter-revolution for their relief. This was the essential difference between English and Scottish politics, and it deeply affected social life and relations in the Northern Kingdom.

Family and religious discipline tended to be more strict in Presbyterian than in Episcopalian families. There was usually more pleasure and freedom in a Jacobite household. But deep Presbyterian piety and a strict sense of public duty did not prevent Forbes of Culloden from indulgence in hard drinking, convivial hospitality, profound learning and liberal culture. And when Anne came to the throne, the services of psalmody, preaching and extempore prayer were very much the same in the Episcopal Meeting House as in the Presbyterian Parish Church. The Prayer Book only began to find its way into some of the Meeting Houses in the last half of her reign. The doctrines professed by the rival denominations differed little except on Church government, and not much even on that, seeing that the Episcopalians too had their Presbyteries and Kirk Sessions with inquisition and discipline over morals.

The division therefore was deep only on its political side; it did not touch the basis of a common Scottish mentality and civilization. Free thought had not yet spread from the land of Shaftesbury and Bolingbroke to the land of Hume. In the reign of William an unfortunate Edinburgh student had been hanged for expressing doubts as to the Trinity and the authority of the Scriptures, in terms that would only have provoked a frowning rebuke in a London coffee house.

Nearly all Scottish families, especially those of the gentry, regularly attended either the Parish Church or the Episcopal Meeting House, where they received much the same spiritual medicine, diluted with different quantities of water. Poverty and religious controversy combined to form a national character, overriding the acute political divisions, and uniting all Scots in a mental and moral antagonism to the wealthier, more libertine civilization on the south of the Cheviots. The popularity of Addison's and Steele's *Spectators* among Edinburgh ladies and gentlemen at the end of Anne's reign was one of the first instances of a real

intellectual invasion of North by South Britain. As a consequence of the Union such influences began to multiply.

The intellectual unity of the nation and the good understanding of its component classes were all the greater because Scottish lairds in those days sent their own bairns to the village school. The idea of sending a Scottish gentleman's son to an English public school was rendered unthinkable alike by thrift and by patriotism. Education in the village school strengthened the young laird's love of his native land and landscape, and inclined him when he came to man's estate to sympathy with his tenants who had once been his schoolfellows. The broad Scots tongue, of which the highest were not ashamed, the traditions and ballads of the countryside, were the common heritage of all. That was why, two generations later, in the days of Burns and Scott, the poetry and traditions of Scotland went forth to conquer the imagination of men bred in less fortunate countries, where rich and poor had no culture in common. Scotland was at once more feudal and more equalitarian than England. An amazing freedom of speech, between classes that were yet perfectly distinct in a strict social hierarchy, characterized the relation of men who had sat on the same bench at school, and whose fathers had ridden shoulder to shoulder to fray and foray.

But in the age of Anne no literary or intellectual palms were won by Scotland in the world's arena. Her poverty was still too bitter and her religion was still too narrow. But the seeds of greatness were there ; that very poverty and that very religion were forming the national mind and character. Already Swift, who hated the Scots as Presbyterians, confessed that their youth were better educated than the English ; while Defoe wrote, though with some exaggeration :

> You find very few gentry either ignorant or unlearned Nay, you cannot ordinarily find a servant in Scotland but he can read or write.

When Forbes of Culloden, in 1705, went to finish his legal education at Leyden University, he was led to contrast the grave and studious habits of his own countrymen abroad with the 'riot and debauchery' of the young English

spendthrifts making the grand tour, 'who repaid the forbearance and politeness of the inhabitants with contempt and ignorance.'

Scottish school education would, however, by modern standards, be judged miserably inadequate. At the Reformation the Nobles had stolen the Church endowments, which had been earmarked for education by the 'devout imagination' of John Knox. Since then, the Church had continued to strive for the cause of educating the people, but with all too little support from the gentry and the cheeseparing 'heritors' who controlled the money spent on the schools. The excellent laws of 1633 and 1696 had ordained that a well-appointed school should be set up in every parish and maintained by local rates. But the reality was very different. In Anne's reign many parishes had no school at all, and where a school was to be found it was too often a dark, draughty, dirty hovel, and the master or mistress usually lived on starvation wages In Fife, at the end of the Queen's reign, only two men out of three could sign their names, and one woman out of twelve, while in Galloway few of the people could read.

On the other hand, though there were not enough schools, in those that there were Latin was very often taught ; and it was usually well taught in the Burgh schools maintained by the towns. The village and the Burgh schools were not merely primary schools ; some of the older and better scholars were being prepared for the University by masters who were themselves College men. Many, indeed, of the half-starved dominies, though they could not afford to buy books, had the root of the matter in them ; and though they taught only a part of the population, that part was the pick of the Scottish democracy, lads taught to make sacrifices to obtain education, who used the slender equipment of learning available to them as no other nation in Europe could do, and so in the end raised themselves and their country to higher ranges of civilized life.

The Universities of Scotland were in a dull condition at sunrise of that century which was to set in the golden glow of Principal Robertson, Adam Smith and the Edinburgh philosophers. An age of violent civic commotion is seldom favourable to academic institutions controlled by the State.

The Episcopal regime of Charles II had excluded half the Scottish men of learning from academic life, and the Revolution extruded most of the other half, replacing them by men who had learnt more fanaticism than scholarship in moorside conventicles subject to attack by dragoons.

The students were of all classes, sons of nobles, lairds, ministers, farmers and mechanics. The most part were seeking to be beneficed clergymen, but there were far too many candidates. The number of small bursaries and the Scottish peasant's zeal for knowledge overcrowded the sacred profession in days when there were few other openings for an educated man. The lot of the 'stickit minister,' the laird's tutor and the underpaid schoolmaster was hard. But those who were able to obtain charge of a parish were not so ill off by the modest standards of that day. Calamy, the English Nonconformist leader, wrote after his visit to the Presbyterians of North Britain in 1709 :

> As for the settled ministers of the Church of Scotland, though they are not so plentifully or profusely provided for as many of the Established Church in England, yet are there none but what have a competency, whereupon to live easily and conveniently and above contempt

The Scottish lad, in his hard struggle to reach this harbour, supported life at the University from the sack of oatmeal leaning against the wall of the garret where he lodged in the town. On holidays fixed for the purpose, the rustic student tramped home with the empty sack, and returned with it refilled from the harvest of his father's 'infield.'

The peasants on a Scottish estate lived on terms of traditionally familiar intercourse with the laird, who on his daily ride across his lands had to listen to the sharp tongues of an outspoken race. None the less they were living under him in a position of servitude at once feudal and economic. This kind of relationship was remarked on by English travellers as something new in their experience. Private jurisdictions over tenants, civil in some cases, civil and criminal in others, were common all over Scotland, though such feudal courts had long ago ceased in England. Statesmen in London held that the Protestant Succession was in

imminent danger from these *superiorities*, which removed the Scottish vassal from the protection of the royal courts and subjected his person and property to Jacobite overlords.

The peasantry held their farms on annually terminable leases which left them at the mercy of the laird or his factor, and fatally discouraged any attempt on their part at improving the land they tilled. And the laird on his side seldom put capital into the improvement of his tenants' farms. Had he wished so to do, he lacked the means. A rent-roll of £500 sterling was considered great wealth in Scotland, £50 was common, and many 'bonnet lairds' supported their families on £20 of rent and the produce of their own 'infield.' These figures could be multiplied by ten to represent the wealth of the corresponding grades of the English squirarchy. Moreover, Scottish rents were paid more than half in kind: sheep, poultry, oatmeal, barley and peat were brought to the door of the manor house by the tenantry—not in carts, for they had none, but balanced on the backs of half-starved horses. Another source of supply for the laird's household was the cloud of pigeons from his dovecot, which preyed on the surrounding fields, transforming a large proportion of the tenants' meagre crops into flesh for the landlord's table. For the rest, the Scottish farmer, like the villein of mediaeval England, had to manure, sow and reap the 'infield' of the laird, often on days between two spells of bad weather, when he might otherwise have saved his own precarious harvest and secured his family against starvation during the coming year.

Under these conditions it is no wonder that in Queen Anne's reign nine-tenths of the fields of Scotland were unenclosed by wall or hedge. The cattle had to be tethered or watched all day and shut up all night. Only in the Lothians the wealthier landlords had begun the process of enclosing by stone walls. Quick-set hedges were hardly anywhere to be seen, and the want of them was not regretted, for it was believed that they harboured birds which would eat the corn. A similar suspicion attached to trees. Saplings were not only eaten off by the cattle but deliberately broken by the peasants, in spite of proclaimed penalties. But there were few trees for them to injure except close

round the manor-house and the kirk. The ancient forests where, according to the instructions of Robert Bruce's 'testament,' the population used to shelter in time of English invasion, had now almost everywhere disappeared. And the modern movement for plantations, to keep the wind off the land and supply the market with timber, was only in its infancy. The general aspect of Scotland was then more treeless than ever before or since. Here and there, particularly in Clydeside, could be seen woods of some size and pretension ; and, in the distant and unvisited North, old forests still rustled their branches to the Highland winds. Even in the Lowlands the denes and steep banks of the burns sheltered in their dank recesses the sparse remains of the blanket of birch, alder and dwarf oak that had once been spread over the land.

The houses of the peasantry were in keeping with the starved aspect of the landscape and the want of any proper system of agricultural improvement. Rightly to imagine the home of a Scots farmer in Queen Anne's reign, we must forget the fine stone farms of a later date, and think of something more like the cabins of Western Ireland It consisted almost always of one storey and often of one room. The style and material of building and the degree of poverty varied in different regions, but walls of turf or of unmortared stone, stopped with grass or straw, were very common ; chimneys and glass windows were rare ; the floor was the bare ground ; in many places the cattle lived at one end of the room, the people at the other, with no partition between. The family often sat on stones or heaps of turf round the fire of peat, whence the smoke made partial escape through a hole in the thatch overhead. Since they worked on an ill-drained soil, only half reclaimed from marsh and rushes, and came back to a damp home in wet clothes for which they too seldom had any change, it followed that rheumatism and ague plagued and shortened their lives.

Men and women wore clothes made up in the immediate neighbourhood by local weavers and tailors ; often spun and dyed in the wearer's own cottage. Children always and grown-ups often went bare-foot. The men wore the broad, flat, round, blue bonnets of wool, the distinctive

headgear of Scotland in the eyes of the world. The laird and the minister alone sported a felt hat; but they too wore home-spun clothes made up by a country tailor. To the surprise of Dissenters from South Britain, the minister wore no black or clerical garments, either in or out of church, but made his rounds and preached his sermon in lay neck-cloth, and in coloured coat and waistcoat of homely wool.

In Scotland yet, as in the England of pre-Saxon times, much of the land that was potentially the best for agriculture was still uncultivated marsh cumbering the valley bottoms, while the peasants painfully drove their teams on the barren hillsides above The enormous ploughs of primitive design were all of wood except the share and coulter, and were usually made by the farmers themselves; they were dragged along the slope by eight or ten small and meagre oxen, urged on by the blows and shrill cries of half a dozen excited farmers. The cortège, with the united efforts of beasts and men, scratched half-an-acre a day.

A group of farmers usually tilled their lands together, and shared the profits on the 'run-rig' system, each farmer claiming the produce of a 'rig' or 'ridge'—a different 'rig' being assigned to him each harvest. A single farm, paying £50 sterling rent or its equivalent in kind, might have half a dozen or more tenants, among whom the land was every year re-divided by lot This system, and the precarious annual leases granted by the laird rendered agricultural improvement impossible. The quarrels inside the group of co-operating farmers—some of them of that dour type that bred Cameronians and Kirk seceders—too often held up the common cultivation for weeks at a time. Farmers had to wait every morning till the lazier or more sulky of their neighbours arrived to join in the clumsy operations of the field

The farm was further divided into an 'infield' and an 'outfield.' On the 'infield,' near the houses of the clachan, was lavished all the manure that could be locally collected, including sometimes the thatch covering the turf on the goodman's cottage roof. But the 'outfield,' perhaps three-quarters of the total acreage, was left unmanured, used as rough feed for cattle for eight or ten years on end, and then

cropped for a year or two before relapsing into moorish pasture. This system was very inefficient compared to the three-field system usual in English open-field cultivation, but something like it was found in parts of West England, Wales, Cornwall and the East Riding.

Scottish crops consisted of oats for the staple food; and barley to make scones, or the Scots ale which was still the wholesome national drink of the Lowlander before the ill-omened invasion of whisky from the Highlands. Kale, pease and beans were grown for the cottage kitchen. But turnips and artificial grasses for cattle were unknown, and potatoes were grown only by a few gardeners to season the laird's dish of meat, not by farmers as part of the people's food.

The tyranny of these primitive customs of cultivation, approved by the people themselves, kept them always near the verge of famine. Their grain, but little multiplied by such methods of agriculture, went in the three shares celebrated in the old saying:

'Ane to gnaw, and ane to saw, and ane to pay the laird witha'.'

The lairds were bound fast by their own poverty, unable to help themselves or their tenants. Yet it was the lairds who, in the century now dawning, learnt so to make use of the commercial conditions introduced by the Union as to revolutionize the system of agriculture and create a new prosperity for all classes.

The last half-dozen years of William's reign had been the 'dear years' of Scottish memory, six consecutive seasons of disastrous weather when the harvests would not ripen The country had not the means to buy food from abroad, so the people had laid themselves down and died. Many parishes had been reduced to a half or a third of their inhabitants. This sombre experience, from which the nation was slowly emerging during the years when the Treaty of Union was under debate, coloured the North Briton's outlook, deepened his superstitions and darkened his political passions, especially in relation to the hated English who had watched the kindly Scots die of hunger, and had moved no finger save to make their lot worse by opposition to the Darien scheme. Fortunately a cycle of fat years under

Queen Anne followed the lean years under King William. Then in 1709, after the Union was safely passed, the failure of the harvest again produced famine—unpeopling farms and hamlets and filling the villages with beggars. Until the methods of agriculture had been completely changed, such might always be the result of a single season of bad weather.

In these circumstances, the principal source of agricultural wealth, as distinct from mere subsistence, was sheep and cattle. The sheep's wool supported the home cloth manufacture, and both sheep and cattle were sold into England in great numbers. Stock-breeding flourished most in Galloway, but even Galloway had hardly recovered from the depredations on her livestock made by the Highlanders and other emissaries of a paternal government in the 'killing times' of the persecution under Charles II. It was reckoned that in 1705 Scotland sold 30,000 cattle into England; the usual price was something between one and two pounds sterling a head. This marketing of 'black cattle' was one of the most important of a Scottish laird's few sources of wealth. The sheep and cattle were small, even as compared to the small English beasts of that period. Their pasture was for the most part unimproved moorland. The cattle were shut up all night for want of fences. Of the remnant that had not been sold south to the English pastures, many had to be slaughtered at Martinmas on the approach of winter, for there was little hay and no root-crop on which to feed them. During the next six months salted meat supplied the tables of the gentry; but meat seldom graced the peasant's board at any time of year. On the return of the tardy Scottish spring, the poor beasts, mere skeletons after their winter-long imprisonment in the dark on rations of straw or boiled chaff, were led back from the byre to the pasture, a pitiful procession, half supported, half carried by the farmers. This annual ceremony was only too well named the 'Lifting.'

The standard of life in Scotland was very low in almost every material respect, but hardships had not crushed the spirit of the people, not even after the 'dear years' of William. To avoid the receipt of alms was a passion with

common folk more decidedly than in wealthier England. The poor law system was totally different in the two countries. In England the poor had been, ever since Elizabeth's reign, a charge on the community; they were maintained by compulsory parish rates that amounted at the end of Anne's reign to a million pounds a year, then regarded as a heavy national burden. In Scotland there was no compulsory rate, and poor-relief was an obligation not on the State but on the Church. Endowments of the poor were made by private persons, announced in the kirk, and sometimes commemorated on boards hung upon its walls In the kirk also stood the poor's box, which the thrifty Scots constantly replenished with most of the bad copper of the neighbourhood, besides a useful minority of good coins. The deacon was a lay officer of the Church, found in many parishes, though not in all; it was the deacon's business to distribute these alms among the necessitous, who were for the most part creditably unwilling to receive it. The duty of keeping their relations independent of such relief was keenly felt and nobly undertaken by persons themselves desperately poor.

Licences to beg from door to door in a given area were also issued by the Kirk Session to privileged 'gaberlunzies,' or 'blue gowns.' Many of them, like Edie Ochiltree, acted as welcome carriers of news to lonely farms, repositories of regional lore and legend—popular, respectable figures with a place of their own in rural society.

But unhappily there was a much larger number of unlicensed and less desirable vagabonds. The 'sorners' of Queen Anne's Scotland answered to the 'sturdy beggars' of Tudor England. The 'dear years' under William had swelled this army of broken and masterless men, though there is no support to Fletcher of Saltoun's wild guess that they numbered 200,000, which would have made them between a fifth and sixth of the whole population. But the 'sorners' were numerous enough to terrorize a countryside of lonely farms and clachans of two or three houses apiece; a company of 'ill men' could rob in the face of day, taking the last crust from the cottage, the cow from the byre, and sometimes wresting the child from its unhappy parents. The number and power of the 'sorners' was the penalty

paid by Scotland for the want of a regular poor-law like the English. And in neither country was there any attempt at a proper police.

Fletcher of Saltoun, the grim republican patriot who lent a flavour of his own to the Scottish politics of the age, proposed as a remedy that the 'sorners' should be put into compulsory servitude; his idea was only the extension of existing practice in Scotland. Coal-mines and salt-mines were worked very largely by 'bondsmen,' veritable serfs, who could be caught and punished for running away. Even in modern establishments based on free contract, like the New Mills cloth factory in Haddingtonshire, there was a 'prison att the manufactory,' and hands who ran away or broke their contracts could be dealt with by summary methods. But the conditions of the employees of the New Mills was not bad by the standard of those days, whereas the hereditary bondsmen in the mines were treated by their masters as chattels, and were spoken of by the rest of the population with a kind of pitying terror, as 'the brown yins' or 'the blackfolk.' [1]

If Scotland at the time of the Union lagged behind England in agricultural methods, her industry and commerce were in no better way. Almost all her articles of export were food or raw materials—cattle and salmon for England, coal and salmon for Holland, salt and lead for Norway, herrings for the Iberian Peninsula. The Scots themselves wore cloth woven by village websters for local consumption; but only a very little linen or woollen cloth was sold abroad. The Haddington New Mills were famous, but they were not flourishing. There were, besides, other woollen factories, as at Musselburgh and Aberdeen, all clamouring to the Scots Parliament to support them with money and monopolies, and being only in part satisfied. The wool-growing landlords, on their side, compelled the legislature to allow them to export raw wool to Sweden and Holland, to the detriment of the market for

[1] This iniquitous system of serfage was abolished at the end of the Eighteenth Century. Till then the Scottish miner, together with his wife and children who carried up the coal he cut, were transferable with the pit on any change of proprietorship. They could not leave their employment during life.

Scottish cloth in those countries, and of course clean contrary to the established policy of England. The herring trade was a chief source of the nation's wealth, but even so the Dutch fishermen took many more herrings off the Scottish coast than did the Scots themselves. A great part of the business of the Edinburgh Parliament consisted of regulations to encourage and direct the meagre manufacturing and trading efforts of the country.

Though Scottish officers and regiments were winning honour for the land of their birth—the Scots Greys were as famous in the armies of Marlborough as in those of Wellington—the war with France meant little to the Scots at home. It was England's war, not theirs. Four years before the Union, the Edinburgh Parliament passed a Wine Act, to legalize the most popular part of trade with the enemy. The English were scandalized at this bold defiance of propriety in war-time, when they themselves were content with illegal smuggling to the French ports. But they dared do nothing, for if one of their cruisers had seized a Scots ship freighted with brandy, claret and Jacobite agents, they might have woken up one morning to find themselves at war with Scotland.

Since the Restoration, Glasgow had been reckoned as the second city in the kingdom, and the first for trade and manufacture. Probably on account of the famine and distress in William's reign, the population had recently declined : when the Union of 1707 was passed, it numbered only 12,500 souls out of a total of a million or more for all Scotland. The Glasgow merchants owned between them fifteen trading ships, with an aggregate tonnage of 1182 tons, and even these small vessels had to unload more than a dozen miles below the town, as the Clyde was still unnavigable to anything larger than a boat. Since no Scottish firm was permitted to trade with an English dependency, their commerce was confined to Europe, until the Union Treaty opened the tobacco trade with the English colonies to Bailie Nicol Jarvie and his fellow-citizens. In Anne's reign Glasgow was still a pretty little country town, with colonnades at the cross roads in the centre, where the merchants met to transact their modest affairs. It was, moreover, one of the four University

towns of Scotland : 'there are only forty scholars that lodge in the College,' an English traveller noted in the year of Blenheim, 'but there are two or three hundred that belong to it, and all wear red gowns, as do likewise those at Aberdeen and St. Andrews.'

The fourth university town was Edinburgh herself—the headquarters of Scotland's law and law courts, the meeting place of the Parliament of the three Estates, and of that other Parliament which proved more enduring—the General Assembly of the Church. There, too, was Holyrood Palace, the empty nest whence Scotland's Kings had flown. At the other end of the mile-long Canongate and High Street—'the stateliest street in the world,' as a traveller of the period called it—rose the Castle on its rock, where the absent Queen Anne was represented by the red coats of her small Scottish army. The idle soldiers looked down upon the reek and roofs of Edinburgh, in perpetual wonder as to what might be brewing in the turbulent town below, and what riot, religious, political or economic, it would be their next duty to quell.

Although the antique City Guard of Edinburgh, with their Lochaber axes, were the laughing-stock of Scotland, yet housebreaking and robbery were almost unknown in the chief city of the kingdom, where men left their house doors unlocked all night. The fact speaks well for the honesty of the Scots, and is a credit to the hard religious system under which they were bred. It ruled the town effectually, preventing, in Scotland's very capital and centre of fashion, all theatrical shows and all dances ; and on the Sabbath all 'idle gazing from windows,' all loitering and all walking fast in the streets. No wonder Dr. Pitcairn wrote his witty rhymes lampooning the clergy, and no wonder 'Hell-fire Clubs' and 'Sulphur Clubs' met surreptitiously to flout the Church in ways more questionable than the drama and the dance.

But not even the Church attempted on week-days to stop horse-racing on Leith sands, golf, cock-fighting or heavy drinking On six evenings of the week the taverns were filled with men of all classes at their ale and claret, till the ten o'clock drum, beaten at the order of the magistrates, warned every man that he must be off home. Then

were the High Street and Canongate filled with parties of every description, hurrying unsteadily along, High Court Judges striving to walk straight as became their dignity, rough Highland porters swearing in Gaelic as they forced a passage for their sedan-chairs, while far overhead the windows opened, five, six, or ten storeys in the air, and the close stools of Edinburgh discharged the collected filth of the last twenty-four hours into the street. It was good manners for those above to cry 'Gardy-loo' (*gardez l'eau*) before throwing. The returning roysterer cried back 'Haud yer han',' and ran with humped shoulders, lucky if his vast and expensive full-bottomed wig was not put out of action by a cataract of filth. The ordure thus sent down lay in the broad High Street and in the deep, well-like closes and wynds around it making the night air horrible, until early in the morning it was perfunctorily cleared away by the City Guard. Only on Sabbath morn it might not be touched, but lay there all day long, filling Scotland's capital with the savour of a mistaken piety.

This famous sanitary system of Edinburgh aroused much comment among English travellers and made the Scots 'traduced and taxed of other nations,' as being, in Defoe's words, 'unwilling to live sweet and clean.' But it is only fair to quote his defence of them in the matter :

> Were any other people to live under the same unhappiness, I mean as well of a rocky and mountainous situation, thronged buildings from seven to ten or twelve story high, a scarcity of water, and that little they have difficult to be had, and to the uppermost lodgings far to fetch, we should have a London or Bristol as dirty as Edinburgh ; for though many cities have more people in them, yet I believe that in no city in the world so many people live in so little room.

Edinburgh indeed was an extreme example of the French type of town, kept within its ancient limits for reasons of safety and defence, and therefore forced to find room for growth by pushing its tenement flats high in air—in contrast to the ground plan of the easy-going peaceful towns of England, that sprawled out in suburbs ever expanding, to give each family its own house and if possible its own garden. French influence and the disturbed condition of Scotland in the past had confined the capital within its walls and pushed its growth up aloft. It was not, indeed, so

long since it had been a matter of great peril for a gentleman to pass the night in a house without the walls, like Darnley in Kirk o' Fields. And so the Scottish grandees had no fine Edinburgh mansions like those of the English nobles in Bloomsbury and the Strand, but were fain, during the session of Parliament, to live each in a flat over the High Street.

In such a town, where every flat was accounted as a separate 'house,' and no houses were numbered, it may well be imagined that it was difficult for letters to reach their destination, or for strangers to find their way. Indeed, without the services of the self-disciplined regiment of keen-eyed, quick-witted, dependable 'caddies,' business could scarcely have been carried on in the mazy wynds and stairways of old Edinburgh.

Scottish literature was centred in the capital, but it gave no sign as yet of the great awakening that lay before it in the latter half of the new century. The material was there in the heart and mental habits of the nation, but the Promethean fire had not yet descended. The mind of the people throve on the ballads sung, the stories told, the doctrines debated round the peat-fire in the peasant's cottage Printed books, other than the Bible, consisted chiefly of theology or political pamphlets.

There was no native journalism. The two papers, issued three times a week at Edinburgh, were the old-established *Gazette* and its rival the *Courant*, started in 1705; both existed by special permission of the Privy Council; they were tame organs of officialdom, in form mere imitations of the London papers, full of continental and English news but telling the Scots nothing about their own affairs. With the disappearance of the Scottish Privy Council soon after the Union, the Edinburgh press acquired a certain freedom, and in the last years of Anne's reign began to have a life of its own, with a somewhat larger variety of newspapers

The Scottish peasant, cramped in feudal bonds and mediaeval poverty, had one method of escape from his material lot—religion. Other intellectual food was not offered him. Bible on knee, in harsh, delightful argument

with his minister or his cronies, he inhabited a realm of thought and imagination, deep, narrow, intense, for good and for evil utterly unlike the merry-go-round of disconnected information and ideas in which the popular mind of our own day gyrates. Never consulted by his betters about politics, and without representation in the Estates of Parliament, he took all the keener interest in the proceedings of the assemblies where his influence was felt, the hierarchy of Church courts—the Kirk Session of the Parish, the Presbytery of a dozen parishes, the Provincial Synod, and the national General Assembly annually held at Edinburgh. In all of these the laity were represented, as they were not in the purely clerical convocations of York and Canterbury. It has often been said that the Church Assembly was Scotland's Parliament more truly than the three Estates. And in the absence of any representative local government, the Kirk Session, where the lay elders kept the minister in awe, was the nearest approach to a parish council

The parish church, with its roof of turf or thatch, was a small and tumble-down building ; it had no mediaeval splendours or amenities, and would in England have been deemed more fitted for a barn. In the country churches there were seldom pews, except for the elders and a few privileged families Most men and women stood during the service, or else sat on 'creepies,' stools such as that with which Jennie Geddes had marked her disapproval of the Prayer Book service. Yet the hard, ill-furnished room was crowded every Sabbath for two services of three hours each by a congregation of whom many had come on foot long miles across the moor So small was the space inside the church that an overflow of the pious was often crowded out into the churchyard, where the Bible was read to them by a lad put up upon a tombstone

The most solemn and impressive of popular religious rites were the Communions, held out of doors at long tables, gatherings under the eye of summer heaven that reminded everyone present of more dangerous meetings held on the moorside in the 'killing times.' Eight or ten parishes combined to hold a communion each in turn, from June to August, and many persons attended them one after the

other, thinking nothing of walking forty miles over the hills to get there.

The older Presbyterian clergy in Queen Anne's reign were men whose education had been interrupted and whose spirits had been disturbed and embittered by persecution. One who knew them in their later years described them as—

> weak, half-educated men, their lives irreproachable, and their manners austere and rustic. Their prejudices coincided perfectly with their congregations who in respect of their sound fundamentals made great allowances for their foibles and weaknesses.

'Presbyterian eloquence' was a byword with English hearers for its uncouth treatment of religious mysteries, its familiar apostrophes of the Almighty, its denunciation of such harmless acts as wearing smart clothes in church or taking in the London *Spectator*. But it was an Englishman who wrote :

> Were the ministerial office in England discharged as it is in Scotland, in that laborious and self-denying manner, and under such small encouragements, thousands of the clergy I daresay would wish to have been brought up mechanics rather than parsons. Here are no drones, no idle parsons, no pampered priests, no dignities or preferments to excite ambition.

Indeed, the ambition of a peasant's son, such as most of the ministers were in origin, was honourably satisfied with the leadership of a parish and the confidence of its people. Meanwhile there was growing up a younger generation, better educated in less troublous times, with more sense of proportion in thought and refinement in language, who were soon, as 'Moderates,' to be openly at odds with the older men whom Claverhouse had dragooned into bigotry.

The Kirk Session of self-important lay elders, acting conjointly with the minister, interfered in ordinary life to an excessive degree. Week in, week out, the Kirk Session and the superior court of the Presbytery were trying cases of alleged swearing, slander, quarrelling, breach of Sabbath, witchcraft and sexual offences. Some of these enquiries and judgments were properly conducted and useful, being such as were dealt with by ordinary magistrates in England. Others were intolerably vexatious, as when a woman was arraigned for carrying a pail on a Fast Day, and a crowder

for fiddling at a christening feast. The adulterer or fornicator of either sex was exposed on the stool of repentance in church, to the merriment of the junior half of the congregation, to the grave reprobation of the more respectable, and to the unblushing denunciations of the minister, renewed sometimes for six, ten or twenty Sabbaths on end. There was often a long row of penitents, and the 'gowns' in which they were clad were in such constant use that they had frequently to be renewed. To avoid this intolerable humiliation, poor girls often resorted to concealment of pregnancy and sometimes to child murder. The Privy Council was constantly dealing with the question of remitting or enforcing the extreme penalty in such cases.

These activities of the Kirk Session and Presbytery had much support in public opinion or they could not have so long survived the disuse of similar Church jurisdiction in England. But they aroused deep resentment in many, not least among the upper classes. It is true that commutation of penance for fines was often allowed in the case of the gentry. But even with these mitigations, the jurisdiction over conduct claimed by low-born elders and clergymen was an offence to the proud families of lairds and nobles, it was an underlying cause of Episcopal religion and Jacobite politics in many who had otherwise no quarrel with the services and doctrines of the Presbyterian Church. Anticlericalism strengthened the Jacobites in Scotland, as it strengthened the Whigs in England. Yet it must be remembered that the stool of repentance and the jurisdiction of Kirk Sessions had gone on even in the Episcopal days of Charles II, and had not yet ceased in those numerous parishes still ruled by Episcopalian ministers

On the whole, the Episcopalian or Jacobite party depended on upper-class support more than the Presbyterian or Whig. The more rigorous the discipleship of Knox, the more democratic were doctrine and practice likely to be. The clash came in the appointment of ministers, which the true-blue Presbyterian claimed for the people of the parish, both on grounds of religious doctrine as to the call of pastors, and because the private patrons who claimed to appoint were often very doubtful in their Presbyterianism.

Episcopalian pamphleteers twitted the Presbyterians with their want of policy in 'constant taking part with the mob in all the disputes that happen betwixt them and the Nobility and Gentry in the choice of ministers, as if you relied upon them for the security of your establishment. . . The Nobility and Gentry in Scotland have the commons so much under, that it argues no small stupidity in you to have blundered in so plain a case.' Even English Nonconformist visitors to Scotland were astonished and alarmed at the boldness of the Church in its dealings with 'the Great.' Whatever its other faults, the Church of John Knox raised the downtrodden people of Scotland to look its feudal masters in the face.

The position of the Episcopalians at the beginning of the Eighteenth Century was most anomalous. Their services, doctrines, organization and discipline—except for the presence of Bishops who in fact exercised small authority—differed little save in emphasis from those of the Presbyterian Establishment. Yet the greatest bitterness prevailed between the two communions, because the difference of the Churches answered to the political difference of Whig and Jacobite, behind which lay two generations of feuds and wrongs inflicted and remembered on both sides.

The Episcopalians of Scotland were at once better and worse off than the Nonconformists of England. On the one hand there was not, until 1712, any Act of Toleration to legalize their services. On the other hand, more than a sixth of the parish churches were still occupied by their ministers. In Aberdeenshire, in the Highlands and along their eastern border, Presbyterian clergymen who showed themselves were liable to be attacked by mobs as savage as those who had 'rabbled' the Episcopal 'curates' of the South-West. When in 1704 the Presbyterian minister was to be inducted at Dingwall, he was stoned, beaten and driven away by a mob of men and women crying 'King Willie is dead and our King is alive.'

The popular feeling that thus found expression in the North-East arose less from religious differences than from political feuds, regional hatred of the Whiggamores of the South-West, and personal loyalty to old and tried pastors. In 1707 there were still 165 out of some 900 parishes in

Scotland where the minister adhered to the Episcopal Church. But the great majority of the Episcopalian clergy had been deprived at the Revolution. In Anne's reign they were living miserably enough, the more fortunate as chaplains in some great house, too many on alms collected from their co-religionists in Scotland, or from English churchmen who regarded them as martyrs in a common cause.

I have explained in an earlier chapter how the belief in witchcraft had already so far declined in the upper strata of English society that the persecution of witches in accordance with the law and with the dictates of popular superstitution was ceasing to be permitted, in a country that was then ruled according to the ideas of its educated class. In Scotland the same phenomena were repeated, a generation or two later. At the beginning of the Eighteenth Century, part of the upper class was already dubious as to the frequency of diabolic agency, but popular and clerical fanaticism was still very strong. Several supposed witches were put to death in Queen Anne's Scotland, and several more were banished forth of the realm. In the reign of George I capital punishment was inflicted on witches for the last time in this island, in the recesses of far Sutherlandshire In 1736 the law punishing witchcraft with death was repealed for Great Britain by the Westminster Parliament. After yet another generation had passed, witches and 'the muckle black de'il' were a subject of jest rather than of dread to Burns and his farmer friends, although Presbyterians of the stricter way continued to regard disbelief in witchcraft as 'atheism' and flying in the face of God's word

The Presbyterian Church was not the fount and origin of popular superstitions. It fostered some kinds and discouraged others. But all had their roots far back in Popish, in pagan, in primeval instincts and customs still strong in a land of mountains, moors and yet unconquered nature, amid a population which even in the Lowlands was largely Celtic in origin and which lived under conditions in many respects little changed since the remote past. Still, when the goodman came splashing home across the ford at

midnight, he heard the water kelpie roaring in the spate. Fairies still lurked in the thorn trees of the dene, known visitants to be propitiated by rites lest they should slay the cattle in the byre or take the child from the cradle. North of Tay, men lit Beltan fires and danced round them, on traditional heights, upon the first of May. Crops and cattle were defended by a number and variety of local formulas of propitiation, some dating back to the earliest times of agricultural and pastoral man,

> When holy were the haunted forest boughs,
> Holy the air, the water and the fire

Magic wells were visited, and trees and bushes were decked with rags of tartan and offerings of the fearful and grateful. In parts of the Highlands such rites were the main religion of the people ; in the Lowlands they were a subordinate but still a real part of life and belief among a nation of Christian kirk-goers.

In the absence of proper doctors for the countryside, popular medicine was traditional, and it was sometimes hard to distinguish it from a popular form of witchcraft. There were wise men and women who helped human happiness, as well as warlocks and witches who hampered it. The Church encouraged the people to destroy the latter, but could not prevent them from seeking the aid of the former. The minister was not all-powerful. How could he be, since he forbade harmless pleasures ? Lads and lassies, 'danced promisky' to fiddle or pipes at every festal meeting, in spite of the Church's ban ; and neither old nor young could be held back from rites older than Presbyter or Pope. There were a hundred different charms and customs to avert ill-luck, suited to every event in life—birth, marriage, death, the churning of milk, the setting forth on a journey, the sowing of a field.

Miracle was looked upon as an everyday occurrence, far more than in unimaginative, sceptical England. Ghosts, omens, apparitions were of the ordinary pattern of Scottish life ; tales of living corpses taking part in the common affairs of men were told with circumstance and believed ; like the Greek of Homer's time, the Scot who met a stranger on the moor might well be uncertain whether he was what

he seemed to be, or was 'no that canny.' The 'muckle black de'il' was often seen waiting in the shadow at evening outside the cottage door, or slipping away over the north side of the kirkyard wall. The men who had been hunted on the moors by the dragoons, like Wodrow their historiographer, were always agape for the wonderful, moving in an element of divine and diabolic manifestations of power. Ministers encouraged such beliefs in their congregations. Shepherd lads, out alone for long hours upon the hills, had strange and sometimes beautiful fancies: Wodrow tells us in 1704 of one who declared that 'when herding in such a lee, there was a bonny man came to him, and bade him pray much and learn to read; and he supposed it was Christ.' Next year he tells us of another lad who was once drowning in a well, but 'a bonny young man pulled him out by the hand. There was nobody near by at the time, so they concluded it was no doubt ane angel.' This is an older Scotland, not the Scotland of David Hume, Adam Smith or the Edinburgh Reviewers, not even the Scotland of Burns and Walter Scott, though it supplied them with matter for their argument.

If even in the Lowlands primitive and natural conditions bred primitive belief and natural fancies, it was even more so in the Highlands, the very home of the fairies and spirits of the mountain, of the formless monster that brooded unseen in the deep water beneath the boat, of second-sight, of omens and prophecy with which the little life of man was girt round. Beyond the Highland line, seldom passed by the Lowlander, and never without those qualms which beset Bailie Nicol Jarvie on his famous expedition, lay the grim, unmapped, roadless mountains, the abode of the Celtic tribes, speaking another language, wearing another dress, living under a system of law and society a thousand years older than that of Southern Scotland; obedient neither to Kirk nor Queen, but to their own chiefs, clans, customs and superstitions. Till General Wade's work a generation later, there was no driving road through the Highlands. Nature reigned, gloomy, splendid, unchallenged—as yet unadmired—and man squatted in corners of her domain.

Far less accurate knowledge was available in London or even in Edinburgh about the state of the Highlands than can now be bought across the counter of a bookshop concerning the remotest parts of Africa. There was no tolerable book on the Highlands until Mr. Burt's letters of the following generation. A few pages at the beginning of Morer's account of Scotland told the English of Queen Anne's time almost all they cared to know about the unreclaimed northern end of the strange island they inhabited :

> The Highlanders are not without considerable quantities of corn, yet have not enough to satisfie their numbers, and therefore yearly come down with their cattle, of which they have great plenty, and so traffick with the Low Landers for such proportions of oats and barly as their families or necessities call for . . . Once or tweice a year great numbers of 'em get together and make a descent into the Low-Lands, where they plunder the inhabitants and so return back and disperse themselves And this they are apt to do in the profoundest peace, it being natural to 'em to delight in rapine.

Defoe, writing to Harley from Edinburgh in November 1706, gives his Englishman's impression of the Highlanders :

> 'They are formidable fellows and I only wish Her Majesty had 25,000 of them in Spain, as a nation equally proud and barbarous like themselves They are all gentlemen, will take affront from no man, and insolent to the last degree But certainly the absurdity is ridiculous to see a man in his mountain habit, armed with a broadsword, target, pistol, at his girdle a dagger, and staff, walking down the High Street as upright and haughty as if he were a lord, and withal driving a cow !'

What manner of life did the tribesman lead, unobserved at home, when he was not trading with the Lowlander or driving off his cattle ? It is a pathetic fallacy to suppose that the tribal land was the people's, and that they lived on it in rustic felicity, until the chiefs, in a sudden access of wickedness, took it from them after the 'forty-five.' In fact, the crofter of Queen Anne's reign was fain to hire a patch of ground from the 'tacksman' or leaseholder of the chief, who sublet it on rack-rent terms that were usually most oppressive. The soil on the mountain-side was thin and stony, denuded by torrents, unimproved by manure ;

the agricultural implements and methods were more primitive than even in Southern Scotland ; the crofts were the merest hovels. It could not be otherwise, for the scanty population was yet too large for the glens to support. As the clansmen multiplied, the little farms were divided and subdivided with disastrous results. It might easily have been prophesied that if ever the Highlands were brought into connection with the outer world by roads, or by military and political conquest, a great emigration would result as soon as the clansman had grasped the idea that change was possible in their mode of life. In Anne's reign there was only a trickle of emigration into the Lowlands for the rougher types of service, and to the Continent to join the 'Irish' regiments in French pay, which owed much to the Scottish Highlanders in their ranks.

The Chief had the power of life and death, and exercised it to the full, keeping his clan in awe, that was always strengthened by traditional loyalty and often by affection. But it depended on the uncertain personal factor whether a Chief was a tyrant or a father, or something between the two. Just as Louis XIV taxed his peasants to keep up his army, so the Chief moved about with a train of armed relations and attendants, whom he supported in idleness at the expense of the rest of the clan ; but any more economical and peaceful habit of life would not have been appreciated by a race in whom personal and tribal pride was the dominant passion.

Many of the Highland Chiefs, besides the great Argyle, were also noblemen with a place in Edinburgh politics, and with something of the culture of France or of England. But always the civilized Chief and his uncivilized followers had much in common—the pride of clan, the love of the harp and of the pipes, the stories and songs in which old feuds and fancies were still being woven by tribal poets into a living Gaelic literature. If in the shadow of the glen and beside the hill-girt arms of the sea there was more of poverty and savagery than in other parts of the island, there was also more of poetry and wild imagination.

This state of things aroused the zeal of the Church Assembly and of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge ; from 1704 onwards many thousands of

pounds were raised to initiate libraries, schools and Presbyterian missions in the Highlands, where religion was divided between Presbyterian, Roman Catholic, Episcopalian and primitive Pagan, in proportions which it would be difficult to determine. Some success was achieved at once, but in some places the mission was suppressed by violence at the orders of the Chief, and in others it lapsed in the course of years. It was after the 'forty-five,' when tribalism had been effectively put down by military and political invasion from the south, that the Presbyterian missionary had his chance, and the real evangelization of the Highlands took place.

Such, in some sort, was Scotland, when the circumstances of the passing hour brought to a final issue the ever-recurring problem of the closer Union of the whole island. In that design stark King Edward had failed, and Cromwell's arm had laxed its hold in death; where force had been tried in vain, Queen Anne was to succeed by means more befitting her womanhood. The freely negotiated Treaty between the two countries, that united their Parliamentary and commercial systems, came into force in 1707 and opened the way to the movements that made modern Scotland.

BOOKS FOR FURTHER READING

H. G Graham, *Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century* A number of other books on the subject are cited in the second volume of my *England under Queen Anne* (*Ramillies and the Union with Scotland*).

II

Scotland at the End of the Eighteenth Century

George III, 1760–1820

'Progress,' as we of the Twentieth Century are better aware than our Victorian ancestors, is not always change from bad to good or from good to better, and the sum total of 'progress' associated with the Industrial Revolution has not been wholly for the good of man. But the 'progress' of Scotland in the second half of the Eighteenth Century was not only very rapid but very much in the right direction. No doubt it bore in itself the seed of future evil, but Scotland in 1800 was a better place than Scotland in 1700. The lifting of the pressure of dire poverty from the bulk of the population, and of penury from the higher classes, set the Scottish spirit free for its greatest achievements

Release from the conditions of misery described in the first part of this chapter came mainly through a revolution in agricultural methods. It was analogous to the contemporary movement in rural England, but it marked an even greater change, for Scottish agriculture had been far worse than English when the Century opened. Improvement was begun by the action of certain Scottish landlords, who introduced English ploughmen and farmers to teach their tenants new ideas from South Britain ; and it culminated triumphantly during the Napoleonic Wars when stewards and ploughmen from the Lothians were taken to England to teach methods that had by that time been evolved in Scotland. Between 1760 and 1820 English agriculture had been progressing much faster than ever before or since ; yet during those very years Scottish agriculture caught it up and passed it.

As in England, the first movers in the change were individual landlords with a little capital, enterprise and outside knowledge. Their success set an example which was generally followed. The first thing to be done was to break up the 'run-rig' system of common tillage (p. 431

above) ; it was conducted on methods more primitive than those of the English 'open fields' ; it prevented individual initiative and gave neither security of tenure nor motive for exertion to the community of petty farmers, crushed under an obsolete feudalism. Unlike the old English copyholders, the Scottish tenants had no legal rights in the land, and they had short leases or none. But this system, bad as it was, had one advantage, that it could be easily terminated. There was nothing to prevent landlords bent on improvement from abolishing the 'run-rigs' and re-dividing the land in compact farms, which they let to individual farmers at long leases of nineteen years or more. By this great reform the tenant obtained for the first time a motive to exert the long dormant energy and enterprise of the Scottish race.

There was indeed an obvious danger, as in the analogous case of the English enclosures, that some of the old tenants would be turned off the land altogether, as victims of reform. For instance, where a 'run-rig' farm previously let to a community of a dozen tenants was enclosed and re-divided among half that number, what became of the rest? A few went to the now prosperous towns or to the Colonies opened by the Union to Scottish emigration. But generally speaking, the number of people employed in Scottish agriculture increased rather than diminished, owing to the constant enlargement of the area of cultivated land. And the new acres won from the waste were often the best, being situated in the fertile valley bottom which only required artificial draining to be more valuable than the fields of older cultivation on the self-draining hillside above.

Both the old lands and the new were now enclosed with stone walls or hedges ; the high 'rigs' were levelled, the fields were drained, limed, manured ; one or two good horses took the place of the long train of starveling oxen at the plough ; men could now afford leather harness instead of horses' hair or rushes, iron ploughs instead of wooden, carts instead of sledges. Potatoes grown in the fields and vegetables in the garden varied the food of the population, while roots and other crops fed the cattle through the winter. Plantations of trees broke the wind and served the timber-requirements of the estate ; and, on a larger

scale, new forests covered the hillsides in many parts of Scotland.[1]

After the Turnpike Act of 1751, the roads were so generally improved as to increase the marketing opportunities of farmers and industrialists alike. Agricultural prosperity supplied capital to be put back into the land. And Banks, established in County towns early in the reign of George III, helped both lairds and farmers to finance the changes they were together carrying out. The industrial and commercial growth of Clydeside created a market for agriculture and supplied capital for further improvement of the land. Estates were bought and developed by 'tobacco-lords' of the Glasgow shipping world, and by adventurous Scots returned from British India where they had amassed fortunes In short, there was simultaneous growth in all kinds of economic and social life, none at the expense of any other : for in that fortunate era industry and commerce were not the enemies but the allies of agriculture.

In this way the periodic famines, which had taken toll of the lives and energies of the Scottish people, lost their worst terrors. And, in ordinary years, real wages, farm profits and rents were all much higher than in former times. Potatoes, vegetables, cheese and occasionally meat were added to the porridge and milk, which was still the staple diet of the poor though the bowl was fuller than of old ; in Scotland as in England the smuggler helped to bring tea and tobacco into the homes even of the poorest. Scandalous as Scottish housing remained, there was great though not universal improvement even there ; in some regions solid stone farms, and cottages with one or even two rooms, with chimneys, glass windows, beds, furniture and outside privies, replaced the hovels which the peasantry used to share with their cattle. The sturdy Scots of the time of Burns (1759–1796) looked a different race from their grandfathers, whom want of food, clothing and warmth had too often rendered haggard, slovenly and lethargic to the view.

[1] Dr. Johnson, who travelled in Scotland in 1773, continued to joke about its lack of trees In fact some great plantations had already been made, but the trees were still saplings when he was there Thirty years later the aspect of many parts of the country had been greatly changed in this respect

Moreover the Scots were now free men. The last evils of moribund feudalism, which survived in Scotland for centuries after they had ceased in England, were abolished in 1748 by the Act which put an end to 'heritable jurisdictions.' In Lowlands and Highlands alike, the baron or chief who had his private court to try his vassals and tenants, had been able, at will or whim, to imprison the disobedient in fetid dungeons, without appeal lying to the King's tribunals. These powers, it was believed, helped Jacobite lairds and chiefs to 'call out their men' in 1745. They were accordingly abolished three years later, and there were plenty of good reasons why they should go, apart from the political motive that hastened their end.

In the Highlands, much disappeared besides the heritable jurisdictions. In the years following the suppression of the 'forty-five,' the whole manner of life and society, which had prevailed in the mountains of Scotland with little change since prehistoric times, was swept away at a blow. The tribal system, the kilted warrior with broadsword and target, the patriarchal rule of the chief, vanished for ever. The Highlands became, for the first time in their history, one with the rest of Scotland, so far as law, land-tenure, education and religion could make Highlander and Lowlander one. The construction of the first roads through the Highlands effected by General Wade in the generation before 1745, had already carried Lowland influence into the hills, and prepared the way for the great change; it must have come ere long, but would have come more gradually, if the Jacobite invasion had not provoked the long-suffering South to put an end once for all to the thousand-year-old nuisance of the raiding tribes.

A population that had always lived for and by war was at last effectively disarmed, but its fighting instincts were canalized into the Highland regiments of the Crown, that did good service abroad for the Empire now common to Englishmen and Scots, to Gael and Saxon. The Chiefs were turned into landlords, like the lairds in the South. Henceforth justice and administration were royal and national, not personal and tribal any more. The acceptance of these immense changes in the structure of

society indicated that the time for them was ripe. For some years after the Rebellion there was a period of tyranny and repression, the period described in Stevenson's *Kidnapped*, when the personal devotion of the clansmen to their banished chiefs was touchingly demonstrated. But there was no popular movement to restore an outworn state of society, and when the ex-Jacobite chiefs were permitted to return from abroad and their estates were restored to them under the new system of tenure, the conflict of loyalties came to an end. The tribal tartan, which had been proscribed, was again allowed to be worn, for the proud sentiments attaching to it were no longer disruptive of society and law.

Meanwhile Presbyterian missionaries and schoolmasters had been at work in the Highlands, and had from the first shown more tact and more sympathy with the Gael than the emissaries of the civil power. The imagination and intellect of the mountaineers, hitherto illiterate and poetical, had new channels opened to it by the work of the schools. Reading and writing were brought into the Highlands mainly by the Scottish Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge, which began its mission in that wild region in the reign of Anne, but was only able to succeed there on a large scale when the country was opened by the breaking of the clans after Culloden. The unity of Scottish society was achieved on the religious and educational side before the century ended, though the Highlands remained bilingual. In the glens where the Roman Catholic religion prevailed, its hold was unshaken ; but the old paganism disappeared.

Closely connected with this educational movement was the great change in the economic side of Highland life. Under the tribal system, the population had been much larger than the barren mountains could maintain. The ambition of each Chieftain had been to increase not the amount of his rents but the number of his armed followers ; while the tribesmen, accustomed to dire poverty and periodic famine, had neither the knowledge nor the opportunity to emigrate into the lands where Gaelic was an unknown tongue. But the new times were more favourable to emigration. The Chief, when transmuted into a peaceful landlord, wanted money more than men. And his sorely

oppressed tenants became aware, by means of the new roads and schools, of a wealthier world outside the mountains and beyond the sea. The age of Highland emigration set in, very largely to Canada, while at home sheep-runs often replaced the little holdings of the crofters. In the 'seventies there were great emigrations from the Highlands and the Islands, and again in 1786–1788 as a result of the terrible famines of 1782–1783. Under the old system such famines had often taken place, but had not been followed by emigration, because the tribesmen had not known how or whither to emigrate.

Now, in some districts, the landlords themselves stimulated emigration by evictions. But elsewhere they strove to keep people at home by the introduction of the potato, and sometimes by their opposition to the schools of the S.P.C.K. For the missionary-schoolmasters were the real promoters of emigration. They even accused the gentry of trying 'to keep the people at home in ignorance and subjection.' The Highlander could only hope for a higher standard of living if he went oversea, or at least outside the mountain region. And as a preparation for departure, he must learn English, as he could now do at the missionary schools.

> The English tongue and the Gaelic Bible suggested two ways of escape from conditions which were fast becoming intolerable. Far from undermining the characteristic independence of the Highlanders, the Charity Schools provided them with the only means of translating it into effective action. To men of vigour and courage the English language offered a new world across the seas; to those who remained behind, the schools made possible independent access to the consolations of the Bible.[1]

The Union of the political and commercial systems of England and Scotland had alone rendered possible the social revolution in the Highlands, the colonization of the British Empire by Scots, the development of Glasgow's trans-atlantic trade and the consequent industrialization of Clydeside. These changes, like the agricultural revolution, were mainly an affair of the last half of the Century, but during that period they were very rapid.

[1] Miss M G Jones, *The Charity School Movement of the 18th Century*, chap. VI

At the time of the Union of 1707 Glasgow was a market and University town with a population of 12,500, an outpost of Southern civilization against the Highland tribes, the capital of the Covenanting West; its inhabitants were rigid and censorious in their Presbyterian zeal, simple in manners, frugal in expense, and strictly sober; its leading citizens, such as Bailie Nicol Jarvie, lived among their fellow-citizens in modest quarters in the heart of the town. By 1800 great changes had taken place. Glasgow numbered 80,000 inhabitants, sharply divided by differences in wealth and manner of life, and no class among them was any longer famous either for church going or for abstention from drink. Well-to-do suburbs and new slum tenements had spread over the surrounding land. There were shops to suit every taste, with wares from England, Europe and America, there were sedan chairs, concerts, balls, cards and dice, punch, wine and English literature for the rich, and Highland whisky for the poor. The University had won European fame through Professor Adam Smith.

These social changes had taken place, because the American and West Indian trade, chiefly in tobacco and raw cotton, had by 1800 transformed not only Glasgow but all Clydeside into a commercial and industrial district as up to date as any in England; it had already given the world James Watt, one of the lords of the new ascendant, the inventor of the modern condensing engine. Western Scotland was already beginning to suffer from the advent of Irish labourers, who made the Glasgow slums even worse than bad housing would in any case have rendered them.

In the last twenty years of the Century, cotton mills were rising in villages of Lanark, Renfrew and Ayr, with social consequences described in Galt's *Annals of the Parish*, that little story book, first published in 1821, which still remains the most intimate and human picture of Scotland during her period of change in the reign of George III

The opening of the Scottish-American trade by the Union had naturally had less influence on the fortunes of towns upon the East Coast. Indeed, the old-established commerce of Leith and Dundee with the Baltic and German ports lost rather than gained by the British mercantilist policy of

the Navigation Acts, which aimed at enlarging colonial trade with America at the expense of commerce with Europe.

On the other hand it was in the East that the first Scottish ironworks were erected. At Carron, between Stirling and Edinburgh, iron-ore, coal and water-power were found together ; coal-coke was now applied to the smelting of iron. The Carron Company, founded in 1760, prospered ; one of its early articles of production was the short naval gun known therefore as the 'carronade.' Such was the beginning of the Scottish iron industry that took on such great proportions in the following century.

But the only town of the Scottish East Coast that made striking advance in the Eighteenth Century was Edinburgh. No longer a political capital, it was still the legal, fashionable and intellectual capital of the country , and law, fashion and intellect were all rapidly on the upgrade in the wealthier and more active-minded Scotland of the new era. Moreover, the now famous agriculture of the Lothians had advanced even faster than the agriculture of the West. The South-Eastern Scotland of Walter Scott's youth was a land of rural wealth and mental energy centred on Edinburgh. The Scottish capital was famous throughout Europe for its 'philosophers'—Hume, Robertson and Dugald Stewart ; its lawyers and academicians were men of remarkable personality and intellectual power. Joined with these professional classes, the nobles and gentry of the region, busy with the improvement of the land and the planting of forests, combined to form a splendid society, worthy of the immortality given to it by its own artist, Raeburn.

It is indeed true that, during this golden age of Scotland, her political life was dead. To use Cockburn's words, she 'had no free political institutions whatever' : the absence of 'political institutions' was indeed a feature of the whole period from the Union to the Reform Bill, under Whig and Tory rule alike, but as long as Jacobitism had been active, there was a diseased kind of political life—a constant sedition. After 1746 that too had gone, till the Radical movement arose in 1790, to be at once suppressed by a harsh government persecution. Under the rule of Pitt's friend Dundas, Scotland was 'a lodge at a great man's gate,'

as the Reformers bitterly said. But politics are not everything. The social, imaginative and intellectual life of the land of Burns and Scott was vigorous in inverse proportion to the political atrophy; it sprang from native sources, and though closer connection with England had given it an impulse, it paid back to England more than it borrowed. Adam Smith devised policies for the statesmen of Great Britain. And for several years at the beginning of the Nineteenth Century, while the *Lay of the Last Minstrel* and *Marmion* were initiating the 'romantic' period of letters in our island, the very unromantic *Edinburgh Review* enjoyed almost a monopoly of literary and philosophic criticism in England. The rival *Quarterly* was soon set up against it, largely by the efforts of Scotchmen. For some years Edinburgh was hardly less important than London in the British world of letters.

Physically, too, Edinburgh had grown out of her hard old shell. The insanitary warren of deep wynds and lofty tenement flats off High Street, where the greatest men in Scotland and their families had formerly consented to be cabined in darkness and dirt, were deserted for the spacious and dignified houses, built after 1780 in the region of new squares beyond Princes Street. The bridging of the Nor' Loch in 1767 had opened out for development this new Edinburgh. Instead of paying £15 a year for an ill-lighted flat seven storeys off the ground, persons of position could now afford to pay £100 a year for a comfortable town house. Similarly in the countryside, the tall, grim, gothic towers rising from the naked fields, that had served for the country seats of the gentry, were, at least in many cases, replaced by Georgian or classical mansions, cheerful, well lighted and sheltered by trees. But architecture never attained in Scotland to the importance which it had for centuries had in England. In spite of much improvement, particularly the fine stone farms of the Lothians, housing north of the Tweed remained on the average below the level of South Britain. Even in the Lowlands there were still many one-roomed cottages, still in some cases shared by the cow; and the high slum tenements of Glasgow and Edinburgh were worse than ever because they had now been abandoned by the well-to-do. Nevertheless there had during the

Century been great progress in housing, though less than in food, clothes and education.[1]

The rapid changes in Scottish mind and manners during the Eighteenth Century did not come into any serious collision with the influence of the Church, such as marked contemporary movements of opinion in France. For the clergy and religious laity of Scotland moved with the times towards a more tolerant and a more reasonable outlook. Presbyterian bigotry, which had been so crude in the years immediately following the Revolution of 1688, began to soften as a generation of younger clergy and elders, who knew not Claverhouse, gradually took the place of the fierce old prophets of the moss-hags. The enjoyment of toleration, better education, English influence, and the indefinable 'spirit of the age' broadened their vision as the years went by. Witch hunting died out. The latitudinarian movement prevailing in the contemporary Church of England had a close analogy in the views of the Moderates, who became the most influential section of the Scottish clergy. The sage leadership of the historian Robertson (1721–1793) guided the Church Assembly into the ways of peace.

It is possible that some of the Moderates went too far in the sweet reasonableness of their moderation, and the more zealous of their ever critical hearers had perhaps some reason in their complaints against sermons that were 'a cauld clatter of morality,' lacking in orthodox doctrine and apostolic zeal. In due course the pendulum swung back, and in the early Nineteenth Century the Evangelical revival, connected with men like Dr. Chalmers (1780–1847), breathed fresh power into Scottish religion. But the religion of Chalmers was no longer a narrow and persecuting creed: the 'Moderates' had done their work.

The Eighteenth Century also saw great changes in the fortunes and in the spirit of the Episcopalian minority. At the time of the Union of 1707 the Episcopalians were a formidable body, practically identical with the Jacobites, and prepared to fight for a Restoration of their Church and

[1] An interesting comparison of Scottish and English housing of the working classes about 1820, with its local variations, will be found in Professor Clapham's *Economic History of Modern England*, I, pp 21–41.

of their King ; they did not, however, use the Prayer Book, and their religion was only a milder form of that of the Presbyterian Establishment. But as the Century went on they drew nearer to the rest of the nation in politics and further from it in religion. After the death of Jacobitism they became loyal subjects of George III, while their adoption of a Prayer Book closely resembling the English divided them off from their fellow Scots as a religious community with an ethos of its own. Their numbers dwindled. In Anne's reign they had been the Church of the People in many parts of Eastern Scotland, and had as such been permitted at the Revolution to continue in occupation of parish churches and manses in spite of the law. But as that generation of incumbents died off, they were replaced by Presbyterian ministers.

On the other hand, the position of the Episcopalians was improved in one important respect They had not, at the Revolution, been granted an Act of Toleration like the English Dissenters. Their position was in every respect anomalous, depending not on law but on local opinion and force. At length in 1712 the Tories of the Westminster Parliament passed a Toleration Act for Scotland—a first-fruit of the Union eminently right and proper, but regarded with deep suspicion by the Presbyterians as the herald of further attacks on the established order.

Indeed, there followed in a few weeks another and more questionable interference of the British Parliament in the affairs of the Scottish Church. In 1712 Patronage was restored—that is, the right of individual proprietors to appoint to livings. To an Englishman accustomed to the system in the Anglican Church this may seem a small matter, but Scottish religious and social history was profoundly affected for 150 years to come by the restoration of Patronage.

The democratic element in the appointment of ministers to parishes was regarded by orthodox Presbyterians as an essential point of religion ; and apart from all theory, there was a practical danger in presentation by patrons many of whom were latitudinarians, Episcopalians or Jacobites. For these reasons Patronage had been abolished by a law of the Scottish Parliament at the Revolution : by the Act of 1690 the Protestant heritors and elders should ' name and

propose' a minister to the whole congregation, which if dissatisfied might appeal to the Presbytery, whose decision should be final. But now, in 1712, the 'prelatic' Parliament of Westminster altered this law, in defiance of the spirit of the Union Treaty. The right of presentation was restored to the old patrons, unless they were Roman Catholics.

Although the new law was deeply resented, its consequences were not remarkable for the first generation after its passage. But the ultimate outcome was momentous indeed. Patronage was the root cause of a long series of secessions of Presbyterian bodies from an Established Church bound by this State-made law. For good or for evil, Scotland, hitherto inimical to Sects such as flourished in England, saw the rise of a number of Nonconformist Churches, competing with the Establishment, though differing from it in doctrine and ritual hardly at all.

The restoration of Patronage had also the effect of helping the rise of the Moderate Party in the Church. In the Eighteenth Century the rights of the patrons were often exerted to place moderate-minded ministers in parishes of zealots, who objected to their intrusion, yet benefited by their mild ministrations. Readers of Galt's *Annals of the Parish* will not forget that in the first year of George III's reign the excellent Mr Balwhidder was thus intruded, 'for I was put in by a patron, and people knew nothing whatsoever of me, and their hearts were stirred into strife on the occasion.' Some critics of the bigotry of the older Calvinism have said in their haste that the Scots were 'a priest-ridden people.' It would be truer to say that theirs was 'a people-ridden clergy.' The zealots in the congregation kept a close eye on their minister's orthodoxy. In the Eighteenth Century many of the placed clergy did all they could to liberalize Scottish religion, often at the price of unpopularity with their lay parishioners.

In the Nineteenth Century the long-drawn-out consequences of the Patronage Act of 1712 culminated in the secession of the Free Church under Chalmers, a protest on behalf of evangelical liberty which is one of the great facts of the modern history of Scotland (1843). At length, in 1875, the measure so lightly passed in Anne's reign was

reversed, with the consequence that a path was opened for the ultimate reunion of the divided parts of the Church of Scotland, which took place in our own day, after the State had still further declared the unfettered freedom of the Church over the entire field of matters spiritual by the Act of 1921.

In the course of the Eighteenth Century the inhabitants of Scotland rose in numbers from about a million to 1,652,000. This represents a natural increase, as the emigration of the Highlanders can be set against the immigration of the Irish. The rise in population, unprecedented in any previous century of Scottish history, was due, like the contemporary rise in the numbers of Englishmen, to the rapid fall of the death-rate. It was the outcome of improved conditions of life, and of better doctoring, a science in which Scots in the reign of George III were already able to instruct the English.

Rapid as was the rise of Scotland's population in the Eighteenth Century, it had not been as rapid as the increase of her wealth. The Excise revenue in 1707 was £30,000; in 1797 it was close on one million three hundred thousand. The day of small things was over.

But Scotland had still a bad hour to pass through. The Napoleonic Wars witnessed a great rise in prices of food, accompanied by much general distress. Again there were 'dear years' in 1799 and 1800, when 'oatmeal was as high as ten shillings a stone,' and Thomas Carlyle's father noticed the labourers 'retire each separately to a brook, and there drink instead of dining—without complaint, anxious only to hide it.' But they no longer died of starvation by scores and hundreds, depopulating whole clachans, as in the 'dear years' of King William a century before[1]

[1] The last half of Carlyle's sketch of his father James Carlyle in the *Reminiscences*, contains many vivid particulars of Scottish peasant life in the last half of the Eighteenth Century At Langholm, James Carlyle 'once saw a heap of smuggled tobacco publicly burnt Dragoons were ranged round it with drawn swords; some old women stretched through their old withered arms to snatch a little of it, and the dragoons did not hinder them.' The working women of those western parts, including Thomas Carlyle's mother, smoked tobacco in short clay pipes.

CHAPTER XV

Cobbett's England [1793–1832]

I

Change in Town and Country—Factories—Working-class conditions—Colonization—Education—Luddites—Trade Unions

(The Wars with France, 1793–1815 Waterloo, 1815 Peterloo, 1819 The Reform Bill, 1831–1832)

Between the classical world of the Eighteenth Century with its self-confidence and self-content, and the restless England of Peterloo and the rick-burnings, of Byron and Cobbett, were interposed twenty years of war with Revolutionary and Napoleonic France (1793–1815).

Coming at a critical moment in our social development, the long war was a grave misfortune. With its violent disturbances of economic life, and its mood of 'anti-Jacobin' reaction against all proposals for reform and all sympathy with the claims and sufferings of the poor—the war formed the worst possible environment for the industrial and social changes then in rapid progress. The modern English slum town grew up to meet the momentary needs of the new type of employer and jerry builder, unchecked and unguided by public control of any sort. A rampant individualism, inspired by no idea beyond quick money returns, set up the cheap and nasty model of modern industrial life and its surroundings. Town-planning, sanitation and amenity were things undreamt of by the vulgarian makers of the new world, while the aristocratic ruling class enjoyed its own pleasant life apart, and thought that town building, sanitation and factory conditions were no concern of government. Great cities would in any case have been bad enough, as the slums of Eighteenth Century London had already shown, but the circumstances of the Napoleonic period in England were peculiarly unfavourable to the better development of the grim factory towns of the North, and to the relations of the new type of employer to

the new type of employee. Man had acquired formidable tools for refashioning his life before he had given the least thought to the question of what sort of life it would be well for him to fashion.

Since municipal lethargy and corruption had long lost all touch with the civic traditions and public spirit of mediaeval corporate life, the sudden growth of the new factory quarters did not disturb the slumbers of the town oligarchies, who were so well accustomed to neglect their old duties that they were incapable of rising to a new call. And when, as usually happened, the development took place outside the area of any corporate town, the gentlemen magistrates of the County made no pretence to control housing activities.

When Waterloo was fought, rural England was still in its unspoilt beauty, and most English towns were either handsome or picturesque The factory regions were a small part of the whole, but unluckily they were the model for the future. A new type of urban community was permitted to grow up which it was fatally easy to imitate on an ever increasing scale, until in another hundred years the great majority of Englishmen were dwellers in mean streets. When, as the Nineteenth Century advanced, local government was gradually made to attend to its duties, by being subjected to democratic local election and to central control from Whitehall, then indeed large provision was made for health, convenience and education. But even after these belated reforms in the utilitarian sphere, ugliness remains a quality of the modern city, rendered acceptable by custom to a public that can imagine only what it has seen.

The course of the Napoleonic wars, with blockade and counter-blockade, made business a gamble. There was every incitement to manufacturing enterprise, except security. England's control of the sea, and her new power of machine production, not yet imitated in other lands, gave her a monopoly of many markets in America, Africa and the Far East. But the European markets were alternately opened and closed to British goods according to the vagaries of diplomacy and war. One year an allied State would have its armies clothed and shod by British workmen : next year

it might be under the heel of France, a part of Napoleon's 'continental system.' The unnecessary war with the United States (1812–1815) was another element of disturbance to trade. The sufferings of the English working class were increased by these violent fluctuations of demand and employment ; and unemployment was worst of all during the post-war slump after Waterloo.

The war had also the effect of shutting out the supply of European corn, which had at last become necessary to steady food prices in our thickly populated island. Wheat rose from 43 shillings a quarter in 1792, the year before the war broke out, to 126 shillings in 1812, the year Napoleon went to Moscow. The poor, both in town and country, suffered terribly from the price of bread, though it put money into the pockets of tenant farmers, freehold yeomen, and receivers of tithe and rent. During the twenty years of war, the extent and character of land cultivation was adapted to these high prices, so that when corn fell at the return of peace many farmers were ruined and rents could not be paid. In these circumstances the protective Corn Law of 1815 was passed, with the aim of restoring agricultural prosperity at the expense of the consumer. It encountered the most violent opposition from the town population of all classes irrespective of party. The landlord members of Parliament complained that, as they went down to the House to vote for the Bill, they had been savagely mauled by a mob set on 'by the inflammatory speeches of Baring the banker, and the false statements of the Lord Mayor of London.' (Sir R. Heron's *Notes*, ed. 1851, p. 50) For a generation to come, until the Repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846, the question of agricultural protection divided England, and gave a political focus to the differentiation between urban and rural life which the Industrial Revolution was making more marked every year, as the inhabitants of the town lost all touch with the farming, and the inhabitants of the village with manufacture.

The observant eyes of Defoe, as he rode through Queen Anne's England, had been pleased by the harmony of the economic and social fabric It was shattered now, giving place to a chaos of rival interests, town against country, rich

against poor. A hundred years after Defoe, another horseman, William Cobbett, on his 'rural rides' noted the new symptoms; the wrongs of the disinherited poor inspired his headlong, single-handed crusade against the phalanx of their oppressors. The poor, perhaps, had in reality always been as poor and as ill used; but their evil plight became more obvious to themselves and to others, now that they were segregated and massed together. In the past, poverty had been an individual misfortune; now it was a group grievance. It was a challenge to the humanitarian spirit which the Eighteenth Century had engendered. That spirit had been obscured for awhile by England's angry fright at the French Revolution, but in the new Century it could no longer regard the victims of economic circumstance with the hard indifferent eye of earlier ages. So Cobbett's blustering words had weight.

The poor suffered by the war. But at no period had the landed gentry been wealthier or happier, or more engrossed in the life of their pleasant country houses. The war was in the newspapers, but it scarcely entered the lives of the enjoying classes. No young lady of Miss Austen's acquaintance, waiting eagerly for the appearance of Scott's or Byron's next volume of verse, seems ever to have asked what Mr. Thorpe or Mr. Tom Bertram were going to do to serve their country in time of danger. For in those happy days the navy was a perfect shield to the safety and to the amenities of island life. While Napoleon was ramping over Europe, the extravagance and eccentricity of our dandies reached their highest point in the days of Beau Brummell, and English poetry and landscape-painting enjoyed their great age. Wordsworth, whose mind had, in time of peace, been aroused and disturbed by the French Revolution, so completely recovered his equanimity during the long war that he was able to produce a body of philosophic poetry expressive of

> 'central peace subsisting at the heart
> Of endless agitation,'

a mood which it is more difficult to catch and keep under the conditions of modern totalitarian warfare.

During half the years of the struggle with France,

England sent no expeditionary force to Europe, and even the seven campaigns of the Peninsular War cost less than 40,000 British dead : the blood tax was a light one for all classes. Mr. Pitt's income tax was more vexatious, but rent and tithe had risen with the price of corn, so that landowners did well upon the balance. The 'gentlemen of England' beat Napoleon, the professional, and they deservedly won praise and prestige for a victory which, not being abused, gave us the priceless boon of a hundred years' immunity from another 'great war.' But the gentlemen had fought and conquered the upstart on very easy terms for themselves, and so in the years that followed the restoration of peace they were, somewhat ungratefully perhaps, denounced by the rising generation of reformers as having been war profiteers.

> See these inglorious Cincinnati swarm,
> Farmers of war, dictators of the farm ;
> *Their* ploughshare was the sword in hireling hands,
> *Their* fields manured by gore of other lands ,
> Safe in their barns, these Sabine tillers sent
> Their brethren out to battle. Why ? for rent !
> Year after year they voted cent for cent,
> Blood, sweat, and tear-wrung millions—why ? for rent !
> They roar'd, they dined, they drank, they swore they meant
> To die for England,—why then live ? for rent !
> (Byron, *The Age of Bronze*, 1823.)

If the war proved a source of increased wealth to the landlords and of prolonged calamity to the wage-earner, it was a gamble to 'the middling orders of society' : it made this merchant a profiteer, like old Osborne in *Vanity Fair*, and that other, like poor Mr. Sedley, a bankrupt. As a whole, 'the nation of shopkeepers' longed for peace, to bring security, to open the European markets once for all and to reduce taxation. But they had no thought of surrender to Bonaparte. Many of the wealthier—the bankers, the old-established merchants and moneyed men, and their families—shared the Tory politics of the 'quality,' to whose society they were admitted, with whom they married, and from whom they bought seats in Parliament and commissions in the army. But many a manufacturer of the new type, himself or his father sprung from the

yeoman or from the working class, more often than not a Dissenter, his thoughts engrossed by the factory he had built beside some Pennine stream, had no love for the aristocracy, and dumbly resented the war as something from the glory and interest of which he was excluded. Such men were making the new wealth of England, but they had no part in her government either central or local, and they were jealous of the haughty class that kept them out. They felt too little sympathy with the real victims of the war, their own employees—as little indeed as the landlords and farmers felt with the ill-fed workers of the field whose labour filled their pockets so full. It was a hard world of sharply divided interests, with small sense of national brotherhood, save occasionally in face of the foreign foe.

For all that, we must not exaggerate the actual amount of discontent, particularly in the first part of the war. The democratic movement, inspired by the original French Revolution and the writings of Tom Paine, was suppressed in the ''nineties,' quite as much by public opinion as by government action: working-class mobs in Birmingham and in Manchester sacked the chapels and houses of the Dissenting reformers, and the Durham miners burnt Tom Paine in effigy. In the bulk of the working class, discontent only grew slowly as a result of very real suffering, and for a long time it was sectional and regional, not national. Even during the period of anti-Jacobin repression, when it was 'safer to be a felon than a reformer,' the majority of Englishmen were still proud of themselves as being a free people. In the year of Trafalgar, a distinguished American scientist, visiting the London theatres, notes that

> Enthusiastic applauses were bestowed by the Galleries this evening on this sentiment, that if a poor man had an honest heart there lived not one in England who had either the presumption or the power to oppress him In this incident may be seen the active jealousy of liberty which exists even in the lowest orders of England [1]

It is to be feared that the 'sentiment' was unduly optimistic, but the fact that it could be applauded by the 'gallery' is not without pleasant significance.

[1] B Silliman's *Travels in England in 1805*, New York 1810, I, p 252.

Bread and cheese became, in many southern counties, the staple diet of the labourer, washed down with beer or tea. They seldom saw meat, though many grew potatoes in the cottage garden. The danger of sheer starvation with which the rural poor were faced in many districts owing to war prices and low wages, was averted by a remedy that brought much evil in its train. In May 1795 the magistrates of Berkshire were summoned to meet at Speenhamland, a northern suburb of Newbury, for the expressed purpose of fixing and enforcing a minimum wage for the county in relation to the price of bread. It would have been a difficult policy to carry out against the resistance of recalcitrant farmers, during a period of violent price fluctuations, but in principle it was the true remedy. If it had been adopted for Berkshire and for all England, it might have diverted our modern social history into happier channels. It was the right course, and it was appointed by ancient custom and existing law. Unfortunately, the J.P.s who had come to Speenhamland for this good purpose, were there persuaded not to enforce the raising of wages but to supplement wages out of the parish rates. They drew up and published a scale by which every 'poor and industrious person' should receive from the parish a certain sum per week in addition to his wages, so much for himself and so much for other members of his family, when the loaf cost a shilling. As the loaf rose, the dole was to rise with it. This convenient scale, vulgarly known as the 'Speenhamland Act,' was adopted by the magistrates in one county after another, till the evil system was established in perhaps half rural England, particularly in the Counties of recent enclosures. The Northern Counties were among those outside the system, for in the North the near neighbourhood of factories and mines tended to keep up rural wages by competition.

This payment of rates in aid of wages relieved the large employing farmer from the necessity of giving a living wage to his workpeople, and most unjustly forced the small independent parishioner to help the big man, while at the same time it compelled the labourer to become a pauper even when he was in full work! The moral effect was devastating on all concerned. The large farmers were confirmed

in their selfish refusal to raise wages, the independent classes staggered under the burden of the poor-rate, while idleness and crime increased among the pauperized labourers. An American observer wrote with too much truth in 1830:

'The term pauper as used in England and more particularly in agricultural districts, embraces that numerous class of society who depend for subsistence solely upon the labour of their hands'[1]

It is not, however, true, as was thought at the time, that rates in aid of wages were an important cause of the rapid rise of population which Malthus was teaching his contemporaries to dread so much. In the Nineteenth as in the Eighteenth Century, the rise of population was due not to an increase in births but to a decrease in deaths. Not the foolish magistrates of Speenhamland but the good doctors of Great Britain were responsible for the fact that between 1801–1831, the inhabitants of England, Wales and Scotland rose from eleven to sixteen and a half millions.

The price of corn during the war, while it starved and pauperized the labourer, not only benefited the landlord and large tenant farmer, but for a time checked the decline of the freehold yeoman and the copyhold peasant But after Waterloo, with the crash in corn prices, the reduction in the ranks of the small cultivators was resumed. It was upon them that the Speenhamland system weighed hardest financially, for in many Southern Counties, particularly in Wiltshire, the numerous farmers who employed no paid labour themselves were forced to pay heavy poor-rates in order to eke out the wages paid by the large employing farmers, their rivals who were destined to supersede them. And the small cultivator still suffered by the continued enclosure of the open fields and commons, and by the progressive decline of cottage industries.

Yet we must not exaggerate the pace and extent of change. The Census of 1831 shows that out of just under a million

[1] Between 1792 and 1831 poor-law expenditure in the County of Dorset increased 214 per cent, expenses for prosecutions for crime 2135 per cent., whilst the population had only increased 40 per cent. (*Victoria County History, Dorset*, II, 259) In 1813 more than seven millions were raised in all England for poor-rate, while local taxation for all other purposes only amounted to one and a half millions

families engaged in agriculture, nearly 145,000 were those of owners or farmers who hired no labour, as against 686,000 families of field labourers for hire. That is to say, on the eve of the Reform Bill, the agricultural proletariate proper were only two and a half times as numerous as the independent cultivators of the soil. And there was still a 'small peasantry' left, almost as numerous in fact as the farmers who paid wages to employees. But much the greater part of the acreage cultivated was now in the hands of the large farmers, and the open fields and commons had for the most part gone

Once the war and its reactions were well over, it appears from statistical calculation of real wages that the agricultural labourer was no worse off in 1824 than he had been thirty years before, taking the average of the country as a whole.[1] In some regions he was decidedly better off But his standard of life had declined in those parts of the rural South which lay farthest from the wage-competition of factories and mines, particularly where the poor-rates were being employed to keep wages down, and where the labourer depended on the farmer who employed him for the clay-built hovel in which he lived. He was often forced to take part of his wages in bad corn and worse beer. In those counties rick-burning and rioting gave expression to the sense of hopeless misery. In earlier and simpler days the labourer had more often been lodged in the farm and ate at the board of the farmer. This had meant, of course, that he was just as dependent on his employer as when in later times he was provided with a tied cottage. But it had meant also a closer and often therefore a kinder personal contact, and less segregation of classes. Cobbett speaks of the old-fashioned labourer sharing his employer's meal on equal terms, except that the farmer might reserve for himself a stronger brew of beer.

In the winter of 1830, a few months before the introduction of the Great Reform Bill, the starving field labourers of the Counties south of Thames marched about in a riotous manner demanding a wage of half-a-crown a day. The revenge taken by the Judges was terrible : three of the rioters were unjustly hanged and four hundred and twenty

[1] See Clapham, *Ec Hist of Modern England*, I, pp 125–131.

were torn from their families and transported to Australia, as convicts. Such panic cruelty showed how wide a gap of social misunderstanding divided the upper class from the poor, even when the anti-Jacobin spirit had been exorcised from the political sphere and 'Reform' had become the watchword of the King's ministers. (Hammond, *Village Labourer*, chaps. XI and XII.)

It would, however, be a great mistake to regard the unhappy condition of the labourers in the Counties south of Thames as characteristic of all rural England In the North, and indeed in all regions where factory life and mines were expanding, the wages even of agricultural labourers were higher, the poor-rate lower, and the number of people in receipt of poor relief less. The average standard of life was almost certainly higher than in the previous century, if all regions and all classes are taken into account. Not only Cobbett but everyone else, complained that farmers were 'aping their betters,' abandoning old homely ways, eating off Wedgwood instead of pewter, educating their girls and dashing about in gigs or riding to hounds. Whether this was good or bad depends on the point of view, but in any case it was a 'rise in the standard of life.' [1]

And among humbler rural classes there was much happiness and some prosperity, varying with place, year

[1] The change in the farmer's life was complained of in the Waterloo period, and thirty years later the complaint was still being made as these verses, written in 1843, show

Old Style

Man, to the plough ,
Wife, to the cow ,
Girl, to the yarn ;
Boy, to the barn,
And your rent will be netted.

New Style.

Man, Tally Ho ,
Miss, piano ;
Wife, silk and satin ,
Boy, Greek and Latin,
And you'll all be Gazetted.

Lord Ernle (*English Farming*, p. 347) is scornful of these charges, not as wholly untrue, but as inadequate to account for agricultural distress , he observes that this explanation of farmers' difficulties is 'as old as the hills,' and that in 1573 Tusser had alluded to farmers who neglected their business in order to go hawking.

and circumstance. The life of the village children, let loose to play in the hedges, heaths and thickets, was wholesome and sweet, as Bewick, Wordsworth and Cobbett recorded from their own boyhoods' experience in the previous generation, and Howitt in the new century. William Howitt, George Borrow and other writers who shared the life of the common people in lane, field and cottage in the 'twenties and 'thirties, leave an impression of much widely diffused health and happiness as well as much hardship.[1] Village sports and traditions, and the daily contact with nature—and nightly contact too in the surreptitious taking of hares and rabbits in their hedgerow runs by ' old Hobden's ' ancestors—how are these things to be assessed in computing the ' condition of the rural poor ' ? And how is the great variety of life in different counties and regions, on different estates and farms to be reduced to the compass of a single generalization ?

As far back as 1771 Arthur Young had deplored the fact that, with better facilities of travel, the drift of country lads and lasses to London was on the increase But now other towns were also drawing away their thousands from all parts of rural England. The movement was most marked in the North, the region of mines and factories and cotton mills. Indeed, the Census figures for 1801 to 1831 show that some outlying parishes in the North were already diminishing in population every decade. This was not yet true of the average English village , but although a rural parish in the first thirty years of the Century might show no drop in the number of its resident inhabitants, it was none the less sending many of its young people to the Colonies or United States, or to the centres of industry and commerce at home

The continual rise in the population made it indeed impossible to provide work for everyone in the English village. Agriculture had absorbed all the hands it required. And many traditional kinds of rural occupation were disappearing. Great national industries, like cloth, were

[1] Howitt's delightful *Rural Life in England* and *Boy's Country Book* cover experiences from 1802 to 1838 , Borrow's *Lavengro* records experiences from 1810 to 1825

migrating back out of the country districts to which they had moved in the later Middle Ages and Tudor times. The village was becoming more purely agricultural; it was ceasing to manufacture goods for the general market, and, moreover, was manufacturing fewer goods for itself.

With the improvement of roads and communications, first the lady of the manor, then the farmer's wife and lastly the cottager learnt to buy in the town many articles that used to be made in the village or on the estate. And a 'village shop' was now often set up, stocked with goods from the cities or from oversea. The self-sufficing, self-clothing village became more and more a thing of the past. One by one the craftsmen disappeared—the harness maker, the maker of agricultural implements, the tailor, the miller, the furniture maker, the weaver, sometimes even the carpenter and builder—till, at the end of Victoria's reign, the village blacksmith was in some places the only craftsman left, eking out a declining business in horseshoes by mending the punctured bicycle tyres of tourists! The reduction in the number of small industries and handicrafts made rural life duller and less self-sufficient in its mentality and native interests, a backwater of the national life instead of its main stream. The vitality of the village slowly declined, as the city in a hundred ways sucked away its blood and brains This century-long process had already begun between Waterloo and the Reform Bill.

But the English village during the first half of the Nineteenth Century was still able to provide an excellent type of colonist to new lands beyond the ocean. The men were accustomed to privation and to long hours of out-of-door work, and were ready to turn their hands to tree-felling, agriculture and rough handicraft The women were ready to bear and rear large families.

All the circumstances of post-war England helped the great movement of colonization. The over-population that terrified the contemporaries of Malthus, the economic and social troubles, the resentment felt by the freer spirits against the rule of squire and farmer, were all factors that went to build up the Second British Empire, filling Canada, Australia and New Zealand with men and women of British speech and tradition. 'In Canada,' wrote one

immigrant, 'we can have our liberty, and need not be afraid of speaking of our rights.' 'We have no gamekeepers and more privileges,' wrote another. The Scots, too, Highlander and Lowlander alike, had discovered the Canadian trail. The forests fell, the log huts rose and the rich wilderness began its yield of crops and men. In Australia in the early decades of the Nineteenth Century, capitalist 'squatters' introduced cattle and sheep farming on a large scale, and opened out an attractive field of enterprise for adventurous spirits. The settlement of New Zealand came a little later, chiefly between 1837 and 1850, being somewhat more regularly organized by the zeal of Gibbon Wakefield and by the pious efforts of Anglican and of Scottish Presbyterian committees. The Briton of the Hanoverian and early Victorian era was a villager, or was only at one remove from the villager: he was not wholly a product of the city, incapable of going back to the land, or of plying more trades than one. He was still able to adapt himself to the hardships of pioneer life, and to its variety of requirements and opportunities. And so the British Commonwealth of Nations was founded just in time.

But while many English villagers were crossing the ocean, many others were drifting into the industrial districts at home. During the Napoleonic Wars this movement within the island had been specially marked. The age of 'coal and iron' had come in earnest. A new order of life was beginning, and the circumstances under which it began led to a new kind of unrest.

Immigrants to the mining and industrial districts were leaving an old rural world essentially conservative in its social structure and moral atmosphere, and were dumped down in neglected heaps that soon fermented as neglected heaps will do, becoming highly combustible matter. Very often their food, clothing and wages were less bad than they had been in the farms and country cottages they had left. And they had more independence than the agricultural labourer whose wages were eked out by poor relief. But migration to the factories had meant loss as well as gain. The beauty of field and wood and hedge, the immemorial

customs of rural life—the village green and its games, the harvest-home, the tithe feast, the May Day rites, the field sports—had supplied a humane background and an age-long tradition to temper poverty. They were not reproduced in mine or factory, or in the rows of mass-produced brick dwellings erected to house the hands. The old rural cottages whence they came had indeed often been worse places to live in materially—picturesque but ruinous and insalubrious. Yet it was not impossible to have some feeling for a rickety window embowered in honeysuckle, or a leaking roof that harboured moss and doves! Wordsworth's 'Poor Susan,' the exile in the great city, remembered the country cottage where she was born,

'The one only dwelling on earth that she loves'

Such affection could not be transferred to town slums. It cannot even to-day be felt for the model workman's flat

The worst slums in the new urban areas were those inhabited by the immigrant Irish. They came from rural slums far worse than those of the worst English village, and brought with them proportionately bad habits. England's treatment of the Irish peasant was perpetually being avenged over here. But the worst period for sanitary conditions in the industrial regions was the middle of the Nineteenth Century rather than the beginning, because so many of the new houses had then had time to become slums, since no one repaired or drained them as the years went by.

The factory hands, like the miners, were brought together as a mass of employees face to face with an employer, who lived apart from them in a house of his own in a separate social atmosphere; whereas under the old rural system they had been scattered about—one, two or at most half a dozen hands to each farm—in close and therefore often in kindly personal relation with their employer the farmer, at whose board the unmarried hands took their meals, cooked by the farmer's wife.

The mass of unregarded humanity in the factories and mines were as yet without any social services or amusements of a modern kind to compensate for the lost amenities and traditions of country life. They were wholly uncared for by Church or State; no Lady Bountiful visited them

with blankets and advice, no one but the Nonconformist minister was their friend; they had no luxury but drink, no one to talk to but one another, hardly any subject but their grievances. Naturally they were tinder to the flame of agitation. They had no interest or hope in life but Evangelical religion or Radical politics. Sometimes the two went together, for many Nonconformist preachers themselves imbibed and imparted Radical doctrines. But the political conservatism with which the Wesleyan movement had started was not yet exhausted, and acted as a restraining element In the opinion of Elie Halévy, the great French historian who wrote for us the history of the English Nineteenth Century, the power of Evangelical religion was the chief influence that prevented our country from starting along the path of revolutionary violence during this period of economic chaos and social neglect:

'Men of letters disliked the Evangelicals for their narrow Puritanism, men of science for their intellectual feebleness. Nevertheless during the Nineteenth Century, Evangelical religion was the moral cement of English society. It was the influence of the Evangelicals which invested the British aristocracy with an almost Stoic dignity, restrained the plutocrats who had newly risen from the masses from vulgar ostentation and debauchery, and placed over the proletariat a select body of workmen enamoured of virtue and capable of self-restraint. Evangelicalism was thus the conservative force which restored in England the balance momentarily destroyed by the explosion of the revolutionary forces' (Halévy, *Hist. of English People*, transl. by E I Watkin, III, p. 166)

But there is another reason, besides the restraints and consolations of a powerful popular religion, to account for the moderate character and the limited success of the Radical movement in the generation after Waterloo. It is true that it swept over the factory districts, but the factory districts were still a relatively small part of England. In 1819 factory conditions were *not* widely spread outside the Lancashire cotton area, and the Radical movement was therefore capable of being temporarily suppressed by the Peterloo massacre and the Six Acts. The future lay with the factory system, but for the present the great majority of the English working class were still employed under the old conditions of life, whether in agriculture, in industry,

in domestic service, or in seafaring. Peterloo was an important event, because that unhappy charge of the Yeomanry, sabre in hand, among the cotton operatives of Manchester disgusted the rising generation of Englishmen with anti-Jacobin Toryism. But the victims of Peterloo, though they were a class typical of South Lancashire, were not typical of the England of that day.

Mr. Pickwick's world, the world of the fast stage coaches and of the First Reform Bill, was a transition world, combining the old with the new economic society, and the old still predominated. The agricultural labourers and the industrialists in small workshops still for a while outnumbered the miners and factory hands. And then there were the great army of men and women in household service. In the third decade of the century the female domestic servants alone were 'fifty per cent more numerous than all the men and women, boys and girls, in the cotton industry put together.' (Clapham, I, p. 73.) The conditions of work and wages for domestic servants have been little examined by economic or social historians, and would indeed be very difficult to assess, for they varied greatly from house to house according to the occupation and character of the employer. Mr. Samuel Weller, as we all know, was a peculiarly favoured specimen of his class, with 'little to do and plenty to get.' He and his Mary ('Housemaid to Mr. Nupkins') were not Radicals by outlook or tradition, though they probably cheered for the Reform Bill.

Another large class, equally far removed from factory or domestic employment, was the mobile army of unskilled labour known as 'navvies' engaged in gangs that moved from place to place, digging canals,[1] making roads and in the next generation constructing embankments and tunnels for railways. In the North, the Irish were found in their ranks in great numbers ; but in the South they consisted almost entirely of the surplus labour of English villages, which in those parts had fewer outlets to factories and mines. Some highly-paid engineers were officers in the army of navvies, and were specially numerous and highly rewarded when it came to railway construction and the piercing of tunnels. But as a whole the 'navvies' were among the

[1] Hence the term 'navvies,' for 'inland navigators'

least skilled, the most ignorant and the least well paid of the new industrial classes. They were the nomads of the new world, and their muscular strength laid its foundations.

At the opposite end of the ranks of labour were the skilled engineers and mechanics. The men who made and mended the machines were the *élite* of the Industrial Revolution and its true body-guard. They were better paid than their fellow-workmen, they were on the average more intelligent, and they took the lead in educational movements. They were respected by their employers, who had to consult them and to bow to their technical knowledge. They were in the forefront of progress and invention, and rejoiced in the sense of leading the new age. Such workmen were the Stephensons of Tyneside ; there was nothing 'middle class' about the origins of the man who invented the locomotive, after having taught himself to read at the age of seventeen.

It is indeed easier to reconstruct the early history of the coal-miners and textile hands, than that of the mechanics and engineers, because the latter were scattered up and down the country. But any picture of the earliest and worst stage of the Industrial Revolution is too black if it omits the life of the mechanics. The motto of the coming age was 'self-help,' a doctrine that left behind many of the weaker and less fortunate ; but there were from the first other classes beside employers and middlemen who reaped a share of its benefits, and who grew to a larger manhood under the moral and intellectual stimulus of the individualist doctrine.

Adult Education received its first impetus from the Industrial Revolution in the desire of mechanics for general scientific knowledge, and the willingness of the more intelligent part of the middle class to help to supply their demand. It was a movement partly professional and utilitarian, partly intellectual and ideal. Disinterested scientific curiosity was strong among the better class of workmen in the North. From 1823 onwards Mechanics' Institutes, begun in Scotland by Dr. Birkbeck, spread through industrial England The flame was fanned by the bellows of Henry Brougham's organizing and advertising genius, in the period of his greatest public service, when he stood for the real 'Opposition' in Parliament and country,

pointing to the future and its needs. Self-satisfied classical scholars like Peacock might laugh at the 'learned friend' and his 'steam-intellect society,' but the new world could not live wholly on classical scholarship carefully locked away from common use in the close ecclesiastical corporations of the Oxford and Cambridge of that day. Nor, in an age that needed first and foremost to be converted to see the need for education, was there so much harm in this 'semi-Solomon, half knowing everything,' but irrepressible in zeal as a propagandist and not afraid of making a fool of himself before the learned if he could help the ignorant to learn.

The success of these Mechanics' Institutes, with an annual subscription of a guinea, showed that whatever was happening to other classes of workers, prosperity was coming to the engineers and mechanics from the Industrial Revolution which had called them into being. Francis Place, the Radical tailor, had seen the first efforts of the working classes at self-education crushed in the anti-Jacobin panic a generation before; but in 1824 he described his pleasure at seeing 'from 800 to 900 clean respectable-looking mechanics paying most marked attention' to a lecture on chemistry. That year the *Mechanics' Magazine* sold 16,000 copies, and 1500 workmen subscribed a guinea apiece to the London Institute. Encyclopaedic knowledge was now circulated in cheap books and periodicals by enterprising publishers, and was absorbed by eager students in garret and workshop.

While adult education and self-education were on the move before a strong new breeze, the foundation of London University (1827) was inspired by the same spirit. Nonconformists and secularists, excluded from Oxford and Cambridge, had drawn together to found an undenominational teaching centre in the Capital, on the basis of keeping theology out of the curriculum, and having no religious tests for teachers or taught. The tendency of the embryo university was towards modern studies, including science. The strict classical curriculum was identified in men's minds with the close educational establishments of the Church and State party. 'Utility' appealed more to the unprivileged city population. The founding of

London University was therefore an educational event of the first importance, but at the time its real significance was lost in sectarian and partisan recrimination, and not a little good-humoured satire of Brougham and his ‘ cockney college.’

Primary education both lost and gained by the religious and denominational squabbles, characteristic of an age when Dissenters had become numerically formidable, but Churchmen were still unwilling to abate a jot of their privileges On the one hand, public money could not be obtained for educating the people, because the Church claimed that it must be spent under the aegis of the State religion, and the Dissenters would not agree to the use of public funds on such terms. On the other hand, the hostile denominations vied with each other in collecting money voluntarily for the erection of Day Schools and Sunday Schools. Readers of Miss Bronte's *Shirley* will remember the scene (chap XVII) of the rival school feasts, when the column of Church schoolchildren, ‘ priestled and women officered,’ its band playing *Rule Britannia*, marches at quick step down the narrow lane and scatters the column of Dissenting schoolchildren and their pastors, who raise a feeble hymn and then turn tail. In that comedy we have the secret of much in old English politics, religion and education.

‘ The British and Foreign School Society,’ under Dissenting and Whig Patronage, worked on the basis of undenominational Bible-teaching, while the Churchmen countered by the foundation of the ‘ National Society for the Education of the Poor according to the Principles of the Church of England.’ The ‘ National ’ or Church schools became the most usual mode of popular education in the English village.

Though much was lacking in the organized education of that age as compared to our own, very many people of all classes at the time of Waterloo knew the Bible with a real familiarity which raised their imaginations above the level of that insipid vulgarity of mind which the modern multiplicity of printed matter tends rather to increase than diminish.

With the growth of new industrial conditions, involving the disappearance of apprenticeship and of the personal relation of the journeyman with his employer, Trade Union action was essential to protect the interest of the employee,

especially as the State refused any longer to carry out its old Tudor policy of fixing wages. But during the anti-Jacobin period (1792–1822) all combinations of workmen, whether for political or for purely economic purposes, were regarded as 'seditious.' The only wonder is that this attitude on the part of the State as bottle-holder to the employer did not lead to more violence and bloodshed. It did lead to the 'Luddite' trouble.

In the middle of the Napoleonic wars, unemployment, low wages and starvation were periodic among the industrialists of Nottinghamshire, Yorkshire, and Lancashire, partly owing to the first effects of new machinery. In 1811–1812 the 'Luddites' began to break the frames on a systematic plan of action. Although there was a tendency to violence among some Irish in the Luddite ranks, there was no likelihood of a serious rebellion, and the fear of one was simply due to the absence of any effective police in the island. For that reason alone, resort had to be made to the soldiers to repress the mobs and protect the machines. The non-existence of a civilian police aggravated the symptoms of political and social disturbance, and was a direct cause of the Peterloo tragedy. Peel's initiation of the famous blue-coated corps, with its top hats and truncheons, in the year 1829 was the beginning of a better state of things. Formed in the first instance for the London area, 'the new police' saved the Capital, during the Reform Bill agitation two years later, from suffering at the hands of Radical mobs as Bristol and some other towns suffered, and as London itself had suffered from the Gordon riots fifty years before. As Peel's police were gradually established throughout the whole country, riot and the fear of riot ceased to have their former importance in English life.

But there was another aspect of the movement of 1812 besides machine-breaking. The Luddites demanded, by the legal method of petition to Parliament, that existing laws, some as old as the reign of Elizabeth, should be put into force for the State regulation of wages and hours fairly as between employer and employed.[1] This was a perfectly

[1] In fact, since the middle of the Seventeenth Century, the fixing of wages by magistrates, when it was resorted to at all, had been the fixing of a maximum wage only and therefore of no use to employees.

just demand, the more so as these ancient statutes were being partially enforced to prevent combinations of workmen to protect their own interests: indeed, the position had recently been strengthened against working-class Unions by Pitt's Combination Act of 1800. The laws were supposed to apply against combinations both of masters and men, but in fact the masters were allowed to combine as freely as they wished, while their employees were prosecuted for strike action. Finally, in 1813 Parliament repealed the Elizabethan statutes which gave magistrates power to enforce a minimum wage.

To leave the workman unprotected by the State as to wages, hours and factory conditions, while denying him the right to protect himself by combination was frankly unjust. It was not *laissez-faire*, but liberty for the masters and repression for the men. The high pundits of the *laissez-faire* doctrine, such as Ricardo, were on the side of the employees in this matter, demanding the legalization of Trade Unions.

After 1822 the anti-Jacobin tide at last began to ebb. With Peel at the Home Office, repression ceased to be the sole method of government, and in 1824–1825 the House of Commons, in the spirit of a new and better age, was induced by the skilful lobbying of Joseph Hume and Francis Place to repeal Pitt's Combination Act and make Trade Unions legal. Henceforth the various forms of working-class association and corporate action grew up rapidly as a normal and recognised part of the social structure, instead of becoming revolutionary as they must needs have done if the Combination Act had remained in force.

It must not be supposed that the strife of classes was ever an absolute thing in England, or that all masters were harsh to their workpeople or indifferent to their hardships. An enlightened minority of employers had supported the legalizing of Trade Unions. And during the Napoleonic wars the enterprising manufacturer, Sir Robert Peel the elder, father of a greater son, had begun to agitate for State control of the conditions of children in factories, especially for the protection of the pauper apprentices, in whom a horrible slave traffic was carried on by the public authorities. No

doubt the good Sir Robert, who himself employed 15,000 hands, was in part anxious to restrain the unfair competition of his more unscrupulous rivals. But the Factory Acts of the period before the Reform Bill were not only very limited in scope, but remained dead letters for want of any machinery to enforce them.

Unfortunately, in the earlier years of the Century, State control in the interest of the working classes was not an idea congenial to the rulers of Britain. They turned a deaf ear to Robert Owen when he pointed out to them that his own New Lanark Mills were a model ready to hand, to teach the world how the new industrial system could be made the instrument of standardized improvement in sanitation, welfare, hours, wages and education, raising the conditions of working-class life to an average level that could never have been attained under the domestic system. Let the State, said Owen, enforce similar arrangements in all factories. But the world, though sufficiently interested to visit and admire the New Lanark Mills refused to imitate them. Men were still unable to comprehend the modern doctrine which Owen first clearly grasped and taught, that environment makes character and that environment is under human control. The great opportunity that his vision had perceived was missed, until in the slow evolution of a Century the State has come round to his doctrine of the control of Factories and the conditions of life for all employed therein, which he had vainly preached to the Cabinet of Liverpool and Castlereagh. At the end of the Nineteenth Century, partly by successive Factory Acts, partly by Trade Union action, factory life had proved a means of raising standards, while the 'sweated' domestic trades, like dressmaking which could not be brought under factory control, were still for awhile longer the scene of the worst oppressions, especially of women.

To form a true picture of the processes of social change going on in the post-war period, we must avoid the mistake of supposing that the working classes as a whole were financially worse off than before the Industrial Revolution, although their grievances being of a new kind were more resented, and their complaints were more vocal than in the

past. Professor Clapham, the greatest authority on the economic history of the period, roundly condemns

'the legend that everything was getting worse for the working man, down to some unspecified date between the drafting of the People's Charter and the Great Exhibition The fact, that after the price fall of 1820-1 the purchasing power of wages in general—not, of course, of everyone's wages—was definitely greater than it had been just before the revolutionary and Napoleonic wars fits so ill with the tradition that it is very seldom mentioned, the work of statisticians on wages and prices being constantly ignored by social historians' (Preface to the *Economic History of Modern Britain*)

This is true and important ; but the purchasing power of wages is not the whole of human happiness, and for not a few the amenities and values of life were less than those enjoyed by their rural forefathers.

CHAPTER XVI

COBBETT'S ENGLAND [1793–1832]

II

Women and the new world—The fund-holders—Religion—Shipping—Navy and Army—Sporting events—Game Laws—Humanity.

THE growth of the factory system and of capitalist agriculture involved a number of changes in the employment of women, which altered conditions of family life, and therefore in the long run affected the relation of the sexes.[1]

From the earliest ages of mankind, women and children had conducted certain industries in the home, and the variety and complication of cottage manufactures had increased in Stuart and early Hanoverian England. Their sudden decay, owing to the invention of new machines, was of profound consequence to the life of the poor. The first result, in the closing years of the Eighteenth Century, was much unemployment and misery for single women, and the breaking up of many small rural households whose budget had always been balanced by the earnings of the wife and children.

The move to the factories could not be effected at once, and in many cases was not effected at all. During the Napoleonic wars women, deprived of their old means of livelihood by the decay of cottage industries, went into field work beside their men folk. The big capitalist farmers began to employ gangs of women in hoeing and weeding. Such employment had always been occasional among country women, and they had always turned out at haytime and harvest. But the big farmers in the age of Speenhamland employed females all the year round, because the newly enclosed lands required much weeding and preparation; because there was less charge on the poor-rate if the wife earned wages as well as the husband; and because if women

[1] Many facts relative to this subject will be found in Dr Ivy Pinchbeck's *Women Workers and the Industrial Revolution*, 1930

were drawing pay it helped to keep down the wages of the men. It was a vicious circle: the fact that the husband's wages were not at that time enough to support the whole family forced the wife and daughters into this competition with the men for farm service. It was only as the field labourer's wages gradually rose in the second half of the Nineteenth Century, and as agricultural machinery enabled farmers to dispense with many kinds of hand work, that female employment in agriculture again became as restricted as it had been in earlier times.

Under the old system of life, many village women took an active part in tilling the family patch of ground, looking after the pig or cow, marketing the goods or helping to conduct some small local business : in the England of the past, as in the France of to-day, the wife was often her husband's partner and fellow-worker. But the growth of high farming and big business tended to drive women out of these activities, turning some of them into 'ladies' of no occupation, others into field-labourers or factory hands, others into workmen's wives entirely devoted to the care of the home.

As in most changes in human affairs, there was gain as well as loss. The working-class home often became more comfortable, quiet and sanitary by ceasing to be a miniature factory : for example, the removal of the picking and cleaning of cotton from the cottage to the mill made many huswifes happier and many homes more pleasant.

Moreover, the women who went to work in the factories, though they lost some of the best things in life, gained independence. The money they earned was their own. The factory hand acquired an economic position personal to herself, which in the course of time other women came to envy. This envy, based on the aspiration to independence, was not confined to girls of the working class. It came to be felt also in higher circles. By the middle of the Nineteenth Century, members of the leisured class like the Bronte sisters and Florence Nightingale were beginning to feel that the independent factory hand, earning her own bread, was setting an example that might be of value to the 'lady.'

For the early Victorian 'lady' and her mother of the Regency period, too often had nothing in the world to do

but to be paid for and approved by man, and to realize the type of female perfection which the breadwinner of the family expected to find in his wife and daughters.[1] No doubt the ever increasing numbers of leisured women usefully enlarged the reading public and the patronage of art and literature. Indeed, leisured women, like Jane Austen, Maria Edgeworth and Hannah More, had time and education enough to become authors and artists themselves. That was good But many of the young ladies who doted on Scott's and Byron's romances, and strove to look like their heroines, were suffering from too much leisure Fashions in art and literature, as they pass, affect the habits of life and sometimes even the appearance of the more sophisticated classes. Scott's pseudo-mediaeval ideals of the 'lady' worshipped by the enamoured hero, and Byron's sultanic vision of woman as odalisque, helped to inspire the artificial uselessness of the would-be fashionable sisterhood

As the upper and middle classes grew richer, and as the rural gentry fell more under the influence of town life, it became a point of social pride that the young ladies should be taught by a governess in the schoolroom, and thence pass to the drawing-room, and do at all times as little domestic work as possible. The ladies in Miss Austen's novels, representing the smaller gentry and upper bourgeoisie, have little to do but to read poetry, retail local gossip and await the attentions of the gentlemen. To be sure it was different in the great political families: in Lansdowne or Holland House a lady's life was by no means so limited or so dull

Moreover, 'ladies' were not encouraged to exercise their bodies except in dancing. Very few women at this period hunted; that became more usual in the strenuous Victorian days, as we see in *Punch's* pictures and in Trollope's novels The lady of this earlier period was expected to keep herself in cotton wool. When Elizabeth Bennet walked three miles in muddy weather and arrived at Netherfield 'with weary ankles, dirty stockings and a face glowing with warmth and exercise,' Mrs. Hurst and Miss Bingley 'held

[1] Before the Married Women's Property Acts of the late Victorian period, a woman's property became her husband's at marriage The law was in curious contrast to the words of the marriage service, when the man was made to say 'with all my worldly goods I thee endow' It was really the other way round

her in contempt for it.' Even in the hardy North, Wordsworth in 1801 wrote a poem, as its title tells us, to console and encourage 'A Young Lady, who had been reproached for taking long walks in the country'! It was all very absurd, for in less artificial classes of society, women were walking long distances to and from their work, there were Welsh women who annually walked the whole way to London and back in pursuit of seasonal employment in the fruit and vegetable gardens round the Capital.

The upper-class woman was being devitalized and cut off from life and its interests, as a result of the increasing wealth of her men folk and the more artificial conditions of modern life. In the old self-supplying manor-house, with its innumerable jobs to be done within and without doors, the ladies of good family, like the Pastons and Verneys, had had their allotted tasks. But now it became the hallmark of a 'lady' to be idle.

There were, of course, even among the well-to-do, many women who lived active and useful lives, some of the old domestic type; others, like Hannah More's, of a modern, philanthropic and intellectual variety But there lay a real danger for the new century in the false ideal of the 'sheltered' lady. And in a snobbish society like England, where those below were always seeking to imitate those just above them, the false ideal spread downwards among the smaller bourgeoisie now multiplying in the new suburbs of the towns.

Even in the countryside the wives of wealthy farmers were accused of setting up as 'ladies,' too fine to work In old days the farmer's wife had always been (as she usually is to-day) a very busy woman, with all the cares of the house and some of the cares of the farm on her shoulders. In dairy farms she was herself the foreman labourer, getting the milkmaids up before sunrise and often working on at butter or cheese making until a late hour at night. Dairy farming, especially in the regions of the West that supplied the London market with cheese and butter, was the most arduous and the most profitable of the occupations of women. On other farms the wife was more occupied with housework. She had to cook and care not only for her own family but for the labourers who fed at her husband's

board and lodged under his roof. She was a hard-working woman with little leisure.

But in the early Nineteenth Century these domestic conditions had changed on the large enclosed farms of the new order. The hands employed were more numerous, but for that very reason they no longer boarded or fed with their employer. The farmhouse, as Cobbett complained, was becoming 'too neat for a dirty-shoed carter to be allowed to come into.' The big farmers engaged a better type of domestic servant to relieve their wives of drudgery and to give a gentlemanlike appearance to the parlour, even if the kitchen was still usually preferred for family life on ordinary occasions. The farmer's daughters, it was said, 'instead of being taught their duty and the business of a dairy at home, receive their education at a Boarding School, are taught to dance, to speak French and to play upon the harpsichord.'

But this was only true to its full extent in the case of the wealthier farmers, some of whom were indeed gradually becoming gentlemen. The farming class included a number of different social grades and standards. The farmers in the North did not ape the gentleman like some farmers of the Speenhamland regions. The northern 'hind' was more independent than the pauperized labourer of the South, and the social demarcation between him and his employer was less marked; this was specially true of the moorland shepherds. And all over England there were still thousands of farms where the women of the family took a share in all kinds of work, and many where the farm hand still fed with those who employed him.

An account of women's life at this period ought to include a reference to the great army of prostitutes. It had existed in all ages, and its ranks had grown with the increase of wealth and population in the country. Except for 'rescue work' which the pious were now actively taking in hand, the evil was left untouched. It infested the towns without the least public control; 'the harlot's cry from street to street' made public resorts hideous at nightfall. The growing 'respectability' of the well-to-do classes in the new era diminished the numbers and position of the

more fortunate 'kept mistresses,' who had played a considerable part in Eighteenth Century society. But for that very reason the demand was increased for the common prostitute who could be visited in secret. The harshness of the world's ethical code, which many parents endorsed, too often drove a girl once seduced to prostitution. And the economic condition of single women forced many of them to adopt a trade they abhorred. The decay of cottage manufacture starved orphan girls till they bowed the head for bread. Low wages in unregulated sweated industries made temptation strong. On the whole, the more regular pay and the general conditions of life in factories tended towards a higher standard of morals, although the critics of the factory system long denied it. As the new Century went on and factory pay and conditions steadily improved, the self-respect of the women employed was put on a sounder economic basis.

The new age was bringing into being a large leisured class which had no direct relation either to the land, to the professions, to industry or to trade. In the years following the Napoleonic Wars there was much talk of the 'fund-holders,' who enjoyed incomes secured on the national credit.

Ever since the reign of William III, the constant increase in the funded National Debt with each new war, was always expected to prove fatal to the country as the figures soared up decade after decade. But in fact the Debt never outran the increasing financial power of Britain, and the interest paid on it was nearly all spent within her four shores. At the beginning of George III's reign the 'fund-holders' had been reckoned at 17,000 persons, and about one-seventh of the total debt was at that time held abroad, largely by Dutch investors. But after Waterloo only a twenty-fifth part of Britain's now colossal debt was held by foreigners. In 1829 official statistics showed that the fund-holders numbered 275,839 persons, of whom more than 250,000 were small investors each receiving an annual interest of £200 or less.[1]

This meant a wide diffusion of safe and easily realizable

[1] Halévy, *Hist of Eng People* (Pelican ed) II, pp 204–212.

wealth among a very great number of families. They were thrifty folk; in 1803 it had been calculated that a fifth of the interest paid by the State to its creditors was reinvested in the public funds. It is probable that most of the fund-holders were earning additional incomes in one way or another, but some were living inactive, respectable lives on their small, carefully treasured investments, particularly unmarried women, like the innocent ladies whom Mrs. Gaskell described in *Cranford*.

When Cobbett abused the 'fund-holders' as blood-suckers eating the taxes of the people, and demanded the repudiation of the National Debt, he hardly realized what an enormous number of inoffensive, humble folk he proposed to ruin, over and above the 'stock-jobbers' who were perhaps fair game. Them he hated above all, partly because they helped to swell the 'wen' of greater London. The inexorable 'march of bricks and mortar,' burying for ever the green farmlands of Middlesex, was creating residential areas for the business men of the capital and for the stock-jobbers and fund-holders. With his heart in the old yeoman past of his country, Cobbett could not abide the sight of this new featureless swamp of houses, and this new artificial society with no roots in the soil. Yet of such towns and such people the England of the future would largely consist.

Brighton, famous for the patronage of George IV and for the Pavilion he had built there, was already an adjunct of London 'Mark the process,' growled Cobbett; 'the town of Brighton, in Sussex, fifty miles from the wen, is on the seaside, and is thought by the stock-jobbers to afford a salubrious air. It is so situated that a coach which leaves it not very early in the morning, reaches London by noon. . . . Great parcels of stock-jobbers stay at Brighton, with the women and children. They skip backwards and forwards on the coaches and actually carry on stock-jobbing in Change Alley though they reside at Brighton.' (*Rural Rides*, May 5, 1823.)

During the first thirty years of the Century many changes in habits of life and thought were due to the steady infiltration of evangelical religion into all classes of society, finally

not excepting the highest, it was a movement that spread from below upwards. An active individualist Protestantism, closely connected with humanitarian activity, strictness of personal conduct and avowed profession of piety had, as we have seen, been an important element in Eighteenth Century England, but had then exerted little influence on the latitudinarian Established Church or on the free lives of the enjoying classes. But when those classes saw their privileges and possessions threatened by Jacobin doctrines from across the Channel, a sharp revulsion from French 'atheism and deism' prepared a favourable soil for greater 'seriousness' among the gentry. Indifferentism and latitudinarianism in religion now seemed seditious and unpatriotic, and a concurrent change in manners took place, from licence or gaiety to hypocrisy or to virtue. Family prayers spread from the merchant's household to the dining-room of the country house. 'Sunday observance' was revived. 'It was a wonder to the lower orders,' wrote the *Annual Register* in 1798, 'throughout all parts of England, to see the avenues to the churches filled with carriages. This novel appearance prompted the simple country people to enquire what was the matter.'

If this change to religious seriousness had been nothing more than a symptom of the anti-Jacobin panic, it would have passed away with the passing of the danger. But it survived the return of peace in 1815, and came to terms with the liberal reaction that followed. The Victorian gentleman and his family were more religious in their habits and sober in their tone of thought than their predecessors in the light-hearted days of Horace Walpole and Charles Fox The English of all classes formed in the Nineteenth Century a strongly Protestant nation; most of them were religious, and most of them (including the Utilitarians and Agnostics) were 'serious,' with that strong preoccupation about morality which is the merit and danger of the Puritan character. In their double anxiety to obey a given ethical code and to 'get on' in profitable business, the typical men of the new age overlooked some of the other possibilities of life. An individualist commercialism and an equally individualist type of religion combined to produce a breed of self-reliant and reliable men, good citizens in

many respects—but ‘ Philistines ’ in the phrase popularized by their most famous critic in a later generation. Neither machine industry nor evangelical religion had any use for art or beauty, which were despised as effeminate by the makers of the great factory towns of the North.

In the lower ranks of society, horror of French Republican atheism helped the Wesleyan movement to spread more widely than ever after the death of its great founder in 1791. Not only did the new Methodist Churches increase their membership to hundreds of thousands, but the methodist spirit was infused into older Nonconformist sects like the Baptists. On the eve of the French Revolution, the latitudinarian and radical spirit of Priestley and the Unitarians had to some extent penetrated other dissenting sects that were nominally orthodox. But that liberalizing influence was destroyed by the reaction with which the Century closed, and its place was taken by a strong, narrow evangelicalism. The various Nonconformist sects, thus reinspired to a fresh proselytizing activity, undertook the mission of Christianity in the new industrial districts, a task for which the Established Church at that time had neither the organization nor the zeal.

While the war lasted, the influence of the new type of Nonconformity was anti-French and on the whole conservative , the governing classes therefore regarded its increasing influence and numbers with less alarm than might otherwise have been felt. Common antipathy to Roman Catholics and to their reviving claim to civil equality, formed yet another link between the Tory upper class of the day and the Dissenting Sects under the new evangelical influence—to the chagrin of the aristocratic Whigs, in whom alone the broader Eighteenth Century attitude survived. But as soon as the war was over and anti-Jacobin fears had receded, the unreformed and highly privileged Church Establishment was left face to face with a number of powerful Nonconformist sects, all inspired by a new evangelical vigour, and no longer grateful for a bare toleration, like their feebler predecessors of a hundred years before.

The bridge between Establishment and Dissent, as also between anti-Jacobin and Liberal, was found in the small but influential Evangelical party which had now effected a

lodgment inside the Church. Its ethos was not clerical like that of the Oxford Movement in the following generation. The most energetic among the Church clergy were indeed the Evangelicals, but they cared less about the Church as an institution than about the saving of souls, and they made no high claims on behalf of their own priesthood. Except Charles Simeon and Isaac Milner of Cambridge, the leading 'Saints' (as the Evangelicals were popularly called) were laymen—Wilberforce himself, the Buxtons and the Clapham 'Sect' The strongest type of English gentleman in the new era was often evangelical. The army knew them with respect and India with fear and gratitude. Through families like the Stephens, their influence on Downing Street and on the permanent Civil Service and on Colonial administration was constantly increasing during the first forty years of the Century.

Humanitarian activity was the characteristic form in which their religious piety expressed itself In the cause of the slaves they were ready to co-operate not only with their fellow Evangelicals, the Wesleyan and other Dissenters, but with free-thinkers and Utilitarians. Wilberforce confessed with chagrin that the 'high-and-dry' conservative party then prevalent among the Church clergy obstructed the anti-Slavery cause or were at best indifferent, while Nonconformists and godless reformers proved his staunchest allies. And the old free-thinker Bentham on his side exclaimed : 'If to be an anti-slavist is to be a Saint, saintship for me.' The same combination of forces, Church Evangelical, Dissenter and free-thinking Radical—worked for the education of the poor in the British and Foreign School Society, and in the following generation for Shaftesbury's Factory legislation.

This cross-cut, traversing established party and denominational lines, indicated that the public mind was becoming more active and independent Many were now thinking and acting for themselves, on subjects chosen by themselves, and were no longer content merely to make a crowd at the hustings for the benefit of the Whig or Tory aristocracy. This new power of organized public opinion carried the abolition of the Slave Trade in 1807, in the teeth of powerful vested interests, in the middle of the

anti-Jacobin reaction. The movement was not allowed to drop after that first triumph, but was carried on to effect the further object of freeing all the slaves in the British Empire, Fowell Buxton in the 'twenties took on the leadership of this cause, which triumphed in 1833, the year Wilberforce died.

Thus was Wilberforce rewarded for his complete honesty of purpose. He had never shrunk from the pursuit of his great humanitarian object even when after the French Revolution it had become for a while extremely unpopular in the world of politics and fashion; he had always been ready to work with persons of any party, class or religion who would support the cause. He was an enthusiast who was always wise. He was an agitator who always retained his powerful gift of social charm, the outcome of his sweet disposition. He is the classic example of the use of the cross-bench politician in our two-party public life. He could not have done what he did if he had desired office. With his talents and position he would probably have been Pitt's successor as Prime Minister if he had preferred party to mankind. His sacrifice of one kind of fame and power gave him another and a nobler title to remembrance.

The hold of Wilberforce and the anti-slavery movement on the solid middle class in town and country was a thing entirely beautiful—English of the best, and something new in the world. For a whole generation, the anti-slavery champion was returned at every election for the great popular constituency of Yorkshire. He could, if he himself had consented, have sat for it during the rest of his life. In those days, all the freeholders had to come up to the Cathedral city to vote. 'Boats are proceeding up the river (from Hull) heavily laden with voters,' says a letter in 1807, 'and hundreds are proceeding on foot.' 'Another large body, chiefly of the middle class, from Wensley Dale, was met on their road by one of the Committee. "For what parties, gentlemen, do you come?" "Wilberforce, to a man," was their leader's reply.' When on Sunday the vast floor of York Minster was packed with the freeholders of the three ridings, 'I was exactly reminded,' writes Wilberforce, 'of the great Jewish Passover in the Temple, in the reign of Josiah.'

Wilberforce and the anti-slavery men had introduced into English life and politics new methods of agitating and educating public opinion. The dissemination of facts and arguments ; the answers to the mis-statements of the adversary on the pleasures of the 'Middle-passage' and the happiness of negro life in the plantations ; the tracts , the subscriptions ; the public meetings—all these methods of propaganda were systematized by methods familiar enough to-day but strange and new in that age. The quiet force of the Quakers was brought out of its long hibernation and launched into public life, taking the party politicians in flank. The methods of Wilberforce were afterwards imitated by the myriad leagues and societies—political, religious, philanthropic and cultural—which have ever since been the arteries of English life Public discussion and public agitation of every kind of question became the habit of the English people, very largely in imitation of Wilberforce's successful campaign. Voluntary association for every conceivable sort of purpose or cause became an integral part of English social life in the Nineteenth Century, filling up many of the gaps left by the limited scope of State action.

The British mercantile marine, which together with the Royal Navy thwarted the ambition of Bonaparte, was incomparably the greatest in the world. In the reign of George IV (1820–1830) its tonnage, close on two and a half millions, was still moved by wind and sail, though in 1821 steamers undertook the passenger service between Dover and Calais, reducing the passage to three or four hours in favourable weather. By sea as well as land the age of steam was drawing near, though still in the future. But already engineering progress had transformed the approaches and harbours of the island Between 1800 and 1830 Trinity House established lighthouses and floating lights round the coasts of England ; docks were built in every considerable port town ; the dock system of London was rapidly brought into being, though the 'Pool' was still thronged with tall masts in the river as far up as the bridge. Pleasure piers, like those of Margate and Brighton, were also being built to attract the crowds of visitors to seaside resorts.

The Thames estuary still held unchallenged supremacy as the centre of Britain's trade and the World's. On the eve of the Reform Bill a quarter of the country's tonnage was owned and registered in London, including the great East Indiamen built for voyages of more than six months round the Cape to the India and China seas; Newcastle came next with 202,000 tons, chiefly coal ships, many of them to supply London; Liverpool came third with 162,000 tons, chiefly for the American trade; Sunderland and Whitehaven were fourth and fifth, dealing in coal along the East and West coasts respectively; Hull had 72,000; no other English port had over 50,000 tons. Clydeside had 84,000 (Clapham, *Ec. Hist. Modern Britain*, I, pp. 3–8.)

The relation of the Royal Navy to the merchant marine and to the rest of the seagoing population—including fishermen, whalers and smugglers, was of the first importance in time of war. The link between the two was the chaotic and atrocious system of the press-gang Some form of compulsion was required to man the fighting ships when they were put into commission, for conditions of life in the King's service were too bad to attract the required numbers of volunteers. But the method by which compulsion was applied was the worst possible. A proper register of seamen from whom conscripts might be taken in a just and orderly manner had been proposed by officials of the Admiralty during the wars against Louis XIV, but nothing had been done. The incompetence characteristic of State action and organization throughout the Eighteenth Century held good in this matter, even during the heroic age of the Navy. Still in the days of Nelson the press-gang was the terror of life along the coasts and in the harbours of England. Bands armed with cutlasses were led by the King's officers to crimp mariners and landsmen from ships in harbour or at sea, from ale-houses and streets, or even at the church-door whence bridegroom and congregation were sometimes carried off. Widespread injustice and misery were caused; families were ruined or broken up; and often very unsuitable recruits were obtained.[1]

[1] Mrs Gaskell's *Sylvia's Lovers* gives a picture of Whitby about the year 1800, which throws much light on the ways of the press-gang, and on the English whalers of the Greenland and Arctic seas

Once on board the King's ship, the pressed man had too much reason to bemoan his fate. The food provided by swindling contractors was often disgusting, and the pay doled out by a penurious government was always insufficient. Improvement in these respects only followed as a consequence of the dangerous mutinies of Spithead and the Nore in 1797. Thereafter the sailor's lot was gradually improved, on lines that had been advocated for generations past by the best naval officers in their struggles with the authorities at home. Nelson's own relations to his men were a pattern of kindness. But it must stand on record that the common sailors who saved Britain at St. Vincent, Camperdown and the Nile, were many of them mutineers in the intervals of their magnificent service. The contrast between their grievances and their indiscipline on the one hand, and their splendid spirit in action and on the blockade service, may seem unaccountable. The explanation lay in this : the men before the mast knew that, for all the ill treatment they received, the nation regarded them as its bulwark and glory ; that at the sight of one of Nelson's men with his tarry pig-tail, the landsman's eye kindled with affection and pride. The country that used them so ill, looked to them confidently to protect her, and they knew it

The naval officers, from among whom Nelson drew his 'band of brothers,' were more uniformly satisfactory than of old, though still occasionally quarrelsome and self-willed. In Stuart times the service had suffered from constant strife between the rough 'tarpaulin' captains of humble origin who knew the sea, and the fashionable landsmen sent from Court to share the command of the fleet. Those days had long gone by. The naval officers were now the sons of gentlemen of modest means (Nelson was a poor parson's son), sent to sea as boys, and combining what was best in the 'tarpaulin's' experience and training with the manner and thought of an educated man. Fanny's brother William, in *Mansfield Park*, and Captain Wentworth in *Persuasion* stand for all that was most attractive in the type. But there were all sorts of characters and idiosyncrasies among officers and men in the fleets of Nelson and Collingwood, which have been described by one of themselves in Captain Marryat's immortal *Peter Simple* and *Mr. Midshipman Easy*.

In the last few years of the struggle with Napoleon, the army became for a short time even more popular with the nation than the navy. The very completeness of victory at Trafalgar placed our 'storm-beaten ships' in the background of the war of which they remained the invisible support. It was now Wellington's victories that filled the minds of men. From 1812 to 1815, when the laurel-wreathed coaches cantered through village and market town bearing the news of Salamanca, Vittoria or Waterloo, the army became popular as it had never been before and never was again until the German Wars of the Twentieth Century, and then it was the nation itself in arms.

But Wellington's army was not the nation in arms, as was the conscript French army against which it fought. It consisted of aristocrats commanding privates taken from the lowest ranks of society, 'the scum of the earth' as Wellington declared them to be, though he added (as is often forgotten) 'it is really wonderful we should have made them the fine fellows they are.' (Stanhope's *Conversations with the Duke of Wellington*, ed. 1889, pp. 14, 18.) The principal causes of enlistment were drink, unemployment, and personal trouble with a woman or with the laws of the land. The harsh discipline of the lash, considered necessary to keep such rough customers in order, served to prevent the more self-respecting members of society from joining the army as privates. In the earlier years of the Peninsular War the British soldiers plundered in spite of all Wellington's efforts, though never as badly as the French whom Napoleon encouraged to live on the lands they conquered. But by the time our troops entered France in 1814, their discipline was excellent, and their self-respect and just pride as the best troops in Europe and the favourites of the folks at home was a credit to the odd social system on which the British army was based.

The military officers came from more aristocratic circles than the naval men. They were, many of them, like Wellington himself, cadets of the great families who led fashion and politics at home; others, like George Osborne, in *Vanity Fair*, were of the wealthy bourgeoisie who could afford to buy their commissions and to mingle with the

scions of the nobility. Between such officers and the men they led, the social gulf was immense and often resulted in gross neglect of the private soldier by officers too fashionable and sometimes too drunken to attend to their duty. The inefficiency and corruption of the army when the war began in 1793 was tested and exposed by the first campaigns in the Low Countries. A few years before, Cobbett, who had enlisted in the ranks and been promoted to sergeant-major, discovered that the Quarter-master of his regiment 'who had the issuing of the men's provision to them kept about a fourth part of it to himself,' and when Cobbett gallantly attempted to expose the scandal, he found that such proceedings were very generally connived at throughout the army; he fled to America to escape the vengeance of the authorities who would suffer no such prying into their methods and their perquisites.

As the long war went on, Sir Ralph Abercromby, Sir John Moore and Wellington gradually reformed this state of things; the British officer recovered his sense of duty and the army its discipline. But alike in the ill-managed and the well-managed regiments, the personal care and control of the privates was left to the sergeants, the 'non-commissioned officers,' who were indeed 'the backbone of the army.' The regiment was a society made up of grades answering to the social demarcations of the English village whence men and officers had come. It has been observed that when the ensign fresh from Eton was handed over to the respectful care and tuition of the colour-sergeant, the relation of the two closely resembled that to which the younger man had been accustomed at home, when the old gamekeeper took him out afield to teach him the management of his fowling-piece and the arts of approaching game.

There was no very strong professional feeling among the army officers of our most unmilitary nation. From the Duke downwards they hastened to get into mufti when off duty, though even the Duke was angry when some dandies in the Guards put up umbrellas to keep off the rain on the battlefield, as if it had been outside a club in St. James's Street! Only a few of the officers looked to the army as their real means of livelihood; as such, indeed, it could not be very profitable, considering the price that had to be paid

for commissions at each step in the service. It was a way of seeing life; of enjoying in Spain a sport even more exciting and arduous than big-game shooting; of making entry into the best society; of serving one's country in a manner suitable to one's youth. The Peninsular War produced a number of good English officers, and fostered a number of great regimental traditions, but it did not make an English military caste or an army organization of permanent value. When peace returned, most of the officers were willing enough to go home to the duties and pleasures of country-house life, to rural parsonages, or to the world of fashion and politics in town. England's army was not, like the army of France, of Spain and of Prussia, a military power rival to the civil power; it was a part-time occupation of some members of the governing aristocracy.[1]

During the long war two changes took place, indicating that at last the nation had accepted the standing army as a necessary national institution. At last barracks were built to house the troops, and the haphazard billeting of the soldiers on public houses came to an end, to the great relief both of the civilian population and of the soldiers themselves. At the same time the county militia ceased to be regarded as a line of defence, and was used as a source whence to supply the regular army with a reserve of trained recruits. The old idea that the defence of the island could be entrusted to the 'constitutional' militia of the shire, and that the 'standing army' was a dangerous temporary expedient, had been out of date for more than a hundred years, and now altogether passed away.

After Waterloo, a small standing army was maintained, but its popularity came to an end with the war. Though no longer regarded as a menace to the Constitution, it was regarded as an unnecessary expense by the economic anti-militarism of the new age. Moreover, the reformers now rising to influence disliked it as an aristocratic preserve. Such indeed it was; but the reformers, instead of proposing to reform it and democratize it, preferred to starve it and cut it down. Meanwhile the respectable working classes

[1] George Borrow's father, so well described in the opening chapters of *Lavengro*, was a fine example of the rarer type of officer who was not a man of fashion and to whom the army life was all in all

continued to regard enlistment in the army as a sign of failure in life, if not of positive disgrace Nineteenth Century England, having the good fortune to be safe from attack for several generations, conceived that so long as her navy was efficient her army could safely be neglected. And since it continued to be an aristocratic institution, it became increasingly unpopular with the rising democracy both of the middle and the working class. It was regarded as a proof of British freedom that, unlike the other inhabitants of Europe, no man over here could be required to learn to defend his country in arms. This new and strange definition of liberty was

'The imposthume of much wealth and peace'

It became so ingrained during the hundred years of security that it proved very difficult to shake it off when danger returned in the Twentieth Century more formidably than ever before.

News of Wellington's campaigns in Spain were not awaited with greater national eagerness than reports on the prospects of famous horse-races and prize-fights. With the improvement of roads and communications, 'sporting events' ceased to be of purely local interest and became matters of intense concern to high and low in all parts of the country. Horse-racing indeed had flourished under royal patronage ever since Stuart times, but scientific pugilism had grown out of rude and vulgar beginnings in the reign of George II into the chief national interest in the Regency period. Just as the good-natured democracy of present-day England is well represented in the vast crowds of all classes, mingled together on terms of perfect equality, to watch a Test Match or a Cup Tie, so the more variegated social structure and rougher manners of that earlier time were best seen in the 'patronage' of 'the ring.'

When the date and place of a prize-fight had been announced, hordes set out, driving, riding and walking to the spot from all parts of the island. Sometimes twenty thousand spectators assembled. In one aspect these vast outdoor assemblies were festivals of the common people. But the priests of the national cult were fashionable members

of the aristocracy, who presided over the ceremonies and held the rough and often violent multitude in awe. It was these men of fashion and rank who hired and backed the gladiators. Among those sturdy 'bruisers,' whose business it was to give and take 'punishment,' not a few ruffians could be found, but the real champions, men like Broughton, 'the father of British pugilism' in the reign of George II, and in the later times Belcher, Tom Cribb and Tom Spring were fine fellows and honourable men. Their lordly patrons were proud to be seen driving them to the ring-side in coach or gig. So too at race-meetings, the horses were owned by the men of fashion. Without aristocratic patronage sporting events would have lost half their zest and picturesqueness, and would very soon have degenerated into orgies of brutality and fraud, for the lower type of sporting men who surrounded the ring included too many like Thurtell, the murderer.

Indeed, with so much money wagered by the public, it was an uphill struggle for noble patrons to keep either the turf or the ring even comparatively honest. Without the moral jurisdiction of the fashionable Jockey Club, horse-racing would have become too disreputable to survive That fate actually befell the prize-ring in the early days of Victoria, because 'cross' fighting and the sale of victories had become too common. The decline of prize-fighting was further hastened by the growing humanitarianism and religiosity of an age which forbade the setting on of animals to fight one another, and could scarcely do less for men. The recent revival of prize-fighting tempered with gloves, is more democratic, and largely American and cosmopolitan. It has not the peculiar tone of the English prize-ring in the days when handsome George was Regent and leader of fashion.[1]

[1] The prize-ring in its 'most high and palmy state' was thus described by that soul of chivalry and honour, Lord Althorp, speaking in his old age to a friend 'He said his conviction of the advantages of boxing was so strong that he had been seriously considering whether it was not a duty he owed to the public to go and attend every prize-fight which took place In his opinion, cases of stabbing arose from the manly habit of boxing having been discouraged He gave us an account of prize-fights he had attended, how he had seen Mendoza knocked down for the first five or six rounds by Humphreys and seeming almost beat, till the Jews got their money on; when a hint being given him, he began in earnest and soon turned the tables He described a fight between Gully and the

When such was the most popular English sport, it can well be imagined that ordinary Englishmen were often at fisticuffs when they quarrelled, as readers of *Lavengro* and the *Pickwick Papers* are well aware. Indeed, young Dickens in 1836 could scarcely have drawn so popular a character as he meant Sam Weller to be, without endowing him with special gifts in knocking down his man.

As the century went on, when growing humanitarianism, evangelicalism and respectability helped to put down 'the ring,' they did the greater service of putting down the duel. The duel in the Eighteenth Century had been fought at push of rapier ; in the early Nineteenth Century it was fought with pistols—like poor Rawdon Crawley's 'same which I shot Captain Marker' As the spirit of the age became less aristocratic and more bourgeois, less military and more completely civilian and more 'seriously' religious and, let us say at once, more sensible, duelling gradually dropped out. But the change had only begun by the time of the Reform Bill. Statesmen still quarrelled and fought with political opponents or rivals. In 1829, Wellington, then Prime Minister, being an old-fashioned fellow, thought it necessary to call out Lord Winchilsea and have a shot at him. Pitt, too, had exchanged shots with Tierney, and Canning with Castlereagh , but in Victoria's reign Prime Ministers and other gentlemen were restrained, by a changed code of public morals, from vindicating their honour by a method so absurd.

These early years of the Century saw the culmination of a delightful popular art, the 'coloured print.' It ruled the mind and imagination of the age, as photography and the film rule ours. The shop windows were filled with 'coloured cartoons,' fiercely political and libellously personal, glowing with the genius of Gillray or the no less vigorous social comedy of Rowlandson. Other favourite themes, illustrated in a more conventionally heroic style, were the battles of the Peninsula, and incidents in the wars

Chicken How he rode down to Brickhill—how he was loitering about the inn door, when a barouche-and-four drove up with Lord Byron and a party, and Jackson the trainer—how they all dined together, and how pleasant it had been Then the fight next day , the men stripping, the intense excitement, the sparring ; then the first round, the attitude of the men—it was really worthy of Homer'

of all Europe, as far as the Russian snows strewn with frozen Frenchmen, or sea-pieces of our ships engaging the enemy. In quieter colours, Ackermann's beautiful prints showed the homely dignity of Oxford and Cambridge Colleges.

But above all, the coloured prints represented the outdoor world of sport, from big-game shooting in India and Africa to the field-sports and the life of the road at home. It is through these sporting prints still treasured and often reproduced, that our generation best knows the spirit of that bygone epoch. Through them we are still familiar with the bustle of the galleried inn-yard when the coaches were starting, the young swell seated in the expensive place of honour beside the mail-coachman on the box, the heavy middle-aged men of business well wrapped up on the seats behind, the red-coated guard in rear of all, then the scene on the open road, the post-chaises, gigs and dog-carts racing each other and the coach, over Macadam's hard, smooth surface; the adventure when the travellers are held up by flood or snow. Then the shooters in their top hats approaching the partridges that their dogs have pointed in the stubble, the spaniels flushing the cock pheasants out of the brushwood; the hardy sportsman wading through ice and snow after geese, wild duck and swan. Last, but not least, the hounds in full cry, and the career of the red-coated hunt, to whom the countryside, recently enclosed and drained, presents with its new hedges and channelled watercourses the cheerful aspect of innumerable 'jumps.'

There was no luxury about the field-sports of those days. Hard exercise and spartan habits were the condition of all pursuit of game. This devotion took the leaders of the English world out of doors, and helped to inspire the class that then set the mode in everything from poetry to pugilism, with an intimate love and knowledge of woodland, hedgerow and moor, and a strong preference for country over town life which is too seldom found in the leaders of fashion in any age or land.

Indirectly, therefore, the passion for shooting game did much for what was best in our civilization. But it was unfortunately connected with the poaching war and all manner of unneighbourliness. The legislation affecting 'game'

was exclusive and selfish, not only towards the poor but towards everyone except an aristocratic few. It was illegal for anyone to buy or sell game—with the result that prices obtainable by professional poachers were much increased; and it was illegal for anyone who was not a squire or a squire's eldest son to kill game even at the invitation of the owner. This inconvenient law could indeed be evaded by a process known as 'deputation.' And it was abolished by the Whig legislators of 1831, in spite of the opposition of the Duke of Wellington, who was convinced that these extraordinary restrictions were the only means of keeping game in the countryside, just as he thought that the rotten boroughs were the only way of keeping gentlemen in politics. In both cases the event proved that he was too pessimistic.

By a new law of 1816, the starving cottager who went out to take a hare or rabbit for the family pot could be transported for seven years if caught with his nets upon him at night. Less sympathy need be felt for the bands of armed ruffians from the towns who invaded the preserves and fought pitched battles, twenty a side, with shot-guns at close range, against the gentlemen and gamekeepers who came out against them. The poaching war had become a very ugly business.

One of its worst features was the protection of pheasant preserves by hiding mantraps and spring-guns in the brushwood, thereby maiming and killing innocent wanderers, quite as often as the poachers for whom the engines of death were intended. The English judges pronounced the infamous practice to be legal, until Parliament put it under the ban of the law by an Act of 1827 The humanitarian spirit was beginning to be too strong even for the zealots of game preservation, against whom it then proceeded to win a long series of victories in the matter of the game laws. As those laws became milder and were more justly executed, the preservation of game became less difficult as well as less scandalous.

Indeed, as the Nineteenth Century advanced and as the anti-Jacobin spirit receded, humanitarianism invaded one province of life after another, softening the rude and often brutal temper of the past, and fostering instead a cheerful benevolence of heart sometimes running to sentimentality.

The destined prophet of this new phase of popular feeling in its strength and its weakness, was Charles Dickens, who grew to sensitive manhood in the hard school of London streets in the 'twenties. During that decade the 'bloody code' of death penalties for innumerable offences was being repealed, under pressure from juries who often refused to convict a man for theft if he was to be hanged for it. The age of Eldon was passing, the age of Bentham and Brougham was coming in. The movement for the abolition of negro slavery aroused passionate popular enthusiasm sometimes excessive in its sentiment for the 'dusky brother.'

These changes of feeling were a striking improvement upon all past ages. As the Nineteenth Century grew older, humanity pervaded more and more all the dealings of life, particularly the treatment of children. The advance in humanity, far more than the boasted advance in machinery, was the thing of which the Nineteenth Century had best reason to be proud; for in the wrong hands machinery may destroy humanity.

CHAPTER XVII

Between the Two Reform Bills [1832–1867]

The interval between the Great Reform Bill of 1832 and the end of the Nineteenth Century may, if we like, be called the Victorian Age, but it was characterized by such constant and rapid change in economic circumstance, social custom and intellectual atmosphere, that we must not think of these seventy years as having a fixed likeness one to another, merely because more than sixty of them were presided over by 'the Queen' (1837–1901). If any real unity is to be ascribed to the Victorian era in England, it must be found in two governing conditions: first, there was no great war and no fear of catastrophe from without, and secondly, the whole period was marked by interest in religious questions and was deeply influenced by seriousness of thought and self-discipline of character, an outcome of the Puritan ethos. This 'seriousness' affected even the 'agnostics' who, in the last part of the period, challenged not the ethics but the dogmas of Christianity, with increasing success on account of Darwinism and the discoveries of science. Moreover, the High Church movement, originated by Evangelicals who had seen a new light, inherited this strain of Puritanism. Mr. Gladstone, an Anglo-Catholic of that breed, appealed to the heart of his Nonconformist followers, because both orator and audience regarded life (including politics and foreign policy) as a branch of personal religion

Throughout the last seventy years of the Nineteenth Century the State was rapidly undertaking new social functions, rendered necessary by new industrial conditions in an overcrowded island; but the real strength and felicity of the Victorian age lay less in that circumstance, important as it was, than in the self-discipline and self-reliance of the individual Englishman, derived indeed from many sources, but to a large extent sprung from Puritan traditions to which the Wesleyan and Evangelical movements had given another lease of life. 'Self-help' was a favourite motto

with leading and characteristic men in all classes. In the Twentieth Century, on the other hand, self-discipline and self-reliance are somewhat less in evidence, and a quasi-religious demand for social salvation through State action has taken the place of older and more personal creeds. Science has undermined the old forms of religious belief, but even now the strength and the weakness of England cannot be understood without some knowledge of her religious history. In the twenty years between the two German wars (1919–1939) the moral idea, though less influential on personal conduct, was still expected, by the emancipated descendants of the Victorian religionists, to dictate our foreign policies and our disarmament, with all too little regard to actualities in other European nations who had never been Puritan, and had never regarded morals as having anything to do with policy.

During the period of the Napoleonic Wars and the first decade of peace that followed, the Evangelical clergy had become an integral part of the Church Establishment, to which they brought a vitality and enthusiasm that was still lacking in its other sections. The life's work of Charles Simeon (1759–1836), Fellow of King's and Minister of Holy Trinity Church, Cambridge, had done much to reconcile the proselytizing fervour of Evangelicalism to the discipline of the Church. Had it not been for Simeon, the evangelical clergy would have continued to drift into Dissent, as the easier method of conducting a peripatetic mission after the manner of Wesley, athwart the bounds of the parish system and in defiance of Church order. If this movement had continued in the new Century the Church of England might perhaps have fallen when the tempest of 'Reform' blew high in the 'thirties. But the Simeonite clergy, though friendly to Dissenters, effectively defended the Church whose mission to souls they did so much to revive.[1]

Except for the Evangelicals, the Church under the Regency remained very much as it had been in the early years of George III; only its latitudinarian liberalism had hardened into anti-Jacobin orthodoxy, unaccompanied by

[1] *Simeon and Church Order*, Canon Charles Smyth's Birkbeck Lectures, Cam Press, 1940.

any spiritual awakening except what was supplied by the Simeonite leaven. Still, as in the Eighteenth Century, the clergy of the Establishment were sharply divided into rich and poor. The Bishops, the Cathedral clergy and wealthier parish priests were part of the 'enjoying' class; they had obtained preferment not as a reward of work done for the Church, but through aristocratic connection or family favour. The parishes were often perfunctorily served or were left to the ministration of underpaid curates and threadbare incumbents of poor livings, who were not in the circle visited by the manor-house or acknowledged by Lady Catherine de Bourgh. All this had been highly congenial to the Eighteenth Century, when a 'place' in Church or State was regarded not as a solemn public trust but as a coveted prize. But in the new Age of Reform, opinion began to demand that a man should do the work for which he was paid. Every institution, from the 'rotten borough' to the Church benefice, was subjected to the rude Benthamite enquiry: 'What is the use of it?'

Moreover, the clergy of the Establishment were unpopular because they adhered, more faithfully than any other class or profession, to the High Tory party in the day of its decline and downfall. The formidable hosts of Nonconformists and of free-thinking Radicals, though loving each other little, united to attack ecclesiastical privilege. Young intellectuals, like John Sterling at Cambridge in 1826, described the parson in every village as 'a black dragoon,' kept there to do battle for the powers of tyranny and obscurantism.

Another and perhaps more just description of the well-connected parson as village autocrat at this period may be quoted from Dean Church. (*The Oxford Movement*, pp. 4, 10.)

When communication was so difficult and infrequent, he filled a place in the country life of England, that no one else could fill. He was often the patriarch of his parish, its ruler, its doctor, its lawyer, its magistrate, as well as its teacher, before whom vice trembled and rebellion dared not show itself. The idea of the priest was not quite forgotten; but there was much—much even of good and useful—to obscure it.

Dean Church also recalls the type of 'country gentlemen in orders, who rode to hounds, and shot and danced and farmed, and often did worse things,' and the 'pluralists who built fortunes and endowed families out of the Church.'

Under these general conditions, it is not wonderful that the Radical Press, in lampoons, articles and gross caricatures of plump, red-faced eaters of tithe, attacked the Anglican clergy more fiercely than they had been attacked since the days of the Long Parliament. Their unpopularity came to a head in 1831, when the Spiritual Peers in the House of Lords voted by twenty-one to two against the Reform Bill. That winter, the Reform mobs took a special delight in stoning the coaches and burning the palaces of Bishops.

Trembling churchmen and their exultant enemies both assumed that the first work of the reformed Parliament of 1833 would be to remedy the admitted grievances of the Dissenters and that before very long the Church would be disestablished and disendowed. 'No human means are likely to avert the threatened overthrow of the Establishment,' wrote the Tory Southey 'The Church as it now is, no human power can save,' wrote Dr. Arnold of Rugby, the Liberal-Conservative. But a Century has since gone by, and the Establishment, though shorn of its Irish and Welsh excrescences, maintains its endowments and its connection with the State, scarcely any longer challenged. Even the removal of the most obvious grievances of the Dissenters, instead of being carried at a rush in the first decade after the Reform Bill, was spread over fifty years.

The threatened ecclesiastical revolution was side-tracked, and the chief causes of the unpopularity of the Church were done away by friendly hands. Parliament reformed the unequal distribution of clerical wealth, and there was a rapid revival of religious activity among the clergy themselves, which evoked a rally of the laity to defend the Church and to participate in its parochial work.

The Parliamentary measures necessary for Church reform were carried out by the co-operation of the Conservative leader Peel with the Whig statesmen. The men of the new Oxford Movement protested against the interference of the State with ecclesiastical revenues, but no other machinery existed to effect these necessary changes, and the wiser

members of the Episcopal Bench, like Blomfield, co-operated with Whig and Tory statesmen in the work of the Ecclesiastical Commission and the Acts of Parliament which were passed on its advice between 1836 and 1840.

These Acts removed the worst abuses in the distribution of endowments, and partially at least bridged the gap between rich and poor clergy—though not completely, as readers of Trollope's novels will remember. Plurality was restricted by law, members of chapters being forbidden to hold more than one benefice or to belong to more than one chapter. The Cathedral clergy were reduced in numbers and in wealth. By such measures one hundred and thirty thousand pounds a year were saved and were applied to raise the stipends of the poorer parsons and curates. The diocesan boundaries were altered, and the Bishoprics of Manchester and Ripon were created to cope with the new industrial population of the North. The great inequalities in episcopal revenues were remedied, and scandalously large incomes cut down.

As a consequence of these reforms the Church was no longer assailed as a part of 'old Corruption.' Radical cartoons ceased to represent Bishops, deans and prebendaries as fat, worldly, rapacious men, living on the sweat of the poor.

At the same time the Church, under the inspiration of the spirit of the age, began to supplement by her own action the mediaeval geography of the parish system. New parishes were created, and churches were built in industrial districts, till then abandoned to the activity of the Nonconformists, or to no religion at all. Bishop Blomfield raised a great fund for building churches in outer London. For there was no longer any question of obtaining new churches out of public funds. Tory Parliaments had voted taxes to build churches in Anne's reign, and again after Waterloo. But after 1832 no government dared propose to mulct the taxpayer for such a purpose.

It was difficult to preserve the fabric even of the existing churches by forcing parishioners to pay the Church Rate, which continued for another generation to be a subject of fierce local controversy wherever the Dissenters were strong, especially in the industrial districts of the North. At

Rochdale in 1840, when a poll was being taken to decide whether or not a Church Rate should be levied, passion ran so high that troops were drafted into the town to keep order with fixed bayonets.

For all further development and new undertakings, the Church had therefore to rely on raising money by voluntary subscription, as the Free Churches had always done. And the maintenance of the Anglican Schools, at that time the principal part of the primary education of the country, depended almost entirely on voluntary contribution.

The Whig government also relieved the Church of the worst unpopularity of the tithe system, which from time immemorial had caused heart-burning not only to Dissenters but to the whole agricultural community. The harvest song—

> 'We've cheated the parson, we'll cheat him again,
> For why should the Vicar have one in ten?'

expressed a sentiment as old as Anglo-Saxon England. The tithe was levied from the tenant farmer, very often in kind: the tenth sucking-pig went to the parson's table; the tenth sheaf was carried off to his tithe barn. Long before the Reformation it had been a cause of friction and bitterness. Chaucer had praised the good parson who did not 'cursen for his tithes,' that is, excommunicate the recalcitrant tithe-payer.

The Tithe Commutation Act of 1836 laid this ancient grievance to rest. It stopped payment in kind. Tithes were commuted for a rent-charge on land. In 1891 it was made payable by the landowner, no longer by the tenant farmer except perhaps indirectly through his rent. The squires, who were socially and politically allied to the parsons, did not object to paying tithe as strongly as their tenants. The Commutation Acts gave peace to the countryside. It was only in our own day, when after 1918 so many cultivating farmers bought their own land and having become landowners found themselves directly chargeable with tithe, that a fresh agitation arose leading to fresh concessions at the expense of the Church.

Another grievance was remedied by the Marriage Act of 1836. By Lord Hardwicke's Marriage Act of 1753, no

one could be legally married except by a Church of England parson, an intolerable insult to the religious feelings of Protestant Dissenters and still more of Roman Catholics. The Act of 1836 permitted religious ceremonies in Catholic or Protestant dissenting places of worship, that should be legally binding if notified to the Registrar. For the Act established civil officers called Registrars of Births, Deaths and Marriages—in itself a notable reform consonant with the new era of statistics and exact information. Religious marriage in the Church of England was left as before, on condition that the parson sent to the Civil Registrar a duplicate of the entry of marriage made in the Vestry. This typical English compromise between the modern secular State and the old religious world is still the law of the land.

These various reforms saved the Church from the serious attack upon her that had been predicted alike by friend and foe. Nevertheless, political and social divisions remained very largely religious. The leading Conservatives in each town and village were usually the keenest churchmen, while their most active opponents, Whig and Liberal, were Dissenters or Anti-clericals. The lower-middle and working classes attended the same chapels and took part in the same religious activities. Politics in the Nineteenth Century were as much a matter of denomination as of class. The religious cleavage running through society was maintained all the more because the Whigs after 1832 failed to remedy the Dissenters' grievances about Church Rates, Burials and admission to Oxford and Cambridge. For a long time to come England was less 'class-conscious' than 'church-and-chapel conscious'

In the more old-fashioned parts of England—let us say in 'Barsetshire'—the clergy were still under the patronage and influence of the upper class. But in other parts of England many now served parishes where there were few or none of the higher orders of society, owing to the geographic segregation of classes which the Industrial Revolution was bringing about. The 'slum parson' came into being, a man with a different set of ideas and functions from those of the clerical autocrat of the old English village.

The internal vigour of Church life in the middle decades of the Nineteenth Century was derived from a variety of

sources. The average parson of no particular school of thought was aware that he must bestir himself in a critical age. The specifically evangelical influence was much more widely diffused and fashionable in Church circles than in the early years of the century: the 'low Churchmen,' as the Evangelicals were now called, were strong enough to enforce, both by law and custom, more 'Sabbath observance' than in the previous easy-going age. And at the same time, the Anglo-Catholic ideal, emanating from the Oxford of the 'thirties and 'forties, gradually spread its thoughts and practices throughout the land. In each of these aspects, the ecclesiastical picture of the Church of the 'fifties and 'sixties is well known to readers of Trollope's 'Barsetshire' novels. In shires less remote, there was also the 'broad church' school of Frederick Denison Maurice and Charles Kingsley, called 'Christian socialist' because of its interest in working-class life and education, derived in part from the exhortations of Thomas Carlyle, himself no churchman. The Broad Church school was never strong in numbers, but its ways of thought came to have influence on many more orthodox clergymen, though at first both its 'heresies' and its 'socialism' had been regarded with grave reprobation. Thus the Church of England, not without many invigorating controversies and vain attempts to expel either ritualism or heresy, became the multiform body to which we are now so well accustomed, liberally receptive of many different ways of life and thought.

After Newman's conversion to Rome in 1845, the Oxford Movement, which he had done so much to originate, divided itself into two separate currents. One, guided by Pusey and Keble, continued to promote the Anglo-Catholic cause in the established Church.[1] The other, led by Newman and later by Manning, stimulated the revival of the long depressed Roman Catholic mission in England.

[1] 'Anglo-Catholicism' was a novelty in the early Nineteenth Century, but it was not new in the longer range of Anglican History. The Laudian clergy perhaps, and the Nonjurors certainly, might have been called 'Anglo-Catholics': the Oxford Tractarians resembled the Nonjurors, *minus* their Jacobitism. Two Irish Churchmen, Bishop Jebb and Alexander Knox, had also adumbrated Anglo-Catholic principles a generation before the Oxford movement gave them a national importance. The ritualistic side of Anglo-Catholic services only developed as the Century went on: it was not a marked feature of the original Oxford Movement.

Having been accorded the status of civic equality by the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829, and being perpetually recruited by Irish immigration into England, the Roman community went on increasing in numbers and influence. But in 1850 it was still obnoxious to a strongly Protestant nation, as was shown by the misdirected popular outburst against the so-called 'Papal aggression,' when the Pope set up territorial Bishops in England.

Meanwhile the Nonconformist strength went on increasing, as the middle and working classes of the new industrial order continued to grow in numbers, wealth, political power and social esteem. In the 'sixties, when Matthew Arnold held up an unflattering mirror to the bloated face of English society, it was above all the Nonconformist 'Philistines' whom his Oxford soul abhorred; he saw in them the representative men of their generation, proud of their old English liberties and their new gotten wealth, but with too little other idea of the social and intellectual needs of a community deficient in 'sweetness and light.' But many of these wealthier industrialists of the new order joined the more fashionable Established Church, and passed into the ranks of the upper class by self-assertion or by marriage. 'Society was getting mixed.'

Another poet, Robert Browning, not of Oxford, perceived better what strength and comfort was added by Puritan religion to the lives of the poor and the hardworking orders of society. And, indeed, to judge from Matthew Arnold's sonnet *East London*, he too sometimes understood.[1]

The enormously increased wealth and manufacturing power of England in the first half of Victoria's reign—the

'Mammon-quakings dire as earth's'—

and their twin progeny, a new middle class without tradition and a raw industrial proletariat, needed a corresponding development of education to fructify and enlighten them. Unfortunately no government before Gladstone's in 1870 dared to evoke the battle of rival denominations which was

[1] William Law Mathieson, *English Church Reform 1815–40*, Dean Church, *The Oxford Movement*, *Pretractarian Oxford* by W Tuckwell; Matthew Arnold, *Culture and Anarchy*

certain to ensue from any proposal for State Education, when Church and Dissent would assuredly fly at one another's throats over the question of religious teaching. In 1841 Sir James Graham wrote to Brougham. 'Religion, the keystone of education, is in this country the bar to its progress.' All that the timid State ventured to do,

> 'Between the pass and fell incensed points
> Of mighty opposites,'

was to make a grant of twenty thousand pounds a year towards the school buildings of the various voluntary societies. This was begun in 1833 and the meagre allowance was annually renewed. To distribute this pittance, an Educational Committee of the Privy Council was set up, with a permanent Secretary and a system of inspection of the State-aided schools. Such was the humble origin of the present Ministry of Education. The insistence on government inspection as a condition of a government grant was a principle destined ere long to dominate many spheres of life. The Factory inspectors, set up by the Factory Act of 1833, bred School Inspectors, Mine Inspectors shortly followed. Government inspection was on the march; the time would come when it would affect half the activities of the land.

Meanwhile, twenty thousand pounds a year was not much for the richest State in the world to spend on education. The Prussian State was educating the whole Prussian people. The paternal rulers of Germany in the early Nineteenth Century educated their subjects, but gave them little political freedom and no share in government. The English State gave the common people great political freedom and some share in government, but left them to be educated by private religious charity. Only after the working classes of the towns had been enfranchised by the Reform Act of 1867, did the politicians at last say: 'We must educate our masters.'

While such was the inadequate provision for the primary education of the masses, secondary education of the well-to-do underwent a remarkable development in the growth of the 'Public School system.'

At the beginning of the Century there were three kinds

of secondary schools : the fashionable 'Public Schools' (really private) like Eton, Winchester and Harrow, still few in number, with a purely classical curriculum and shockingly ill disciplined ; secondly, the private Academies, where the unfashionable Dissenting middle class received a more scientific and modern education under better discipline ; and finally the old endowed Grammar Schools, many of which had decayed through the negligence and corruption characteristic of public institutions in the Eighteenth Century.

With the growth of the power and wealth of England and the need for every kind of leadership at home and overseas that the new Century demanded, a great increase of secondary education was essential. And it was to some extent supplied, but in an unexpected way that had important social consequences. It might have been supposed that the age of Reform and the approach of democracy would lead to the improvement and multiplication of endowed Grammar Schools by State action , in that case a common education would have been shared by the clever children of very various classes, as had been done in the Grammar Schools of Tudor and Stuart times with such excellent results. But in the Victorian era the Grammar Schools remained less important, in spite of some striking exceptions as at Manchester. At the same time the Dissenting Academies, so useful in the previous century, petered out. The new fashion was all for the 'Public School,' modelled on the old ideals of Eton, Westminster, Winchester and Harrow, of which Rugby became the great exemplar.

This development was partly due to chance, in the advent of a single man. The great educational reformer of the 'thirties was Dr. Thomas Arnold, Head Master of Rugby. His emphasis on religion and the chapel services, his monitorial system and his largely successful attempt to suppress bullying, drinking, profligacy and the worst indiscipline of the old 'bear-garden' type of Public School, set an example that proved infectious. The old establishments were reformed and others were started in eager competition. 'Organized games,' which Arnold himself had by no means over-emphasized, grew up automatically,

dominating and further popularizing Public School life, and spreading in due course to Oxford and Cambridge.[1]

The 'middling orders of society' found in the reformed Public School the door of entrance for their sons into the 'governing class.' The old landed gentry, the professional men and the new industrialists were educated together, forming an enlarged and modernized aristocracy, sufficiently numerous to meet the various needs of government and of leadership in Victoria's England and Victoria's Empire.

In many respects the Public Schools were a success and filled the part required. But the subjects which they taught were too much confined to the Classics to meet all the requirements of the new age, though they formed the basis for a high development of literary culture at Oxford and Cambridge, and in Tennyson's England at large. In the microcosm of 'public school' life, wherein the boys were left to form and govern their own society, character gained more than originality, and intellect was less encouraged than sturdy schoolboy faithfulness to comrades. Twenty and more years after Dr. Arnold's death, his critical son Matthew called the English governing class 'barbarians': the Public Schools had tended to preserve both the virtues and the limitations of 'earth's primitive, vigorous sons'

The upper, the upper-middle and the professional classes were welded together in the Public Schools, and by the same process were further divided from the rest of the nation brought up under a different educational system. The tendency to social segregation, enhanced by the geographic division of the various class 'quarters' in the

[1] How much reason careful and pious parents had to dread the influence on their sons of the Public School before the period of 'Arnold' reforms and the growth of organized games, can be read in Cowper's *Tirocinium* (1785):

> 'Would you your son should be a sot or dunce,
> Lascivious, headstrong, or all these at once,
> Train him in public with a mob of boys,
> Childish in mischief only and in noise,
> Else of a mannish growth, and five in ten
> In infidelity and lewdness men
> There shall he learn, ere sixteen winters old
> That authors are most useful pawned or sold;
> That pedantry is all that schools impart
> But taverns teach the knowledge of the heart'

The whole poem is worth the attention of the student of social history

lay-out of great modern cities, was thus further accentuated by education. Moreover, the expenses of a Public School, so much higher than those of the Grammar School and Day School, became a terrible self-imposed burden on middle-class and professional families. Indeed, at the end of the Century it became a principal cause of the lamentable decrease in the number of children in some of the best sections of the community.

Much of the success and much of the failure of modern England can be attributed to the Public Schools. They were one of the great institutions unconsciously developed by English instinct and character, and even less than Parliaments could they be successfully imitated oversea.

In the middle years of the Century the secondary education of girls was very ill provided for. They were sacrificed to pay for the expensive education of their brothers. In that and in other matters concerning women, the great emancipation and improvement was postponed till the last thirty years of Victoria's reign—the real period of the 'emancipation of women' in England.

Yet in spite of Matthew Arnold's pert and challenging phraseology about upper-class 'barbarians' and middle-class 'Philistines,' he himself was a prophet and poet of the age he abused, and in spite of his scorn for our system of secondary education as 'the worst in the world,' the fact remains that the higher culture of Nineteenth Century England was varied, solid and widespread over a large proportion of the community. The world is not likely to see again so fine and broad a culture for many centuries to come.

Already in the middle years of the Nineteenth Century, industrial change was creating the mass-vulgarity which was destined ere long to swamp that high standard of literary culture with the advent of the new journalism, the decay of the countryside, and the mechanization of life. Scientific education, when at last it came, inevitably displaced humanism. But in the mid-Nineteenth Century, education was still humanistic not scientific, and though this had some serious practical disadvantages, it made for the time being a great literary civilization, based on scholarship,

with an even wider following of intelligent readers than in the Eighteenth Century, and with a much more varied and catholic scope in style and matter than in the days when Boileau and Pope were the standards of taste. In literature and thought as well as in society and politics it was an age of transition from aristocracy to democracy, from authority to mass-judgment ; and for literature and thought such conditions were propitious, so long as they lasted.

Serious historical works were addressed to a very wide public and hit their mark, by no means in the case of Macaulay alone. The atmosphere of free religious controversy, of moral reflection, of anxious and reverent doubts on orthodox creeds and the search for a substitute, gave body and interest to imaginative writers like Carlyle, Ruskin and the author of *In Memoriam*, and made Wordsworth in his old age more popular than Byron in his grave. At the same time the critical analysis of actual society, perceived to be very faulty and believed to be remediable, helped to inspire and to popularize Dickens, Thackeray, Mrs. Gaskell and Trollope. And the rights of personality, even in the case of women, were represented in the writings of the Bronte sisters no less than in the life's work of Florence Nightingale. John Stuart Mill on *Liberty* (1859) and on the *Subjection of Women* (1869) attacked the bondage of convention and proclaimed the rights of individual men and women to free life and thought, in a manner that may be taken as a turning-point between the early and the later Victorian age.

The aspect of science which is nearest akin to humanism, the close and loving interpretation of nature, was another source that inspired the literature of the time and another cause of its wide appeal. In the later Eighteenth Century, the way had been prepared by White of Selborne, Bewick and other naturalists both professional and amateur, who taught their countrymen to observe and reverence the world of nature, in which it was man's privilege to dwell. At the turn of the Century this widespread habit found further expression in the landscapes of Girtin, Turner and Constable, and in the poetry of Wordsworth and Keats. In the following generation, in the 'thirties, 'forties and 'fifties, de Wint, David Cox, Edward Lear and many others were

added to the list of landscape painters of real talent, who could not even in water-colour paint fast enough to satisfy the public demand. And in poetry the long reign of Tennyson covered most of the Victorian era. His strongest appeal lay in the strength, beauty and accuracy of his pictures of nature.

Indeed, Tennyson, when at his best, was able to clothe the accurate observation of natural objects with 'the light that never was on sea or land.' That commended him to the Victorians, who were susceptible both to the magic of words and the loveliness of nature. The more precise pictures that Tennyson's poetry evoked displaced the vaguer nature-scenes of Thomson's *Seasons*, which until his advent had retained the affections of the middle-class reading public. Early in Victoria's reign the ladies of *Cranford* were told about Tennyson : 'This young man comes and tells me that ash buds are black , and I look and they *are* black.'

Very similar was the source of Ruskin's influence over the same reading public, which sprang up suddenly in the 'forties and continued for many years. In *Modern Painters*, written to advocate the claims of English landscape painting, particularly that of Turner, and later to defend the Pre-Raphaelites, he analysed in prose at once lucid and magnificent the beauty of form in clouds, mountains and vegetation—the work of God spread wide for the delight of man. He may have erred in testing the value of pictures overmuch by their approximation to truth in these respects, but he gave new eyes to his countrymen in their journeys to the Alps and to Italy, and in their walks in their own familiar woods and fields.

Europe, then a world of comparative peace and variegated beauty, not yet mechanized and not yet closed by war and national hatred, was the great playground of the English, who flocked abroad in thousands to spend their newly gotten wealth in exploring the mountains and flower-meadows of Switzerland, the architecture, the galleries, and the landscapes of the Netherlands, Italy and France. The English traveller of this period took abroad a full mind equipped by some knowledge of history, literature and natural science to observe and appreciate the glory of the world of nature and of man.

At the same time the new railway system of Britain opened out the Highlands of Scotland to pedestrians and tourists with a zeal for mountain air and scenery. The wealthier and more fashionable had their deer-forest or their grouse-moor where they entertained their guests every autumn. The moorland expeditions of the Queen and Prince Albert from Balmoral, and the deer that the Prince shot and Landseer painted, popularized Highland scenery with all classes of the English, who were now able to see the landscape of Scott's romances for themselves.

Thus, in the middle years of the Century, Victoria's subjects developed eyes for many kinds of natural beauty and historical interest. They enjoyed a great literary civilization, both in reading the classics of the past and producing classics of their own age. But these grandfathers and great-grandfathers of ours, though they compassed sea and land to admire Roman aqueducts and Gothic Cathedrals, themselves produced deplorable buildings, and filled them with appropriate furniture and knick-knacks. In these respects the decay of taste between the period of the Regency and the period of the Prince Consort was astonishing. The most refined and educated classes were as bad as any : the monstrosities of architecture erected by order of the Dons of Oxford and Cambridge Colleges in the days of William Butterfield and Alfred Waterhouse give daily pain to posterity.

An unfortunate habit of the time was the demolition of beautiful old manor-houses of manageable size, to make room for ugly rural palaces where the rich men of Britain's most prosperous era entertained their troops of guests from London. Their descendants, with better taste in architecture and with less money in the Bank, have reason to regret the burdens thus bequeathed them.

It is not altogether easy to account for this architectural blind spot in the Victorian vision. But Ruskin, as chief priest, was in part responsible, in that he condemned, on fantastic religious grounds, the whole Renaissance tradition, of which real English architecture was essentially a part. His influence filtered down through society till it reached people who never read a line of his books, and jerry-builders believed that if they 'stuck on a bit of Gothic ornament,'

all was well. The real secret of architecture, proportion, was lost. At bottom the Industrial Revolution was to blame: the mechanization of building and other trades, and the decline of craftsmanship were no doubt the deep underlying causes. Local customs in architecture, based on the use of local materials, were destroyed by the railways, which supplied standardized cheap bricks and slates, to take the place of local stone, stone-tiles, thatch and thin brick, which previous generations of countrymen had known how to use aright by inherited skill and regional tradition. But now building everywhere became a process of cheap mass-production of houses by modern methods. New furniture, machine-made, was as bad. The fat upholstered arm-chairs might be more comfortable, the new houses might be more convenient, but beauty spread her wings and flew away.

In the 'forties, 'fifties and 'sixties painting was still a great trade, supplying a great demand. For the photographer had not yet sufficiently developed his science to take the place of the painter's art in the production of family portraits, copies of famous pictures and representations of ancient buildings and favourite landscapes. At Rome, and in every artistic capital of Europe, resided an army of artists, good and bad, painting landscapes and copying 'old masters' to sell to the touring English, who carried back these mementoes of their travels. And the Royal Academy was in its heyday, commercially speaking, supplying the rising manufacturers with portraits, landscapes and historical pieces—to cover the large walls of their comfortable, new, pretentious homes. It was partly because this trade was so extensive that Ruskin became so important. He exercised over art the kind of dictatorship which the *Edinburgh* and *Quarterly* reviews had formerly exercised over literature. The complaint of the demoded R.A. was thus parodied:

> I paints and paints,
> Hears no complaints,
> And sells before I'm dry;
> Till savage Ruskin
> Sticks his tusk in
> And nobody will buy.

The same dangers from the same combination of religious and social forces, which in the years immediately preceding the Reform Bill had threatened the clergy of the Establishment, threatened also the old Municipal Corporations with which the Church interest was allied.[1] But unlike the Church, the old Corporations were as incapable of recovery or self-reform as the Parliamentary Rotten Boroughs with which their fate was closely associated. Three years after the death of the 'Rotten Boroughs,' the rotten Town governments were abolished by the Municipal Reform Act of 1835.

That important measure meant much to the social life of cities, by the immediate transference of power to new classes; and it meant more than was then foreseen, as the basis on which was to arise, during the next hundred years, the great structure of municipal social service for the benefit of all classes of the community, particularly of the poor. No one in 1835 foresaw the day when the 'new municipalities' would not only light and pave the streets, but control the building of houses, and the sanitation and health of the borough; convey the workmen to and from their work; provide public libraries; carry on great municipal trades and industries; and finally educate the people

The immediate change that excited contemporaries was the transference of municipal authority, such as it then was, to Dissenters and shopkeepers, in place of the co-optive oligarchies of Tory lawyers, Churchmen and noblemen's agents who had enjoyed a close monopoly of the old corporations. There was not much 'sweetness and light' in the new style of city governor, but they had a certain rough vigour, and were disposed to welcome 'improvements,' while the fact that they were periodically chosen by a real democracy, kept them up to the mark in those matters in which the electors themselves felt any interest. The limitation of the Parliamentary franchise to 'ten pound householders' in the Reform Bill of 1832 was not imitated in the more radical Municipal Reform Bill, which gave the local franchise to all ratepayers. The working class had

[1] Light on this alliance is thrown in the article entitled *A Leicester Election of 1826* in the *Royal Historical Society Transactions* for 1940. See also Halévy's *Hist of Eng People* (Ernest Benn, Watkin's transla. 1927), III, pp. 217–220.

a say at least in local elections in the new Boroughs. The town administration thus passed into entirely new hands, moreover, the judicial bench of magistrates in large urban areas was filled up by the Whig governments, acting on behalf of the Crown, with Dissenters and middle-class citizens of the newly dominant types There were to be no more 'Peterloo magistrates' in the cities of England.

The Reform Bill of 1832 and its sequel in the Municipal Reform Bill of 1835, taken together, emphasized and increased the differentiation between the social life of town and country which economic forces were every day making more complete. Victoria's England consisted of two strongly contrasted social systems, the aristocratic England of the rural districts and the democratic England of the great cities. The counties and the market towns were still ruled and judged by country gentlemen to whom all classes bowed. But the cities were governed by a totally different type of person, in accordance with a very different scale of social values which, whether middle or working class, were essentially democratic.

Owing to economic causes and the progress of locomotion, the new society of the town was perpetually encroaching on the old society of the country till, in the Twentieth Century, urban thought, ideas and government conquered the countryside itself. But that was a long process and the Nineteenth Century was an age of transition Agriculture was not at once ruined by the Repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846, nor was aristocratic government of the villages and market towns overthrown by that measure. Until the American prairies were able to empty their grain and cattle into the English market a generation later, English agriculture flourished, sustaining the social system with which it was associated.

But agriculture was not capable of indefinite expansion ; by the middle of the Century it had reached its highest development and the acreage of land could not be increased. On the other hand, the Industrial and Commercial Revolution was only then gathering its full strength, and the increase of town wealth and population went on decade after decade. The Census of 1851 showed that already half the population of the island was urban, 'a situation

that had probably not existed before, in a great country, at any time in the world's history.' (Clapham, I, p. 536.) And since there was no visible limit to this process, it was ominous of a queer future. John Bull was ceasing to be a countryman and a farmer, when once he was wholly urbanized or suburbanized, would he any longer be John Bull, except in the cartoons of *Punch*?

The new urban conditions, under which so large a proportion of the English people were already living in 1851, began at length to attract attention and demand a remedy. The old life of the open countryside, blown through by the airs of heaven, needed, or was thought to need, less control of housing and sanitation: bad as rural cottages were, the death-rate was lower in the country than in the town. But owing to the increased proportion of town dwellers, the rapid fall of the death-rate that had so happily distinguished the period between 1780 and 1810 was positively checked between 1810 and 1850. Taking the island as a whole, the death-rate did not again rise as high as in the early part of the Eighteenth Century, but it ceased to decline any further, in spite of the constant advance in medical service and science. (See p. 342.) The chief reason was the growth of the area covered by industrial slums, and their progressive deterioration as years went by.

In the matter of guardianship of public health, the rule of shopkeepers, builders and publicans, elected by the ratepayers under the Municipal Reform Act of 1835, was no real improvement on the lethargy of the Tory oligarchs who had been displaced amid such general rejoicings. Still throughout the 'forties nothing was done to control the slum-landlords and jerry-builders who, according to the prevalent *laissez-faire* philosophy, were engaged from motives of self-interest in forwarding the general happiness. These pioneers of 'progress' saved space by crowding families into single rooms or thrusting them underground into cellars, and saved money by the use of cheap and insufficient building material, and by providing no drains—or, worse still, by providing drains that oozed into the water-supply. In London, Lord Shaftesbury discovered a room with a family in each of its four corners, and a room with

a cesspool immediately below its boarded floor. We may even regard it as fortunate that cholera ensued, first in the year of the Reform Bill and then in 1848, because the sensational character of this novel visitation scared society into the tardy beginnings of sanitary self-defence. A full-page cartoon in the most popular journal of the time represents Mr. Punch as Hamlet in meditation over a City sewer—'Why may not imagination trace the remains of an Alderman till we find them poisoning his Ward?'

The first Public Health Act dates from 1848. It resulted from the cholera and from the efforts of Edwin Chadwick, who as Secretary to the Poor Law Commissioners had come to realize the facts.

'The prisons [he wrote] were formerly distinguished for their filth and bad ventilation, but the descriptions given by Howard of the worst prisons he visited in England (which he states were among the worst he had seen in Europe) were exceeded in every wynd in Edinburgh and Glasgow inspected by Dr Arnott and myself More filth, worse physical suffering and moral disorder than Howard describes are to be found amongst the cellar populations of the working people of Liverpool, Manchester or Leeds and in large portions of the Metropolis'

But the Public Health Act of 1848 of which the main principle was permission rather than compulsion to act, was not properly carried out by the municipalities for another twenty years. It was only in the 'seventies that the establishment of the Local Government Board to enforce the law, and the rise of Joseph Chamberlain, the social-reforming Mayor of Birmingham, ushered in a new age. Then at last the fact that the Municipalities were elected bodies produced real public benefits on a large scale, while the State increasingly insisted on a compulsory standard. Not till the 'seventies did the death-rate decisively fall as a result of building and sanitary reform, and not till the end of the Century was sanitation in English cities at all what it should have been.

But even in the middle years of the Century slight improvement had been made. Lord Shaftesbury had, by voluntary subscriptions, established some model lodging houses, and their immunity from cholera induced Parliament to pass an Act for the inspection of common lodging

houses in 1851; at the same time the window tax, that old enemy of health and light, was at last repealed. In that year, when the Great Exhibition spread its hospitable glass roof high over the elms of Hyde Park, and all the world came to admire England's wealth, progress and enlightenment, an 'exhibition' might profitably have been made of the way in which our poor were housed, to teach the admiring foreign visitor some of the dangers that beset the path of the vaunted new era. Foreign slums were indeed many of them as bad or worse, but a much smaller proportion of the populations of Continental States had been removed from the wholesome influence of the countryside.

If we ask why those who sympathized with the victims of a lopsided 'Political Economy' called it the 'dismal science,' we get some answer in the following unctuous passage from the *Economist* newspaper, written in May 1848 in opposition to Chadwick's Public Health Act:

'Suffering and evil are nature's admonitions; they cannot be got rid of; and the impatient attempts of benevolence to banish them from the world by legislation, before benevolence has learnt their object and their end, have always been more productive of evil than good.'

Doctrine of one kind or another has been the cause of half the woes of mankind, but fortunately the English of this period were not entirely doctrinaires, and passed the Ten Hours Bill and the Public Health Act in despite of the prevalent *laissez-faire* theories of the age.[1]

Meanwhile, if public health still lagged behind, public order had been well secured. Sir Robert Peel's great institution of the civilian police with their truncheons, blue coats and top hats (later exchanged for helmets) had only applied to the Metropolitan area in 1829. But a people fond of liberty, property and personal safety liked the good-natured and effective 'Bobbies' of London and demanded their establishment elsewhere. By 1856 every county and borough had to employ a police force, half local, half national in its administration, discipline and finance. The days of the inefficient Watchman of the Dogberry and

[1] Clapham, I, pp. 536–547; Fay, C. R., *Great Britain from Adam Smith to the present day*, pp. 362–365; *Ec. Hist. Rev.*, Ap. 1935, pp. 71–78; Griffith, *Population problems of the age of Malthus*, pp. 39–42.

Verges type were gone by for ever ; person and property were well guarded at last without any sacrifice of freedom, and mobs and meetings could be dealt with, punctually and quietly, without calling on armed force as at Peterloo.

The period between the two first Reform Bills (1832–1867) was the 'age of coal and iron' now working at full blast, or in other words it was 'the Railway Age.'

The railways were England's gift to the world. They originated from experiments in the best method of moving coal from the pit-head in the vast quantities required for smelting and manufacture as well as for domestic use. In the 'twenties there had been much controversy as to the rival merits of drawing coal along wooden or iron rails by horses, or by stationary engines, or by George Stephenson's 'locomotive' The triumph of the latter opened out unexpected vistas not only for the carriage of all classes of goods but as a new method of passenger traffic. Not only the canals but the stage-coaches were doomed ; Mr. Weller senior's occupation was gone. Short local lines laid down in the coal districts were developed in the 'thirties and 'forties into a national system for the whole island, as a result of two distinct periods of railway investment and speculation, in 1836–1837 and in 1844–1848.

Many of the railroad promoters and investors who led the way in the 'thirties were Dissenters, and more particularly Quakers of the Midlands and the North—Peases, Croppers, Sturges. The original *Bradshaw's Railway Time Table* was issued in 1839 by a Friend wishful to help mankind ; until the Twentieth Century the outside cover of 'Bradshaw' still bore the Quaker's designation of the month—'First Month' instead of January, and so forth.

But in the 'forties, under the less scrupulous leadership of George Hudson, the 'Railway King,' the general public plunged headlong into the speculation of the 'railway mania,' and lost much money in bogus or unsuccessful companies. Thackeray's Diary of *Jeames de la Pluche, Esq.*, humorously chronicles the excitement of the boom and the crash. But when all was over, though the more foolish part of the public had been gulled, a large residuum of successful new lines survived Hudson was not a mere

swindler ; he had scored his mark across the face of England. In 1843 there had been about 2000 miles of railway in Great Britain ; in 1848 there were 5000.[1]

Henceforth the normal way of transporting heavy goods and the normal way of long-distance travelling was by rail. The canals, after half a century of prosperity and public service, were most of them ruined, and were many of them bought up by local railway companies that had in fact been started with the object of cutting them out. At the same time the main roads ceased to be the chief arteries of the life-blood of the nation. The posting inns and postilions disappeared, and with them went the public mail-coach, and the heavy family coach in which the aristocratic households had moved about. In the Capital, the convenient 'landau,' the light 'Victoria,' the smart 'hansom cab' (called by Disraeli 'the gondola of London'), the homely four-wheeler and the democratic omnibus held the streets. In the country at large it was the age of the gig, the wagonette, the pony-cart and the dog-cart. Horse-traffic, both for travellers and for goods, became ancillary to the railway and flourished on that basis. There were not railways everywhere and in any case it was necessary to 'get to the station.' Byroads continued to increase in number, quality and use. But long journeys by road went out, and the great highways were relatively deserted, until the coming of the motor car.[2]

The growth of the electric telegraph was almost contemporaneous with the change in locomotion, and originated as an adjunct of the new railway system. By 1848 over 1800 miles of railways, a third of the whole mileage in use, were already equipped with telegraph wires. The Electric Telegraph Company, formed in 1846, had seventeen offices in London by 1854, of which eight were at the railway

[1] Sir Roger Scatcherd, in Trollope's *Dr Thorne*, represents a 'self-made man' of this rough vigorous period of railway and engineering development carried out by English initiative at home and abroad For the autobiography of a real engineer of the period, of a more respectable type than the imaginary Scatcherd, see *John Brunton's Book*, Cam. Press, 1939

[2] Seymour's well-known illustration of the row with the cabman in Chap II of *Pickwick* shows the aboriginal form of the 'hansom cab' in the 'thirties, with the driving-seat not above but at the side of the high roof From the 'forties onwards changes in locomotion, dress, games and social customs can be followed in the pictures of *Punch*

termini. As early as 1847 arrangements for the candidature of the Prince Consort for the Chancellorship of the University were in part conducted by telegram, even by such old-fashioned people as the dons of Cambridge.

The same decades that saw the rapid growth of the railway system and the electric telegraph, saw the triumph of the penny post, established by the unselfish and tireless efforts of Rowland Hill, supported by the popular demand, against the indifference of statesmen and the angry obstruction of the unreformed civil service. Prior to this great change, the poor who moved in search of work either inside the island or by emigration overseas, could seldom exchange news with the parents and friends they had left behind, owing to the heavy charge made for the receipt of letters. Rowland Hill's plan for a postal delivery prepaid by a cheap adhesive stamp, enabled the poor, for the first time in the history of man, to communicate with the loved ones from whom they were separated. And since the business world found cheap postage a boon, and since it proved a great financial success after it had been forced upon the obdurate Post Office, the new method was soon imitated in every civilized country in the world. In this great reform the State had necessarily to be made the instrument, but the thought and the leadership had come from an individual, backed by public opinion.

The rapid growth of railways in the island during the 'forties was followed by the substitution of steam for sail, and of iron for wood in the British mercantile marine. As late as 1847 our steamships were few and small, with a total tonnage of 116,000 out of the three million tons of the whole merchant service. But in the 'fifties and 'sixties the great ocean-going ships were increasingly propelled by steam, and built first of iron and then of steel. The change coincided with the enormous development of English iron and steel output, and the increased use of steam and metal in every sort of manufacturing process and product. In 1848 Britain already produced about half the pig-iron of the world : in the next thirty years her output was trebled The West of Scotland, hitherto behindhand, was soon producing a quarter of Britain's pig-iron. Staffordshire, Wales and the North-Eastern England of Tyneside and

Middlesbrough were also the regions of the great iron-masters, who by due attention to scientific discovery carried on their supremacy into the age of steel.[1]

The wealth accruing from these developments in the mid-Victorian era greatly relieved the pressure of the social problem by raising the real wages of a large proportion of the working class, while Trade Union action and the Co-operative movement helped to distribute the enormous national dividend a little more evenly.

The national dividend was indeed enormous. The Californian and Australian gold discoveries ushered in a great period of expanding trade of which England, by her lead over other countries both in commerce and industry, was able to reap the principal benefit in the middle years of the Century. In 1870 the volume of the external trade of the United Kingdom exceeded that of France, Germany and Italy together and was between three and four times that of the United States.

While these great industrial and commercial developments were going forward at revolutionary speed, British agriculture continued along a steady path of progress, helped by abundance of capital and the increasing application of machinery to farm work. The Repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846 steadied prices, but gave no check to agricultural prosperity for another generation to come, because America was not yet ready to flood England with her farm products. In 1851 it was reckoned that only one quarter of the Englishman's bread came from oversea.

Corn Law Repeal was a political triumph for Manchester and for the urban population; and it certainly helped industry. But it effected no immediate economic or social revolution. The cities belonged to democracy, but the countryside was still in the hands of the landlord class, and of their deputies and allies the tenant farmers, whose affairs were much more flourishing in the 'sixties than they had been a generation before. Country-house life, with its

[1] Clapham (II, 515) points out that in Petermann's census map of the location of industries in 1851, neither Middlesbrough nor Barrow, neither Cardiff nor Newport are marked as the seat of iron industry Their rise as such was very rapid after that date

hunting and shooting, and its political and literary 'house-parties' was more prosperous, easy and delightful than ever, though its moral standards were more 'respectable' than in the days of Eighteenth Century aristocratic licence. In the rural parts there was still no elective local government. Administrative and judicial authority still rested with the gentlemen Justices of the Peace, chosen from among the landowners. The immemorial rule of the squire magistrate still prevailed, though subject, through the newspapers and the spirit of the age, to a more wholesome and effective criticism than in the early Hanoverian times.

With locomotion constantly diminishing the distance between the village and the city, with the spread of science and machinery even in the processes of agriculture, in a small island with a dense urban population that had now lost all tradition of country life, it was only a question of time before urban ways of thought and action would penetrate and absorb the old rural world, obliterating its distinctive features and local variations. But the time was not yet. In the 'sixties two things were still lacking before the change could be complete—the economic ruin of British agriculture, and a town-made system of universal education.

When Victoria came to the throne the 'great estate' system was already an accomplished fact. Ever since the days of the last Stuart Kings, more and more land had been passing from small squires and cultivating owners into the possession of the big landlords, into whose circle the men of the new town-made wealth were constantly intruding themselves by marriage, by the purchase of large continuous estates, and by the building of new 'country houses.' The small squires had gone, their manor-houses converted into tenant farms ; the freehold yeomen were fewer than of old ; large and middle-sized estates were the general rule.

But if estates were large, it did not follow that farms had proportionately increased in size. On the average they were bigger than before. But moderate-sized farms worked by a single family without hired labour were still very common. And indeed such farms are very numerous even to-day, especially in the pastoral counties of the North, the

more so as machinery has reduced the number of hands required.[1]

So far was land from falling out of cultivation during the two decades following the Repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846, that more and more acres were enclosed and cultivated. There was a constant increase of the island population, that had still to be fed mainly by home produce. The gold discoveries of the 'fifties raised prices. In the 'sixties, while wars raged in Europe and in America, England was at peace. Great progress was still being made in live-stock breeding. Improved draining and manuring ; the gradual introduction of machine ploughing, reaping and threshing into one county and village after another ; the work of the Royal Agricultural Society , the capital invested and the pride taken by the great landlords in the improvement of their estates—all these things brought more fields under the plough in Lord Palmerston's England. When Matthew Arnold revisited in the 'sixties the Oxford hillsides where he had strayed with his friend Arthur Clough twenty years before, it was not yet ' bungaloid growth ' that the poet had to bemoan, but the more innocent spread of cultivation !

> I know these slopes , who knows them if not I ?—
> But many a dingle on the loved hillside,
> With thorns once studded, old, white-blossomed trees,
> Where thick the cowslips grew, and far descried
> High towered the spikes of purple orchises,
> Hath since our day put by
> The coronals of that forgotten time ,
> *Down each green bank hath gone the ploughboy's team,*
> And only in the hidden brookside gleam
> Primroses, orphans of the flowery prime

[1] In 1851, omitting holdings under 5 acres, the size of farms in England and Wales was thus scheduled

Size—acres	*No of farms*	*Acreage of group*
1 5–49	90,100	2,122,800
2. 50–90	44,600	3,206,500
3 100–299	64,200	11,015,800
4. 300–499	11,600	4,360,900
5 500–999	4,300	2,841,000
6 1000 and upwards	771	1,112,300

Clapham, *Ec Hist. of Modern Britain*, II, p 264

At Victoria's accession, the enclosure of the 'open fields' and therewith the end of the 'strip' system of agriculture, was already an accomplished fact, except for a few scattered survivals But the enclosure of commons was not yet complete and still went on apace, stimulated by the General Enclosure Act of 1845

The movement for the enclosure of common land—for so many centuries past a source of disputes and grievances, as well as a means of greatly increasing the productivity of the island—was halted at last in the decade between 1865 and 1875. It was characteristic of the altered balance of society that enclosure of commons was ultimately stopped by the protest not of the rural peasantry, but of the urban population, who objected to exclusion from its holiday playgrounds and rural breathing spaces. The Commons Preservation Society effectively opposed the destruction of the remaining commons, in the interest, nominally and legally, of the vanishing 'commoner' of the village, but really of the general public in quest of 'air and exercise.' The great battle of Berkhamsted Common (1866) and the saving of Epping Forest ushered in a new age. Enclosure had done its work in England, and was to do no more. (*Clapham*, I, 450 note, 454 ; II, 258–9.)

The prosperous agriculture of the eighteen-sixties still showed a great variety of method, from the fully mechanized farming of scientific Scots in the Lothians, to fields in Sussex where oxen still dragged the plough. Those lands that had been enclosed during the last two hundred years from open field, sheep-run and fen into large rectangular fields, were most easily subject to modern scientific and mechanical cultivation, as for instance in Cambridgeshire. Lands of the West and South-East, where enclosure had existed from time immemorial, were still cut up by old hedges into small and irregular fields that impeded agricultural efficiency. But in almost every shire there was much diversity of method, due either to variety of soils or difference in the economic and social past.

The condition of the agricultural labourer, particularly in the South, was often very wretched in the 'thirties and 'hungry 'forties,' when even the farmer who employed

him was suffering from the bad times. And on the 'labouring poor,' in field and factory, fell the heavy weight of the New Poor Law of 1834, when outdoor relief was abolished (not indeed quite universally) and the 'workhouse test' was imposed on applicants for public alms. Such was the remorseless utilitarian logic of the Poor Law Commissioners, to whom the Act gave power It was a harsh remedy for a terrible disease: the Speenhamland policy of granting the poor-rate in aid of wages had pauperised even the employed workman and kept wages down; moreover, it was now ruining the ratepayers. (See p. 469.) An operation was necessary to save society, but the knife was applied without anaesthetics. The need to make life in the workhouse less attractive than employment in field and factory was the principle on which the Commissioners worked, and as they could not in that era raise the attractiveness of employment by enforcing a minimum wage, they felt obliged to lower the standard of happiness of the workhouse. Moreover, in their preoccupation with the problem of the adult workman, the Commissions overlooked the justice and expediency of treating old people, children and invalids with the tenderness that was in every sense their due.

Dickens's *Oliver Twist* was an attack on workhouse management, to which the greater sensibility of the Victorian public responded. The working class in town and country regarded the New Poor Law as an odious tyranny, as indeed it often was. But it had created a central machine which, by displacing the old local autonomy, was used as years went by to remedy the grievances of the poor and to make a national system of which the country had less reason to be ashamed. The national and centralized character which the first Commissioners had stamped on the Poor Law made it easier to carry out the many improvements suggested later on by a philanthropy that gradually became more humane as it became more experienced and more scientific. Imperfect and harsh as was the Poor Law in 1834, it had been intellectually honest within its limits, and contained the seeds of its own reform.

For the system erected for the new Poor Law was based not on *laissez-faire* but on its opposite. It was pure

Benthamism, a combination of the elective with the bureaucratic principle, as advocated in Bentham's 'Constitutional Code.' The three government Commissioners (bureaucrats representing the Central government) are to lay down the rules for poor law administration and to see they are enforced. But the actual people to administer these rules are local elective bodies—the boards of guardians. Every 'union' of parishes is to be administered by a 'board of guardians of the poor,' to be elected by all the ratepayers Both the centralized bureaucrats at the top, and the democratically elected Boards of guardians in the localities, are the Benthamite substitute for the old methods of government by country gentlemen acting as unpaid Justices of the Peace.

But the new Poor Law of 1834 was a very unfortunate beginning for reformed methods of governing the countryside. Its harshness, especially in the separation of families,[1] gave the rural poor a distaste for Benthamite improvement, and reconciled them to the old paternal government of the Justices of Peace in all other matters, which went on for another fifty years. The New Poor Law might have served as a model for other changes in local government, but it was too unpopular.

Why did the Whig and Tory squires acquiesce in this encroachment on their right to rule the countryside, in this one matter of poor law administration? It was only in the case of the Poor Law that they allowed State bureaucracy and electoral democracy to invade the rural parts. The reason is clear. The country gentlemen had a direct interest in the change. Under the old system of rates in aid of wages, the poor-rate which they paid was growing

[1] In 1838 the popular writer William Howitt in his *Rural Life of England* (II, p 131), after describing the simple pleasures of country life for the cottager, adds 'I often thank God that the poor have their objects of admiration and attraction, their domestic affections and their family ties, out of which spring a thousand simple and substantial pleasures, that in this country at least the hand of arbitrary power dare seldom enter this enchanted circle, and tear asunder husband from wife, parent from children, brother from sister, as it does in the lands of slavery Yet our New Poor Laws have aimed a deadly blow at this blessed security And, till the sound feeling of the nation shall have again disarmed them of this fearful authority, every poor man's family is liable, on the occurrence of some chance stroke of destitution, to have to their misfortune, bitter enough in itself, added the tenfold aggravation of being torn asunder and immured in the separate wards of a Poverty Prison'

heavier every year, and pessimists prophesied that it would finally absorb the entire rent of the kingdom. The Whig Ministers had presented the Bill as 'a measure of agricultural relief,' and Peel and Wellington accepted it as such. At Wellington's orders, the Lords resisted the temptation to throw out this very unpopular measure.

With the increasing prosperity of industry and agriculture in the 'fifties and 'sixties, the lot of the wage-earner in town and country was greatly relieved. Shortly after 1870 agricultural wages had reached a point that they were never again to touch for many years. All along, in bad times and good, the wages of the field worker in the North were higher than in the South owing to the neighbourhood of coal-mines and higher paid industries Agricultural Wages in the West Riding of Yorkshire had been fourteen shillings a week when they were seven shillings in Wilts and Suffolk. (Clapham, I, pp. 466–467 ; II, p. 286, table.)

The labourer, driven off the enclosed common and open field, had sometimes found compensation in allotments and potato-patches provided for him by philanthropic squires, parsons and farmers. The potato was of great service to the field labourer in the Nineteenth Century. But the allotment movement went slowly, and was no more than an occasional palliative.

In the 'fifties and 'sixties, while agriculture still flourished, good brick cottages, with slate roofs and two or even three bedrooms apiece, were being built by landlords as 'estate cottages,' particularly on large estates like those of the Duke of Bedford. The bad cottages were the old ones, of which there were plenty, built of mud, lath and plaster, and roofed with ill-repaired thatch, with only two rooms to the whole cottage. 'The worst were generally the small freeholds, inhabited by the person who owned them.' The farmhouses were not only larger but on the average more habitable than the cottages. The best had usually been erected recently by the landlord. Where a good farmhouse was two centuries old, it was nearly always a former manor-house, once belonging to some family of small squires. (Clapham II, p. 505–512.)

The English landlord, if not a philanthropist, was not a mere 'business man' dealing with land for profit. The rent of the new 'estate cottages' seldom covered the expense of their building and maintenance. There were of course bad landlords, and as a rule the squire had insufficient sympathy with the labourers' desire for a better standard of life, as was shown during the attempt of Joseph Arch to secure them higher wages, by forming agricultural unions (1872–1873). But the English rural landlord did much for the countryside and its inhabitants, whereas the rural landlord of Ireland, like the town landlord of England was a mere exploiter of other people's labour. The ill odour into which the town landlord most justly fell, made the radical and socialist of the town regard all 'landlords' with too indiscriminate reprobation, and helped to increase his misunderstanding of rural questions.

Thus, when British agriculture reached its peak of prosperity about 1870, prior to the sudden catastrophe of the next decade, it was based on an aristocratic social system, the 'dual ownership' of landlord and farmer, which had done marvels in the way of production, but gave too little of the increased dividend of rural life to the field labourer. It is true that he received higher wages than agricultural labourers on the Continent, but by English standards they were not high. It is true that he was materially better off than most of the self-employed peasantry of Europe. It is true also that there were in England many small-sized farms run on a family basis But there was no longer an independent peasantry as numerous in proportion to the other inhabitants of the country as had once existed in England and still exists in continental countries. The consequence was that when after 1875 Free Trade completed its work by destroying the prosperity of British agriculture, the town-bred electorate was indifferent to the decay of rural life—because it was associated with an aristocratic system. Too many Englishmen looked on almost with satisfaction at the progress of the national disaster, as being a free and natural economic change.

The passing of the Reform Bill of 1832 was at once followed in the industrial North by a fierce agitation of the

factory hands against the hard condition of their lives, particularly in the matter of hours. In Yorkshire it was to some extent a Radical and Tory coalition. At Westminster members of all parties took part in it, and in 1833 the Whig government gave it legislative form. The principal leaders in the country, Oastler, Sadler and Shaftesbury, were Tories ; they were also all three Evangelicals. Evangelical humanity was a strong motive in providing the educated leaders, while the popular drive behind the movement came from the factory population itself, who were mostly Radicals. But the Tory country gentlemen were not hostile to the movement, for they were jealous of the parvenus of the master-manufacturer class. The squires were incensed at the attacks made by these upstarts upon the gentlemen of England for grinding the faces of the poor with their corn-laws ; they replied by denouncing the evils of factory employment, though their fathers had scouted all such Luddite complaints as 'Jacobinical.' The split in the ranks of the well-to-do gave the wage-earner a hole through which to thrust up his head, and make his case heard. And behind these class recriminations lay the genuine humanitarianism of the age, focused by the Evangelicals, but not confined to any religious sect or political party.

The sentiment of humanity was now a great force in politics. In 1833 it abolished slavery in the Empire at a cost of twenty million pounds cheerfully paid by the British taxpayer. That same year it stopped the abuse of children's labour in the textile factories at home.

The promoters of Factory legislation found that the appeal to humanity was most easily made about the children.

'It is true [writes Mons. Halévy] that the operatives were seeking a restriction of working hours for themselves—not for the children who were very often the victims of their brutality rather than of the employer's tyranny. But the number of children employed in the factories was so great in proportion to the adults that it was out of the question to restrict the working hours of children without restricting at the same time the hours of the adults It was for the children that Oastler sought to awaken the pity of the English middle class, but his aim was the legal protection of the adult worker.' (Halévy's *Hist Eng People*, trans. by Watkin, III, p. 111.)

Lord Althorp's Factory Act of 1833 set legal limits to the working hours of children and young persons respectively, and its provisions were enforced by the appointment of factory inspectors, with power of entry into the factories. Their appointment had been suggested by some of the better disposed among the employers themselves For it was not merely bad employers but bad parents living on their children's labours, who required watching. Moreover, the better employers wanted the government to prevent the worse employers from undercutting them by defying this Act as they had defied the earlier laws.

Out of this children's charter of 1833 grew the Ten Hours Bill. This second crisis of Factory legislation came to a head in 1844–1847, contemporaneously with the repeal of the Corn Laws, and was heated with the fires of that great dispute. The Ten Hours Bill limited the daily work of women and youths in textile factories, and thereby compelled the stoppage of all work after ten hours, as the grown men could not carry on the processes alone. This measure had for years been the aspiration of the employees and the storm-centre of a fierce controversy. In Parliament it produced curious cross-voting Among the Liberals—Melbourne, Cobden and Bright were against it: Russell, Palmerston and Macaulay were for it. And the Conservatives were no less divided, Peel being strongly against the Bill, while a majority of the Protectionist squires voted in its favour. But the man who finally carried the Bill through the House of Commons was Fielden, 'the largest cotton spinner in England , and the man who told with him in the lobby had passed from the position of worker to that of employer in the same industry.' (Hammond, *Lord Shaftesbury*, p 121 and *passim*)

What the Reform Bill of 1832 was to all later extensions of the Franchise, the Factory Acts of 1833 and 1847 are to the far-spreading code of statutory regulation which now governs the conditions and hours of almost all branches of industry. The factory system which at its first coming bade fair to destroy the health and happiness of the race, has been gradually converted into an instrument to level up the average material conditions under which labour is carried on. It is far easier to inspect factories than it

would ever have been to inspect the old system of domestic work. Robert Owen's vision of decent conditions of life for factory hands, which he had first embodied in his own New Lanark Mills, was destined in the course of a hundred years to be made the standard for the greater part of the industrial world. And the decisive first steps were taken in 1833 and 1847, during the period which it is usual to condemn as obsessed by the doctrine of *laissez-faire*. It is difficult to obsess people with a doctrine if once either their hearts or their pockets are touched. A former generation, in anti-Jacobin days, being in a mood to grind the faces of the poor, had chosen out those parts of *laissez-faire* which suited their purpose and neglected the rest. Now the process was being reversed: the self-same House of Commons that repealed the Corn Laws in the name of *laissez-faire* passed the Ten Hours Bill in flat defiance of that doctrine. At no period was *laissez-faire* in force in all directions at once. Benthamism was in many respects its exact opposite, calling for the creation of organs of government to control and harmonize the rival interests of society.

In the years following the Ten Hours Bill of 1847, the principle of factory regulation was extended by a series of Acts to other manufactures besides textiles. And the revelation of the appalling conditions of female and child labour in the coal-mines, an evil several centuries old, had led to Lord Shaftesbury's Mines Act of 1842, by which the underground employment of women and of children under ten was forbidden. By an Act of 1850 adult males were also protected by a Mines Inspectorate, and step by step the provision of safety in the Mines became the care of the State.

The gross ill-usage of little boys as sweeps, by masters who found it cheaper to drive them through the soot-choked chimneys than to use a long brush, had been exposed to the public indignation, but in vain. In 1875 Shaftesbury wrote in his diary: 'One hundred and two years have elapsed since the good Jonas Hanway brought the brutal iniquity before the public, yet in many parts of England and Ireland it still prevails with the full knowledge and consent of thousands of all classes' That year Shaftesbury obtained the passing of an Act that at last cured the

Nineteenth Century saw the gradual disuse of cruel flogging of boys, which educational reformers had deplored in vain for ages past. In many directions life was being humanized, as some set-off against its increasing ugliness and sordidness in the growth of great cities under their pall of soot and fog.

Disraeli's famous saying that England was divided into two nations, the rich and the poor, had in it an uncomfortable amount of truth. But like all epigrams it was only half true. Certainly the Industrial Revolution had in the Victorian era increased the disparity of wealth between the very rich and the very poor, and had segregated classes geographically by substituting great cities divided into various social quarters, in place of the life of villages and market towns with some features and interests common to all. But industrial change had also increased the number of middle classes of varying levels of wealth and comfort ; and it had raised the standard of life of the better-to-do working classes, such as engineers, far above that of the unskilled labourer and slum-dweller. There were many more 'nations' than two ; if only two were to be reckoned, it would have taxed the wit of Disraeli himself to say where the line was to be drawn.

The improvement of the lot of the wage-earners in the 'fifties and 'sixties, was partly due to the prosperity of trade in those fortunate years when England was the workshop of the world ; partly to the social legislation of Parliament , and partly to Trade Union action to raise wages, and stop truck payments and other abuses. Trade Unionism was particularly strong among the working-class aristocracy, the engineers and the men of other skilled trades.

To this period also belongs the growth of the Co-operative movement, which has done so much to stop the exploitation of the consumer by the retail dealer, and to train the working classes in self-government and business management. It originated from the enterprise of two dozen Chartist and Owenite workmen of Rochdale, who in 1844 opened in Toad (T'owd) Lane the store of the Rochdale Pioneers. It was a humble affair, and many larger attempts at co-operation had failed. But these men chanced to have hit

on the right plan for realizing Owen's dream. Their rules were—the sale of goods at market prices, followed by division of surplus profit among members in proportion to their purchases. This secured democratic interest in the management of the business, while eliminating profit at the expense of the consumer. It was on these lines that the Co-operative movement reached such enormous development before the century closed.

The practical success of the movement was helped in the 'fifties by the zeal with which its idealist aspect was preached both by the Secularists led by Holyoake, the pupil of Owen, and by the Christian Socialists whom Frederick Denison Maurice had inspired, especially Tom Hughes, the author of *Tom Brown's Schooldays*. The attempts of the shopkeepers to establish a boycott of the movement only increased its strength. In the 'seventies the Co-operative Societies added production on a considerable scale to their original activities.

The Co-operative movement was of more than financial importance. It gave many working people a sense that they also had 'a stake in the country.' It taught them business habits and mutual self-help, and drew them together in societies that encouraged the desire for education and self-improvement. 'It is,' writes one of its historians, 'in its intellectual and moral influence upon its members, even more than the financial savings that it effects and encourages, that the Co-operative movement has wrought a beneficent revolution among tens of thousands of working-class families, and has contributed so largely to the social transformation of Great Britain.'

The expedients by which the new Britain was striving to remedy the evils attendant on the Industrial Revolution—Co-operation, Factory Laws, Trade Unionism, Free Trade—were all, like the Industrial Revolution itself, British in conception and origin.

The second quarter of the Nineteenth Century was the period in the settlement of Canada, Australia and New Zealand, which decided that those lands should be peopled mainly from Britain and should become parts of a free British Commonwealth of Nations.

The overpeopling of Great Britain deplored by Malthus, and the sorry plight of the English peasantry at home, caused in these years the great rural exodus to the Colonies on which the modern Empire was rebuilt. The tide of emigration also ran strongly to the United States, and might have run there almost to the exclusion of British territories but for the organized effort of emigration societies, and the occasional assistance of Government, inspired by the propaganda of Gibbon Wakefield. He preached to his countrymen that emigration was the true relief of their economic miseries, and that the colonies need not in all cases be mere ports of call or places of trade, but might become new British nations. To him is largely due the systematized and aided emigration that founded modern Canada, Australia and New Zealand

The condition of England's happiness in the Nineteenth Century, and the cause of that peculiar belief in 'progress' as a law of history which cheered the Victorian mind, was the fact that we were not engaged in any great war for a hundred years after Waterloo. The Crimean War (1854–1856) was no exception. It was merely a foolish expedition to the Black Sea, made for no sufficient reason, because the English people were bored by peace, in spite of the flood of pacifist talk in which they had been indulged three years before at the time of the Great Exhibition in Hyde Park. The bourgeois democracy, played upon by its favourite newspapers, was worked up to crusading ardour on behalf of Turkish rule over the Balkan Christians, which in the following generation the same forces, when led by Gladstone, precisely reversed. We fought the Crimean War on a principle of limited liability and broke it off when the desire for foreign adventure had been satisfied. It is a fact in our social history that foreign policy was becoming less of a mystery of statesmen and more of an interest of the people at large. Whether statesmen or people have been most foolish it is perhaps difficult to say.

But the Crimean War had one serious and beneficent consequence, the institution of nursing as a profession for trained women of a better type than Mrs. Gamp. The astonishing personal success of Florence Nightingale lay

in the forcing of her modern methods of hospital management on the Crimean Army authorities, who in all else were so antiquated : they would not even make a railway for the few miles from Balaclava port to the siege lines before Sebastopol, till compelled by public opinion at home, stirred up by the press and its first 'War Correspondents.'

The idea of nursing as a serious profession, thus advertized by the sensations of the Crimean War, spread fast in civil life and soon made a new era in public health and medical practice. Moreover, the idea of training women to professions, due to Florence Nightingale's initiative, invaded other spheres of life besides nursing. The ideals of the age of Scott and Byron had demanded that a lady should prove her ladyhood by the beauty of idleness and by touching dependence upon her male protectors But in the last half of Victoria's reign a very different idea began to gain ground, namely that upper and middle class women, more particularly the unmarried, should be trained to support themselves and to be of some use to the world.

The Crimean War had also its effects in lesser matters. In imitation of our heroes in the trenches before Sebastopol, smoking became fashionable again after being banished from polite circles for eighty years. For the same reason beards returned after an absence from well-bred society of two centuries. The typical mid-Victorian of all classes was a man with a beard and a pipe.

It was the era of 'muscular Christianity,' strenuousness and cold baths. Organized games, particularly cricket and football, were spreading fast in schools, Universities and in ordinary life. Walking and the new diversion of mountain climbing were characteristic of an energetic and athletic generation ; even ladies were now allowed to walk. The days of lawn tennis had not yet come, and could scarcely have come so long as the hampering crinoline was in fashion. But ladies and gentlemen contended in the milder tournaments of the croquet lawn, where sometimes a member of the fair sex, in preparing her stroke, would gently move the ball into a more favourable position under the ample cover of the crinoline !

One thing that the Crimean War did not produce was Army Reform. It was indeed recognized that though the

veteran soldiers had fought well, maintaining the regimental traditions inherited from the Peninsula, they had been ill supplied with recruits, ill led, ill fed and ill organized as an army But the army recovered its prestige next year in the Indian Mutiny, when the Victorian virtues of self-help and individual initiative showed at their best. And in any case the reformers of that age were not interested in the army. They regarded it as a hopelessly aristocratic institution, not really needed by a civilized State. They were concerned not to gain security by improving it, but to save money by cutting it down.

Only in 1859 there was a panic over the supposed ill intentions of Napoleon III, though his real desire was to live on friendly terms with England. So the islanders had one of their periodic frights that punctuated their perpetual unpreparedness, and the result on this occasion was the starting of the Volunteer movement, the drilling of business men and their employees in off hours, consonant with the civilian and individualist spirit of the time. But the reform of the regular army remained unattempted, until the Franco-Prussian war of 1870 made the English public vaguely aware that something was going on among those unaccountable foreigners. And on this occasion panic fortunately produced the Cardwell reforms, which included the abolition of the purchase of officers' commissions, and the short-service system of enlistment, creating at last an army reserve.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE SECOND HALF OF THE VICTORIAN ERA [1865–1901]

ONE of the difficulties of an attempt to write the social as distinct from the political history of a nation is the absence of determining events and positive dates by which the course of things can be charted. The social customs of men and women and their economic circumstances, particularly in modern times, are always in movement, but they never change completely or all at once. The old overlaps the new so much that it is often a question whether to ascribe some tendency in thought or practice to one generation or the next.

But on the whole the most marked changes of tendency in Victorian England may be ascribed to the later 'sixties and the 'seventies. The old landmarks are still there, but they are no longer so prominent. The territorial aristocracy still rules the rural parts, and still leads society in London and in its country-house gatherings; the individualist business man still flourishes, with the honest, limited virtues of bourgeois self-help. But these classes no longer fill so much of the scene as in the days of Palmerston and Peel; and the ideas or lack of ideas for which they stand are challenged now by others beside 'low Radicals.' In all ranks of life free debate of social customs and religious beliefs is taking the place of the settled creeds of the early Victorian era. John Stuart Mill in his *Liberty* (1859) preached the doctrine of revolt against the tame acceptance of conventional opinions, and a dozen years later, such an attitude has become very general. It is a liberal, outspoken age, whose most representative men are neither the aristocrats nor the shopkeepers, but men of University education, or of trained professional intelligence, readers of Mill, Darwin, Huxley and Matthew Arnold, George Eliot and Browning—the gentlemanly bearded intellectuals whose family life Du Maurier delighted to delineate in the pages of *Punch*.

Democracy, bureaucracy, collectivism are all advancing like a silent tide making in by a hundred creeks and inlets. A short list of some of the changes which marked off the 'seventies from the previous generation, may at least be suggestive. The impact of Darwinism on the Bible religion of the English was being widely, though not yet universally, felt; in 1871 Oxford and Cambridge were thrown open to all irrespective of religious belief; science and history were rapidly taking their place beside classics and mathematics in the academic world; in 1870 competitive examination was made the normal method of entry to the Civil Service, in order to enlist the ablest young men from the Universities in the new bureaucracy; the working men of the towns had received the Parliamentary franchise by the Reform Bill of 1867, and three years later Forster's Act provided primary education for all; by the legislation of 1871–1875 the Trade Unions received a new Charter of rights corresponding to their growing power; in business administration, limited liability companies were taking the place of the old family firms; the professional and social emancipation of women went forward on the lines advocated in Mill's *Subjection of Women* (1869); women's colleges were founded at Oxford and Cambridge and women's secondary schools were much improved; the Married Women's Property Act released the wife, if she had money of her own, from economic bondage to her husband: the 'equality of the sexes' began to be advocated in theory, and found its way increasingly into the practice of all classes. The demand for the political enfranchisement of women was the outcome of a very considerable degree of social enfranchisement already accomplished.

But the greatest single event of the 'seventies, fraught with immeasurable consequences for the future, was the sudden collapse of English agriculture.

From 1875 onwards the catastrophe set in. A series of bad seasons aggravated its initial stages, but the cause was the development of the American prairies as grain lands within reach of the English market. The new agricultural machinery enabled the farmers of the Middle-West to skim

the cream off virgin soils of unlimited expanse ; the new railway system carried the produce to the ports ; the new steamers bore it across the Atlantic. English agriculture was more scientific and more highly capitalized than American, but under these conditions the odds were too great. Mass production of crops by a simpler and cheaper process undercut the elaborate and expensive methods of farming which had been built up on well-managed English estates during the previous two hundred years. The overthrow of the British landed aristocracy by the far-distant democracy of American farmers was one outcome of this change of economic circumstance. An even more important consequence has been the general divorce of Englishmen from life in contact with nature, which in all previous ages had helped to form the mind and the imagination of the island race.

The other States of Europe, which still had peasantry and valued them as a stabilizing element in the social fabric, warded off the influx of Amercian food by tariffs. But in England no such policy was adopted or even seriously considered. The belief in Free Trade as the secret of our vast prosperity, the unwillingness to interfere with the world-commerce on which our power and wealth seemed to stand secure, the predominance of the towns over the country in numbers and still more in intellectual and political leadership, the memories of the ' hungry 'forties ' when the Corn Laws had made bread dear for the poor—all these circumstances prevented any effort to save the rural way of life Least of all did the late Victorians see any need to grow food in the island to provide for the necessities of future wars. After two generations of the safety won at Waterloo, real national danger seemed to have passed away for ever, like a dream of

> ' Old unhappy far-off things
> And battles long ago '

In 1846 Disraeli had prophesied the ruin of agriculture as an inevitable result of Free Trade in corn. For thirty years he had been wrong. Now he was suddenly right—and now he was Prime Minister. Yet he did nothing about it, and allowed the ' curse of Cobden ' to blight the English

cornfields. Immersed in oriental policies, the old man made no attempt to oppose the spirit of the age at home, to which in fact he had become a convert.

Statesmen regarded the fate of agriculture with all the more indifference because it involved no acute problem of unemployment. The farm labourer did not remain on the land when his occupation there was gone, as unemployed miners hang round a closed mine. When 'Hodge' lost his job, or when his wages fell, he slipped away to the towns and found work there. Or else he migrated overseas, for the Colonies and the United States were still receiving the overplus of our still rapidly rising population. As a class, the English agricultural labourer was well accustomed to the idea of leaving the land. He could not love the fields that he tilled as a hireling for others, as passionately as the Irish peasant loved the plot of earth from which he wrung the food of his family and which he regarded as by right his own. The English rustic moreover, knew more about the town and the opportunities and the wages it offered. He had the desire characteristic of our people to 'better himself,' and so he raised no outcry when this involved exile from the scenes of his boyhood.

Meanwhile the landlords and farmers, who had neither the wish nor the power to divorce themselves from the soil, suffered and complained in vain, for their day as the political rulers of England had gone by. Both the Liberal and the Conservative intelligentsia of the 'seventies and 'eighties were saturated with the Free Trade Doctrine: they believed that if one industry, agriculture for instance, went under in free competition, other industries would gain proportionately and would take its place—and so all would be well. But all was not well. For political economy does not cover the whole field of human welfare. The men of theory failed to perceive that agriculture is not merely one industry among many, but is a way of life, unique and irreplaceable in its human and spiritual values.

In the first decade of the decline that began in 1875, the acreage of wheat in England fell by nearly a million acres. Already in 1881 there were some hundred thousand fewer farm-labourers than ten years before, and that was only the beginning of the exodus. Whole regions of cornland in the

West, Midlands and North were laid down in grass, but without any corresponding rise in the number of livestock, though there was a considerable substitution of cattle for sheep. The introduction of frozen meat from Australia, New Zealand and South America was a new feature of the 'eighties and 'nineties. From 1891–1899 a second wave of agricultural depression followed, as severe as that of 1875–1884. By the end of the Century the corn area in England and Wales had shrunk from over eight million acres in 1871 to under six million. Permanent pasture had greatly increased, but the fall in cattle and sheep prices kept pace with the fall in the price of corn. And the agricultural labourers, in spite of the fact that they had been given the franchise in 1884, continued to flock into the towns or to pass oversea.

The historian of English farming thus epitomizes the last decades of Victoria's reign :

'The legislature was powerless to provide any substantial help. Food was, so to speak, the currency in which foreign nations paid for English manufactured goods, and its cheapness was an undoubted blessing to the wage-earning community Thrown on their own resources, agriculturalists fought the unequal contest with courage and tenacity But as time went on, the stress told more and more heavily Manufacturing populations seemed to seek food-markets everywhere except at home. Enterprise gradually weakened ; landlords lost their ability to help, farmers their recuperative power Prolonged depression checked costly improvements. Drainage was practically discontinued Both owners and occupiers were engaged in the task of making both ends meet on vanishing incomes. Land deteriorated in condition , less labour was employed , less stock was kept , bills for cake and fertilizers were reduced. The counties which suffered most were the corn-growing districts, in which high farming had won its most signal triumphs' (Ernle, *English Farming*, p 379)

The damage indeed was the greater because English agriculture was a highly capitalized system for producing the staple products—corn, particularly wheat so costly to grow in most parts of England, and the best sheep and cattle in the world. Other uses of land had been unduly neglected. There was a fixed acreage of hops, chiefly in Kent. But potatoes occupied only two per cent. of the cultivated area.

Not enough had been done either with fruit or vegetables. Market gardening had never been systematically organized.

Neither the small cultivators nor the State were playing their proper part. It was only after the war of 1914–1918 that the State undertook the large-scale forestry which it is specially fitted to conduct. The landlords, who had planted diligently in the Eighteenth and early Nineteenth Centuries, lost interest in forestry as a trade, when government no longer required great oaks to build our battleships, and when timber of all other sorts poured in from Scandinavia and North America at prices that discouraged the home-grower. The vast demand for pit-props and for builder's wood was supplied from oversea.

England in 1880 could boast of finer trees than any other country, if judged by aesthetic, not by commercial standards. The forests had all gone, save a patch or two like the New Forest and the Forest of Dean. Yet seen from the air, the landscape would not have appeared ill wooded. The trees were hedgerow timber scattered over the countryside, or park trees preserved for their beauty, or coverts planted for game. Estate agents were not interested in timber values and neglected to remove ivy, to thin out, and to cut and sell at the right time. The conifer was creeping in for the purpose of the new plantations, and so was the rhododendron, approved by the taste of that age. Both were exotic in most parts of the island, but both were well fitted to lodge the 'kept cock pheasant, master of many a shire,' whom the youthful Kipling disliked as the symbol of an England going to fat, in a dream of wealth and peace that might some day have a rude awakening.

The fate of agriculture was only one example of the near-sightedness characteristic of English State policy. The later Victorians laid no far plans for the future. They were content to meet those demands and to solve those problems of which the pressure was already felt But within those limits they were more active reformers than their self-satisfied fathers of the Palmerstonian era : they brought up to date the civil service, local government, education, Universities—and even to a limited extent the army.

For the English had already lost some of the complacency

and cocksureness of the 'fifties and 'sixties. In those lucky days gone by, England had manufactured for a world that was still a generation behind her in industrial machinery; there had been no military power more formidable or more hostile than the France of Napoleon III, in 1848, the year of Continental Revolution and Reaction, Macaulay's countrymen had rejoiced to think that in wealth, in liberty and in order our country was ahead of every other, 'the envy of less happier lands.' The Franco-Prussian war of 1870 was the first shock. And during the three following decades America and Germany rose as manufacturing powers rival to our own. The immensely greater natural resources of America, the scientific and technical education provided by far-sighted governments in Germany, told more and more every year. To meet this new situation, our island liberty, Free Trade and individualist self-help might not alone be enough. Some sense of this led to improved technical education over here. It led, also, to greater interest in our own 'lands beyond the sea,' the Imperialist movement of the 'nineties; and it induced a more friendly and respectful attitude to America than our political classes had shown during her Civil War at the end of the Palmerstonian epoch. The democratic England of the new era was better able to understand both the United States and 'the Colonies,' as Canada and Australasia were still called.

The new situation led also to an anxious interest in modern Germany, which our countrymen until 1870 had been content to ignore. In that fateful year two books, Matthew Arnold's *Friendship's Garland* and George Meredith's *Harry Richmond* warned England that national education and national discipline in the Teutonic heart of Europe was creating a new kind of power that had a jealous eye on our easily won, carelessly guarded, ill-distributed wealth. At the same time Ruskin nobly spent the popularity and influence which he had won as interpreter of art and nature, in a new role as social prophet, denouncing the ill employment of our boasted wealth in destroying beauty, and its ill distribution so corrupting alike to the superfluously rich and the miserably poor.

There was no strong movement of socialism among the working class till the last years of the Century, but

discontent with the spirit of *laissez-faire* had been growing long before. John Stuart Mill died in 1873, bequeathing a testament of neo-liberal philosophy that strongly influenced the thought and practice of the age that followed. Mill's doctrine was semi-socialistic He urged the better distribution of wealth by direct taxation, particularly taxes on inheritance ; the bettering of conditions of life by social legislation enforced by an effective bureaucracy, national and local ; a complete system of manhood and womanhood suffrage not only for Parliament but for the bodies entrusted with local government. In Mill's thought, democracy and bureaucracy were to work together, and it is largely on these lines that the social fabric of modern England has in fact been constructed, even after Mill himself and his philosophy had passed out of fashion.

But in spite of the decay of England's agriculture, in spite of the diminution of her industrial lead over all other nations, in spite of the increasing sense that all was not well with her social system and the conditions of life in her city populations, nevertheless the last thirty years of Victoria's reign were on the whole years of great prosperity and increasing wealth in which most sections of the community shared. The Queen's Jubilees of 1887 and 1897 were celebrated by all classes with real pride and thankfulness, due in part to a sense of delivery from the conditions endured at the beginning of her reign, for the 'hungry 'forties' were still remembered. Manners were gentler, streets were safer, life was more humane, sanitation was improving fast, working-class housing, though still bad, was less bad than ever before. Conditions of labour had been improved, real wages had risen, hours had shortened. But unemployment, sickness and old age, not yet regularly provided for by the State, still had terrors for the workman.

The Free Trade finance of Peel and Gladstone had lifted the weight of taxation from the poor by reducing indirect taxation to a minimum. Yet the income tax in the 'eighties varied from a bare twopence in the pound to a mere sixpence halfpenny. It is now ten shillings (1941), to say nothing of the surtax.

Free Trade, besides relieving the burdens of the poor,

also claimed credit for the enormous increase of our shipping and overseas trade. Even our coastal trade had been thrown open to the ships of all nations, but the foreigner had, in open competition, only secured one half of one per cent. of it. And in the 'eighties this coastal trade, which included so large a proportion of home-consumed coal, was greater in cargo tonnage than the whole of our vast overseas commerce. Yet the oceans of the world were the highways of England. In 1885 a third of the world's sea-going ships were on the British register, including four-fifths of the world's steamships. Masts and sails were on the decline, but the fast ocean-going 'clippers' were British, and in 1885 our tonnage under sail was still as large as it had been in 1850, while our steam tonnage was four millions greater.

The tonnage of the port of London was still sixty per cent. greater than that of the Mersey, though Liverpool, dealing in Lancashire's cotton, exported more British goods than the Capital. The great Thames and Mersey docks were both completed in the 'eighties. The railway system had greatly increased the volume of overseas trade, but had further reduced the number of ports, a process begun in the Eighteenth Century. Whitby, Lancaster, Ayr and many other small harbours had now gone the way of Fowey, Chester and the Cinque Ports. But in the last half of the Nineteenth Century, thanks to the railways, Barrow had sprung to greatness out of nothing, and Grimsby out of 'almost nothing.' Southampton had revived, after a long eclipse, for it was now the headquarters of the P. and O. line to the East. Cardiff had increased its population thirteen-fold, and had just passed Newcastle as the world's greatest coal exporter, though Tyneside, in the great days of Armstrong's Elswick, was itself mightily on the increase. Such was the work of reconstruction of industry and commerce done by the railways. But 'railways had not made Tyneside; it was Tyneside that made them.' (Clapham, II, 519–529.)

Under such conditions of 'free trade' prosperity, many articles that were luxuries in 1837 were common comforts in 1897. Food, clothing, bedding, furniture were far

more abundant than in any previous age. Gas and oil-lighting were giving way to electricity. Holidays by the seaside had become a regular part of life to the lower middle class and even to large sections of the working class, particularly in the North. Already in 1876 Blackpool had grown to the size and status of a Borough, as the scene of the annual holiday of the Lancashire artisan, and he supported Llandudno and the Isle of Man as well. Distant Cornwall was already the holiday resort of the well-to-do at Easter and of the masses in August. In the summer, the lodging-houses in Keswick and Windermere and the farms of the Lake District were thronged with family parties.

Even before the age of railways, Londoners had swarmed on the pier at Brighton and darkened the sands of Margate with their multitude. Now the whole coast of England and Wales was opened out to 'trippers' and 'lodgers,' by steam locomotion and by the increased earnings and savings of all ranks. In remote creeks and fishing hamlets, where families from town came to lodge, children and their parents bathed and dug and searched the tidal treasuries of the rocks; here was at least some mitigation of the divorce of the city-dweller from country life.

But if seasonal holidays away from home were now common, the 'week-end out of town' was only beginning. It was already a custom among owners of big country houses and their guests, but the 'week-end cottage' for the middle-class family was scarcely yet known. Family church-going and business tradition still kept folk in town for seven days of the week.

Women were becoming more athletic and better walkers as their skirts became somewhat shorter and less redundant; after the disappearance of the crinoline and the long sweeping dress, the active movements of lawn-tennis took the place of croquet in the 'eighties as the game for the encounter of ladies and gentlemen. In the 'nineties the bicycle became fashionable, as soon as the two low wheels succeeded the dangerous 'high bicycle'; this further emancipated women, by sending them out to scour the countryside alone, or in company with the other sex. The common use of the motor-car and motor bicycle was still in the future when Victoria died.

While the town-dwellers were learning to explore the by-ways of their own land on foot or on bicycle, others swarmed over France, Switzerland and Italy in greater numbers than ever ; they were the chief patrons of the best hotels of Western Europe, of the Mediterranean and of Egypt. And Thomas Cook's ' tours ' gave a taste of the delights of continental travel to multitudes of the thrifty and the humble. In the 'sixties and 'seventies, the period of Leslie Stephen, Whymper and Professor Tyndall, the English, with the help of the splendid race of Swiss guides whom they employed, developed mountain craft on rock and snow, and conquered the great summits of the Alps. In the last decade of the Century rock-climbing in Wales and the Lake District became a skilled pastime at home.

John Buchan in his Memoirs has thus described the London society of his youth, on the eve of the South African War of 1899 :

London at the turn of the Century had not yet lost her Georgian air. Her ruling society was aristocratic till Queen Victoria's death and preserved the modes and rites of aristocracy. Her great houses had not disappeared or become blocks of flats In the summer she was a true city of pleasure, every window box gay with flowers, her streets full of splendid equipages, the Park a show ground for fine horses and handsome men and women. The ritual went far down, for frockcoats and top-hats were the common wear not only for the West End, but about the Law Courts and in the City On Sunday afternoons we dutifully paid a round of calls. Conversation was not the casual thing it has now become, but was something of an art, in which competence conferred prestige Also Clubs were still in their hey-dey, their waiting lists were lengthy, membership of the right ones was a stage in a career . . Looking back, that time seems to me unbelievably secure and self-satisfied The world was friendly and well-bred as I remember it, without the vulgarity and the worship of wealth which appeared with the new century. (*Memory Hold-The-Door*, pp. 92–94)

Yet already ' society was getting mixed,' and men of mere wealth, like Sir Gorgius Midas in Du Maurier's *Punch* pictures, had been prominent in London drawing-rooms for twenty years before the Queen died—the more prominent perhaps for being still somewhat exceptional.

'Society,' in the older and stricter sense of the term, had still in Palmerston's day been a limited world, its entry closely guarded by certain Whig and Tory Peeresses. But in the 'eighties 'society' had a vaguer meaning, perhaps covering the whole of the upper and professional classes, perhaps including all the well-dressed men and women, who crossed and recrossed each other in Hyde Park parades, or made conversation during the innumerable courses of a London dinner-party. Yet, as John Buchan truly records, these people maintained, at least in the Capital, a certain aristocratic flavour and convention until the end of the Century. They were different from the well-to-do bourgeois of the provinces, who still in Yorkshire and Lancashire preferred 'high teas' to dress dinners.

In the 'seventies and 'eighties, large families were still customary in the professional and business world, as well as in the working class, and the population rose apace since so many of the children born were now kept alive. The death-rate dropped with the improvement of town sanitation and the constant progress of medical knowledge and practice. In 1886 the excess of births over deaths in England was 13 3, as against Germany's 10 8 and the French 1 4.

After 1870, the parents of working-class families had the relief of a universal system of primary education, but even so it was a hard struggle, and except in school-time the children of the poor still roamed the streets uncared for. In middle-class homes, it was the era of the rocking-horse and Noah's ark: the full nursery and schoolroom were lively, noisy societies, where childish impressions and characters were formed, till Tomkins major, minor and minimus successively went off to the boarding-school, and could no longer be the joy or the plague of their sisters except during the holidays. Governesses, nurses, butlers, housemaids and cooks were still plentiful and their demands for wages and nights out were still moderate. Many of them became attached and valued members of the household, others came and went, dimly recollected. Their services were arduous and essential, for the tall, narrow town-houses of the middle class were not fitted up with labour-saving appliances; armies of maids staggered up

the stairs with hot water for the nursery tubs, and coals for every room, that helped to thicken London's fog.

Only in the 'nineties did it become evident that a reduction was beginning in the size of families, in the first instance in those of the professional and middle class, charged with heavy 'public-school' fees, and among the better-to-do artisans struggling to keep up a high standard of life. In 1877 a prosecution of Bradlaugh and Mrs. Besant for publishing a neo-Malthusian pamphlet had given methods of birth-control their first national advertisement. But the slum population, of whom these reformers were chiefly thinking, were the slowest to adopt the advice. The families best able to rear children as they should be reared, were, unfortunately, those that became most addicted to 'race suicide' in the coming century.

The 'seventies and 'eighties had been a period not only of large families but of puritanism in ethical and sexual ideas, qualified by the too frequent weakness of human nature in practice. Queen Victoria had put the example of her court on the side of the stricter code The genuine honesty of most British merchants as men of business had been one of the causes of our great commercial prosperity. The popular heroes of the period—and they were true heroes—were religious men first and foremost: Livingstone the African explorer and missionary; General Gordon the soldier-philanthropist; Lord Shaftesbury and Mr. Gladstone; to these four, so different from one another and from everyone else, life was the service of God.

But the older and more definite religious beliefs that meant so much to these men were being successfully attacked by the 'Agnostics' of the same period. Yet even the 'Agnostics' were Puritan in feeling and outlook. Matthew Arnold, the prophet of 'culture,' spoke of 'conduct' as 'three parts of life,' though his idea of 'conduct' was neither narrow nor purely negative. The fame and authority enjoyed by George Eliot's novels were largely due to the fact that they were taken by many as 'restating the moral law and process of soul-making, in terms acceptable to the rationalist agnostic conscience.' Carlyle's prophetic utterance in *Sartor* supplied a vague but emphatic

creed to many, including Darwin's militant champion Huxley, who defied the clergy at the famous meeting of the British Association in Oxford in the spirit of Luther at Worms. Leslie Stephen's and John Morley's passionate refusal to compromise with dogmas they had come to disbelieve, breathed the unyielding spirit of Seventeenth Century Puritanism. Leslie Stephen had once been a clergyman, and so had J. R. Green, the popular liberal historian. In literature and thought it was a period of quasi-religious movement away from religion.

In its many-sided curiosity and competence, its self-confidence and alertness, this Late Mid-Victorian culture is Greek In its blend of intellectual adventure and moral conservatism, it is really Athenian. I doubt if any lines of Tennyson were more often quoted by contemporaries than these ·

> Let knowledge grow from more to more,
> But more of reverence in us dwell ,
> That mind and soul, according well,
> May make one music as before,
> But vaster

No words could express more perfectly the Victorian ideal of expansion about a central stability But would anyone guarantee that they are not a translation from Sophocles ? (*Daylight and Champaign*, p 264, G M Young)

The Puritan attitude to life and conduct was inculcated not only by the Bible religion of the mass of the Victorians, but by the Anglo-Catholic religion that had grown out of the Oxford Movement of the 'thirties, and was now spreading wide, with such men as Gladstone and Salisbury among its lay representatives. But Anglo-Catholicism was strongest among the parish clergy, to many of whom it gave a new professional pride and motive, to take the place of the fast vanishing social ascendancy that had once belonged to the ' clergy of the Establishment ' as such. The Anglo-Catholic influence made easier some concessions to ordinary human nature, including a less strict observance of the ' Sabbath ' than Evangelicals could approve. The gradual modification of the ' English Sunday ' has had effects both good and bad. In this transition period, between the overgreat strictness of the past and the entire

laxity of the present day, there was much good in the practice of many families who still insisted on 'Sunday reading' of serious though not necessarily religious books. For one day in the week, novels and magazines were laid aside, and great classical literature like the Bible, Pilgrim's Progress and Paradise Lost, besides more secular poetry and history had a chance of perusal which they no longer enjoy.

Not only a modified Sunday observance, but Bible reading and family prayers were common until near the end of the Century. Canon Smyth has written in his study of the effect of Charles Simeon's influence on English life :

> Evangelicalism was the religion of the Home ; and in this revival of Family worship it won the most signal and the most gracious of its triumphs It may well be that this revival was virtually restricted to the upper and middle classes of society, especially the latter : but within these limits it was so widely spread that in 1889 the Provost of King's (Cambridge) in a circular letter addressed to the undergraduates of that College on the subject of voluntary attendance at morning Chapel, could write · 'You, most of you, come from homes where family prayers are the custom' . . Today that pious custom is virtually extinct · not only because the Victorian piety is virtually extinct, but also because the Victorian family is virtually extinct' (*Simeon and Church Order*, Charles Smyth, 1940, pp 19–20)

English religion had been an imposing fabric in the middle of the Nineteenth Century, but there had been a weakness in its foundations which the movement of scientific discovery was certain to undermine . the belief in the verbal inspiration of the Bible was common to the Nonconformists, to the Church Evangelicals and, to a scarcely less degree, to High Churchmen like Bishop Samuel Wilberforce and Mr. Gladstone. Charles Darwin was as unlike Voltaire as any human being could well be , he had no wish to be an iconoclast ; he did not regard the Church as 'the infamous' ; and in the end she reverently buried him in Westminster Abbey. But his scientific researches led him to conclusions incompatible with the narrative of the early chapters of Genesis which were as much a part of 'the English Bible' as the New Testament itself. More

generally speaking, the whole idea of evolution and of 'man descended from a monkey' was totally incompatible with existing religious ideas of creation and of man's central place in the Universe.

Naturally the religious world took up arms to defend positions of dateless antiquity and prestige. Naturally the younger generation of scientific men rushed to defend their revered chief, and to establish their claim to come to any conclusion to which their researches led, regardless of the cosmogony and chronology of Genesis, and regardless of the ancient traditions of the Church. The strife raged throughout the 'sixties, 'seventies and 'eighties. It came to involve the whole belief in the miraculous, extending into the borders of the New Testament itself. The 'intellectuals' became more and more anti-clerical, anti-religious and materialistic under the stress of the conflict

During this period of change and strife, causing much personal and family unhappiness and many searchings of heart, the world of educated men and women was rent by a real controversy, which even the English love of compromise could not deny to exist.[1] In the Twentieth Century that storm has rolled away, that battle is ended and its dead are buried. Faith and Denial are both in a different position. The materialism of the scientist of the 'seventies is felt to be as unsatisfactory as the literal truth of all parts of the Bible is felt to be untenable. Both sides wistfully acknowledge that the whole truth about the Universe cannot be discovered in the laboratory or divined by the Church. But where it can be found is a more difficult matter to determine.

The shaking of dogmatic assurance within the pale of the Anglican and Protestant Churches in the latter years of the Nineteenth Century helped the propaganda of the Roman Church, whose undeviating claim to full and certain knowledge appealed to persons who could not bear to be left in doubt. The Irish immigration below,

[1] People unduly depreciate Tennyson's intellectual acumen, as shown in the poems he wrote in the formative period of his youth before he took to hymning King Arthur's knights. His *In Memoriam*, written in the 'forties, and published in 1850, nine years before the appearance of Darwin's *Origin of Species*, anticipated the poignancy of the struggle between Faith and Science that convulsed the following era

the flow of converts from the fashionable and intellectual classes above, and the high Roman Catholic birth-rate gave to the Roman Communion a very much more important place in English life at the end of Victoria's reign than that which it had enjoyed at the beginning.

In the last half of the Nineteenth Century, Archaeology and History were in rapid progress, and their discoveries strengthened the hands of science in the strife against orthodox beliefs. Lecky's wise *History of Rationalism* (1865) and the over-confident materialism of Buckle's *History of Civilization* (1857) were part of the strong current that carried men away from ancient faiths. An academic 'liberal' party, of great intellectual distinction and very much in earnest, fought the battle to free Oxford and Cambridge from the bondage of Church monopoly, and won it by the Test Act of 1871. The younger Universities of London and Manchester had long enjoyed such freedom as their birthright.[1]

The two older Universities became so far assimilated to the new that before the end of the Queen's reign Oxford and Cambridge were much more lay than clerical in the personnel of their 'dons,' who were, moreover, now allowed to marry while continuing to hold Fellowships. Academic study now embraced physical science and mediaeval and modern history as strongly as the older humanism and mathematics. In the last decades of the Century, Cambridge was represented to the world by great men of science like Clerk Maxwell, Rayleigh and young J. J. Thomson, while Archdeacon Cunningham was founding Economic History, and the more brilliant genius of Maitland was revealing the common thoughts of mediaeval men through the harsh medium of their law. Even more rapid had been the change at Oxford, which had been dominated, in the early years of the reign by Newman and his antagonists, disputing over the miracles of Saints and the authority of the Fathers. Very different, thirty years later, was the atmosphere of the University, of which the practical and

[1] Most of the Provincial Universities were founded later still, in the first years of the Twentieth Century. The want of a proper system of popular secondary education prior to Balfour's Bill of 1902 was the fundamental reason why the new Universities developed so slowly

liberal character was represented to the world by Jowett as Master of Balliol, while the scholarship of Stubbs and Gardiner revealed the growth of the English Constitution, and T. H. Green opened out a new scheme of ethical philosophy.

The last half of Victoria's reign was indeed the period when Oxford and Cambridge were most in the public eye. Their reform, particularly the abolition of religious tests for academic posts (1871) was one of the chief political questions of the day. The liberal-minded and highly educated governing class of the 'seventies were more nearly affiliated to the Universities than to the declining aristocracy or the rising plutocracy. Gladstone abolished patronage in all public offices and made competitive examination the normal entrance to the Civil Service. To select men for practical careers on the report of examiners had seemed an absurd proposal to Palmerston and the aristocratic politicians of the previous era. It was a compliment paid to the reputation of the Oxford and Cambridge system of examination for degrees, and it had the effect of making closer than ever the connection of University men with public life. Trained intellect was henceforth to be a young man's best passport, instead of social patronage or fashionable friends. The evils of the Examination system, especially in its effect on school education, were not yet realized, nor were they yet as great as they have since become.

But perhaps the most characteristic achievement of the last years of the reign was the *Dictionary of National Biography*. It was not the undertaking either of a University or of the State. It was initiated and largely financed by a private individual, George Smith the publisher, whose personal friendship with many authors prompted him to this great undertaking. The Dictionary is a monument of the business ability, the enlightened public spirit and the widespread literary and historical scholarship of the Victorian age at its final culmination. It is the best record of a nation's past that any civilization has produced.

It has already been pointed out that the agnosticism of the English revolt against early Victorian religion had no connection with hedonism in theory or in conduct. Only

in the 'nineties, the *fin de siècle* as the time was called, a change in the direction of levity, if not of laxity, was observed, due no doubt in part to the gradual crumbling of definite religious beliefs with which a strict and slightly ascetic moral code had been associated. When religion had been transformed, from the 'public and documented system of beliefs, practices and aspirations' that it had been when the Queen came to the throne, into a 'provision for personal needs,' it could no longer influence the conduct of those who felt no such need for themselves. The movement away from family prayers and church-going, the movement towards 'week-ends out of town,' towards the race-course and other pleasures, some innocent and some less innocent, was led by the Prince of Wales (afterwards Edward VII) himself, reacting against an unsympathetic mother and an unwise education. This last decade of the Century is the era of the *Yellow Book* and 'art for art's sake.' But its greatest writers, Meredith, Hardy, William Morris, Stevenson and Housman, though all opposed to orthodox religion, were each in his own way as deeply 'serious' as the earlier Victorians.

The conflict between science and religion among the educated classes was crudely but effectively reproduced in Charles Bradlaugh's militant atheism, preached on public platforms to mass meetings of working men; while the last great evangelical revival, the Salvation Army, founded by 'General' Booth, brought the enthusiasm of 'conversion,' after Wesley's original fashion, to the army of the homeless and unfed, to the drunkard, the criminal and the harlot. It was significant of the coming era that the Salvation Army was more sensational in its methods than the older Nonconformist bodies. To bring street bands and coloured uniforms into the service of Protestant religion was something new. It was no less significant that the Salvation Army regarded social work and care for the material conditions of the poor and outcast as being an essential part of the Christian mission to the souls of men and women. It was largely for this reason that its power has become a permanent feature in modern English life It does not depend on revivalism alone.

Another movement, analogous to the Salvation Army in its combination of religious and social motive, was Total Abstinence, or 'Teetotalism.' Drunkenness and excessive expenditure on drink constituted one of the major evils of city life, one of the chief causes of crime and the ruin in families, especially since spirits had largely taken the place of beer. Our great caricaturists had held up the mirror to this unpleasant aspect of English nature, from the days of Hogarth's *Gin Lane* to George Cruikshank's prints of *The Bottle* and *The Drunkard's Children* (1847–1848), which were circulated by tens of thousands. In the years that followed, an organized and largely successful attack was made on the drinking habits of all classes by the 'Blue Ribbon Army': takers of the total abstinence pledge wore the blue ribbon on their breasts, to pledge them in the face of the world to keep their promise. In the 'seventies the Temperance party, specially strong among the Nonconformists [1] became a force in Liberal politics, but there was an element of fanaticism in their legislative proposals to suppress the drink traffic, that long postponed more practical measures. The movement provoked the better led activities of the drink interest, the brewing companies were backed by a great army of shareholders, and in the last decades of the Century they captured the Conservative Party, with whom after 1886 the government of the country principally lay.

Not only 'Teetotalism' but the proper and moderate use of wine and beer were encouraged by the increasing amenity and diminishing monotony of life, by rival amusements and occupations such as reading, music, playing and watching organized games, bicycling and sight-seeing, country and seaside holidays, above all by more active and educated minds and more comfortable homes. All these things helped to counteract the dullard's itch for the bottle in the cupboard, and diminished the attraction of the lights of the 'gin palace' glaring out its promise of warmth and welcome on to the wet inhospitable street. Moreover, the

[1] But all religious bodies promoted the Temperance movement. In 1909 the Church of England Temperance Society contained 639,233 members Of these 114,444 were pledged to 'total abstinence,' and as many as 486,888 were 'juvenile members' For it was a regular policy of Temperance Societies to enlist children before they acquired the taste for drink.

brewing companies were gradually frightened or shamed into a more enlightened policy in the management of the public houses they controlled, making them more decent, more ready to sell other things besides drink, less anxious to send their customers away tipsy And Balfour's Licensing Act of 1904 at length found a practical method of reducing the excessive number of houses of sale.

In the Twentieth Century, drink has found fresh enemies in the cinema at the street corner, and the wireless at home; and the increase of skilled and mechanical employments, particularly the driving of motor-cars, has put a premium on sobriety. Gambling perhaps now does more harm than drink. But when Queen Victoria died, drinking was still a great evil from the top to the bottom of society, more widely prevalent than in our day, but decidedly less than when she came to the throne.

In the Victorian era photography made its effective impact on the world. Already in 1871 it was acclaimed by an observer as 'the greatest boon that has been conferred on the poorer classes in later years'

'Any one who knows what the worth of family affection is among the lower classes, and who has seen the array of little portraits stuck over a labourer's fireplace, still gathering into one the "Home" that life is always parting—the boy that has "gone to Canada," the "girl out at service," the little one with the golden hair that sleeps under the daisies, the old grandfather in the country—will perhaps feel with me that in counteracting the tendencies, social and industrial, which every day are sapping the healthier family affections, the sixpenny photograph is doing more for the poor than all the philanthropists in the world.' (*Macmillan's Magazine*, Sept 1871.)

By the cheapest and most accurate form of portraiture possible, photography had indeed brought to all classes a prolongation of poignant and of delightful memories of the dead, of the absent, of past years, incidents and associations.

Its effect on art was of more doubtful benefit. Many thousands of painters had formerly lived on the demand for portraits of persons, for accurate delineations of events, scenes and buildings and for copies of famous pictures. Photography henceforth supplied all these. By reducing the importance of picture-painting as a trade, and surpassing it in realistic representation of detail, it drove the painter

to take refuge more and more in theory, and in a series of intellectualized experiments in Art for Art's sake.

If the English language at the end of Victoria's reign be compared to its predecessor in the last years of Elizabeth, it will be seen that it is the same language · a modern Englishman can easily understand the Bible of 1611, and he can even understand the more idiomatic dialogues of Shakespeare much more easily at any rate than he can understand Chaucer. For the three centuries between Elizabeth and Victoria had been a period of transactions by writing, governed by a literate upper class who defended the language against fundamental changes in grammar or in the structure of existing words. But in another sense the language had changed—from a vehicle of poetry and emotion to a vehicle of science and journalism. An Elizabethan reading a Victorian newspaper article or listening to the conversation of modern educated people, would be bewildered by long words unfamiliar to him, which have been formed, usually from the Latin, not for the purposes of poetry like 'the multitudinous seas incarnadine,' but for the prosaic purposes of science and journalism, and for the discussion of social and political problems : *opportunist*, *minimize*, *international*, *centrifugal*, *commercialism*, *decentralize*, *organization*, and the yet more technical terms of physical science—a useful but unlovely jargon.[1]

In the last half of the Nineteenth Century 'capital' and 'labour' were enlarging and perfecting their rival organizations on modern lines. Many an old family firm was replaced by a Limited Liability Company with a bureaucracy of salaried managers. The change met the technological requirements of the new age by engaging a large professional element, and prevented the decline in efficiency that so commonly marred the fortunes of family firms in

[1] Mr. Pearsall Smith, in his *The English Language* (Home University Library, p. 124) says : 'Science is in many ways the natural enemy of language. Language, either literary or colloquial, demands a rich store of living and vivid words—words which are "thought pictures," and appeal to the senses and also embody our feelings about the objects they describe. But science cares nothing about emotion or vivid presentation ; her ideal is a kind of algebraic notation, to be used simply as an instrument of analysis ; and for this she rightly prefers dry and abstract terms, taken from some dead language, and deprived of all life and personality.'

the second and third generation after the energetic founder. It was, moreover, a step away from individual initiative, towards collectivism and municipal and State-managed business. The Railway Companies, though still private concerns managed for the benefit of shareholders, were very unlike old family businesses. They existed by reason of Acts of Parliament, that conferred on them powers and privileges in return for State control. At the same time the great municipalities went into business to supply lighting, trams and other services to the ratepayers.

The growth of the Limited Liability Company and municipal trading had important consequences. Such large, impersonal manipulation of capital and industry greatly increased the numbers and importance of shareholders as a class, an element in the national life representing irresponsible wealth detached from the land and the duties of the landowner ; and almost equally detached from the responsible management of business. All through the Nineteenth Century, America, Africa, India, Australasia and parts of Europe, were being developed largely by British capital, and British shareholders were thus being enriched by the world's movement towards industrialization. Towns like Bournemouth and Eastbourne sprang up to house large ' comfortable ' classes who had retired on their incomes, and who had no relation to the rest of the community except that of drawing dividends and occasionally attending a shareholders' meeting to bully the management. On the other hand, ' shareholding ' meant leisure and freedom which was used by many of the later Victorians for the highest purposes of a great civilization.

The ' shareholder ' as such had no knowledge of the lives, thoughts or needs of the workmen employed by the Company in which he held shares, and his influence on the relations of capital and labour was not good. The paid manager acting for the company was in more direct relation with the men and their demands, but even he had seldom that familiar personal knowledge of the workmen which the employer had often had under the more patriarchal system of the old family business now passing away. Indeed, the mere size of operations and the numbers of workmen involved rendered such personal relations

impossible. Fortunately, however, the increasing power and organization of the Trade Unions, at least in all the skilled trades, enabled the workmen to meet on more equal terms the managers of the companies who employed them. The harsh discipline of the strike and lock-out taught the two parties to respect each other's strength and understand the value of fair negotiation.

Under these conditions the increasing national dividend was rather less unevenly distributed between classes. But the distinction between capital and labour, the personal segregation of employer from employed in their ordinary lives still went on increasing. The mere fact that philanthropic 'settlements' were formed in working-class districts in order to show the well-meaning bourgeois how the poor lived, was significant of much. Marxian doctrines, therefore, as to the inevitability of the 'class struggle' were rife at the end of the Century; and the more opportunist collectivism preached by the Fabian Society was still more influential.

But these doctrines were too theoretic to affect the English working man very much. It was no theory, but the practical need to defend Trade Union rights against judge-made law that brought Labour into politics to form a party of its own. For the English law courts developed a most unfortunate habit of discovering that liberties which Parliament intended by its Acts to grant to Trade Unions, had not in fact been granted by those Acts at all. By the legislation of 1825, Trade Unions and combinations to raise wages had been legalized—at least so Parliament and everyone else had supposed for forty years But in 1867, in the Boilermakers' case, the Judges headed by the Lord Chief Justice decided that Unions, being 'in restraint of trade,' were illegal associations. Fortunately, by the Reform Bill of the same year the working classes were granted the Parliamentary franchise and were therefore able to remedy their grievances by constitutional pressure on politicians. Consequently Gladstone's Act of 1871 restored to Unions the right to exist on very favourable terms, and Disraeli's Act of 1875 legalized 'peaceful picketing.'

After that, the Judges left the Trade Unions alone for

another generation, during which the movement spread from the skilled to the unskilled trades, particularly in the great strike of the London dockers led by John Burns in 1889. By the end of the Century, Trade Unionism was in most trades and in most regions of England a very powerful weapon of defence for workmen's wages, on the whole wisely used Then, in 1901, the Judges struck again with their Taff Vale decision, when the work of former Parliaments was again undone, and strike action by Unions was again pronounced illegal. This decision provoked the effective formation of a separate Labour Party in Parliament at the opening of the new Century, and the Act of 1906 which secured to the Trade Unions highly privileged immunity from legal action. But these events belong to another chapter of social history, beyond the date and outside the atmosphere of Victorian England.

The close of the reign and the end of the Century saw the so-called 'feudal' society of the countryside still in being, but under changing conditions indicative of the advance of democracy even in rural England, and the penetration of village life by forces and ideas from the cities. In the following generation, with the coming of motor transport, the intrusion of urban life upon the rural parts became a flood, turning all England into a suburb. But when Victoria died (1901) the process had not gone so far, country roads and lanes were still country roads and lanes, with all their sleepy charm come down from countless centuries, which the invading bicyclist could enjoy without destroying. The 'country houses,' great and small, still flourished, with their shooting parties and their week-end guests from town; and the estate system was still the method by which English agriculture was organized.

But the country houses and the country estates were less than ever supported by agricultural rents, which American imports had lowered and brought into arrear. The pleasures of the country house and the business of the estate system were now financed by money which the owner drew from industry or other investments, or from his income as ground landlord of more distant urban areas. He was still a country gentleman, but he paid for himself

by being other things as well For British agriculture as an economic proposition had collapsed

Under these circumstances, the estate system, 'feudal' as it might be, was fairly popular in the countryside, because it brought money from the industrial world to support decadent agriculture, and because the squire and his family brought into village life educated interests and friendly leadership.

But even before the coming of the motor-car with the advent of the new century, the old village life was being transformed into something half suburban by newspapers, ideas, visitors and new residents from the cities. The contrast between the democratic city and the 'feudal' countryside, which had characterized Trollope's England in the middle of Victoria's reign, was less marked in the last decades of the Century. As the result of the Education Act of 1870 the agricultural labourer of the next generation and his women folk could all read and write. Unfortunately, this power was not directed to foster in them an intelligent and loving interest in country life. The new education was devised and inspected by city folk, intent on producing not peasants but clerks. Before Victoria died, the *Daily Mail* was being read on the village ale bench and under the thatch of the cottage. The distinctive rural mentality was suffering urbanization, and local traditions were yielding to nation-wide commonplace.

In the realm of politics also, town and country were becoming assimilated. In 1884 the agricultural working man received the Parliamentary vote, which had been denied to him in 1867 when his brother of the town was enfranchised. Protected by the ballot, the agricultural labourer could vote as he wished, regardless of farmer and landlord. Proof of this was given in the General Election of 1885, the first held under the new Franchise Bill. On that occasion the boroughs voted Conservative, but the counties unexpectedly voted Liberal, in defiance of squire and farmer. The control over English country life which the squire had exercised for so many centuries was in fact drawing to an end, as far as Parliamentary elections were concerned. It followed inevitably that the local government of the counties must also be put on an elective basis.

In 1888 therefore the Local Government Act established elected County Councils as the administrative organs of country life, in place of the patriarchal rule of the Justices of the Peace. The Justices of the Peace were preserved in their judicial capacity as magistrates. But their administrative functions were handed over to the elected County Councils, strengthened a few years later by the creation of elective Urban and Rural District Councils. Thus, more than fifty years after the Municipal Reform Act of 1835 had set up democratic local government in the boroughs, the same principle was applied to the rural districts. It was an irony of fate that the farm hand was given the Parliamentary and local franchise only after the destruction of English agricultural life had set in, with American competition and the fall of food prices. The agricultural labourers, if they stayed in the countryside, could now take part in its government, but in fact they were trooping off to the towns.

The Municipal Reform Act of 1835 had affected only a limited number of towns, but the scheme of urban self-government was made general throughout England by the Local Government Act of 1888.

The legislators of 1835 had shirked the problem of the Capital . greater London, that is to say, all London outside the old City boundaries, had been left without unity of administration. Fifty years later, a bewildering chaos of overlapping authorities still carried on the affairs of the five million inhabitants of the Capital in haphazard fashion. The Local Government Act of 1888 applied a remedy long overdue. It established the London County Council, which has since governed London, all except the area of the ancient City, reserved as an historical monument under the Lord Mayor and Aldermen. Foreigners come to see the Lord Mayor, but the head of London's government is the Chairman of the London County Council.

The newborn London County Council sprang at once into vigorous life, and in the first twenty years of its existence carried out many new schemes of social welfare. And the London School Board during the same period made many leading experiments in education, till the Education Act of

1902 merged its activities in those of the London County Council. This forward move in local government by London, hitherto so backward, was conducted by the Progressive party that got the majority on the Council at one election after another. It called itself the *Progressive* party—so as not to be completely identified with either the Liberal or the Labour party; but it had close affinities to both. It existed for municipal purposes only, and therefore people who voted Conservative at Parliamentary elections could vote Progressive at the County Council Election. The average London voter in the 'nineties was conservative and imperialist in national politics, but wanted democratic social improvement for himself and his City. It was in this atmosphere of a municipally progressive London that the Fabian Society flourished, the intellectual leadership of the Fabian publicists, the Sidney Webbs and Graham Wallas, had much to do with the Progressive government of London. But the popular leader was John Burns, who represented the coming alliance of Labour and Liberal. John Burns of Battersea was the first great apostle of a London patriotism, as distinct from pride in the 'City,' now shrunk within its ancient boundaries, a dignified memory of the past.

The towns, therefore, in the last decades of Victoria's reign were undergoing rapid improvement in sanitation, lighting, locomotion, public libraries and baths, and to some extent in housing The example set in these matters by the Birmingham municipality under Joseph Chamberlain in the 'seventies, and by the London County Council twenty years later, was widely followed elsewhere. And the Central Government supported the efforts of the local authorities to better the life of the citizen by grants from taxes in aid of the local rates, conditional on favourable reports by Government Inspectors.

This movement of municipal reform supported by the State prevented an utter social catastrophe The death-rate, so high in the early Victorian city, rapidly declined, town life was made increasingly tolerable on its purely material side, and primary education became universal. Nevertheless, it was in many respects a dreary heritage to pass on to the Twentieth Century The modern city, in

the unplanned swamp of its increase, lacks form and feature; it is a deadening cage for the human spirit. Urban and suburban life in modern England made no appeal through the eye to the imagination, as had the old village life of our island, or the city life of ancient and mediaeval Europe. Civic pride and civic rivalry among the industrial towns of the north was almost entirely materialistic and not at all aesthetic. The pall of smoke and smuts in itself was enough to discourage any effort after beauty or joy in the visible aspect of life.

The new cities were too big to have individual unity or character, or even to be seen by the eye as Athens, Rome, Perugia, Nuremberg, Tudor London and a thousand other older cities had been seen and loved. And to make matters worse there had been practically no town planning of the Victorian cities. The State had permitted the landlord and the speculative builder to lay out modern England as best suited their own private gain, too often without a thought given to amenity or to the public welfare. In vast areas of London and other cities there were no open spaces within reach of the children, whose only playground outside the school yard was the hard and ugly street. To millions the divorce from nature was absolute, and so too was the divorce from all dignity and beauty and significance in the wilderness of mean streets in which they were bred, whether in the well-to-do suburb or the slum. The new education and the new journalism were both the outcome of these surroundings and partook of their nature. The race bred under such conditions might retain many sturdy qualities of character, might even with better food and clothing improve in physique, might develop sharp wits and a brave, cheery, humorous attitude to life, but its imaginative powers must necessarily decline, and the stage is set for the gradual standardization of human personality.

The later Victorians, though incapable of coping with their own distress, were beginning to be aware of it. Ruskin had inspired the rising generations of writers and thinkers with disgust at the industrial civilization that had filled their fathers with such pride. Looking back through history, they thought they saw a fairer world than modern

Lancashire ; as early as 1868 William Morris, in the Prologue to *The Earthly Paradise*, had written :

> Forget six counties overhung with smoke,
> Forget the snorting steam and piston stroke,
> Forget the spreading of the hideous town ,
> Think rather of the pack-horse on the down,
> And dream of London, small, and white and clean,
> The clear Thames bordered by its gardens green . . .

But there was no going back, except in imagination.

The year 1870 was a turning-point in educational and therefore in social history. Education was not only a national requirement on the necessity for which politicians were agreed ; it was also the chief battleground of religious denominations. The main reason why English Education lagged behind in the mid-Victorian period was that no government, Whig or Tory, could conceive a means of setting up a national system at the public expense that would not have given the bitterest offence either to the Dissenters or to the Established Church. Until Gladstone's gallant venture in 1870, every government had shrunk from embarking on that sea of trouble. A network of Voluntary Schools paid for by private subscription had been spread over the country owing to religious and sectarian zeal ; but the same zeal had frightened off both political parties from tackling the Education question as a national affair.

The great majority of the Voluntary Schools by which the primary education of the people was supplied, were conducted on Church principles · they were known as National Schools, because founded by the (Anglican) National Society. They had been aided by a very small grant since 1833. Gladstone's Bill of 1870 was the work of W. E. Forster, an ardent churchman though of Quaker origin. Forster's Bill doubled the State Grant to the existing Church Schools and to the Roman Catholic Schools, so as to enable them to become a permanent part of the new system, while it introduced publicly controlled schools to fill up the large gaps in the educational map of the country. These new Schools, called Board Schools, were to be paid for out of the Local Rates, and they were to be governed

by popularly elected School Boards. In most of the old Voluntary Schools, that is, in all National Schools, Church teaching was to be continued. But in the new Board Schools the Act prohibited the use, in the religious teaching, of catechism or formulary distinctive of any denomination.

The grievance of the Dissenters was that the State thus perpetuated the Church Schools of the villages, and in each village there was only one school available to which all children had to go. In the towns there were Board and Voluntary Schools side by side. It was unfortunate that the Church Schools were found most of all in the villages where there was no alternative school. That is so very largely to this day (1941), but it is less resented now than in 1870, partly because the hostile feeling between Church and Dissent has very much subsided, and partly because by Balfour's Act of 1902 the Church Schools have been brought under a considerable measure of control by County Councils as the public Educational Authorities.

By the religious compromise of 1870 England was enabled to obtain, better late than never, a system of universal primary education without which she must soon have fallen into the rear among modern nations. Between 1870 and 1890 the average school attendance rose from one and a quarter million to four and a half millions, while the money spent on each child was doubled.

But the State did little as yet for Secondary Education ;[1] nor was there a sufficient ladder of school scholarships to the Universities for the ablest children in Primary Schools. The new School Boards were charged with Primary Education only. In 1900 the Law Courts decided, in the famous Cockerton judgment, that the ratepayers' money could not be spent on any form of Secondary or Higher Education, under the terms of the Act of 1870.

Another defect in that measure was the smallness of the School Board areas. Each School Board being the affair of a single town or village could have no wide educational outlook. And their parochial character made the feud of Church and Dissent more personal and intense.

[1] 'In 1899 the amount of public money spent per head on Secondary Education was only three farthings in England, as compared with one shilling and a penny three farthings in Switzerland.' Bernard Allen's *Sir Robert Morant*, p. 141.

These defects in the Act of 1870 were remedied by Balfour's Education Act of 1902, inspired by the great public servant, Sir Robert Morant. This measure abolished School Boards and gave the power to provide for Education, both Primary and Secondary, to the elected County Councils, and to certain large Borough Councils. Such is our system to-day. The Councils do their educational work through their Education Committees. The improvement due to the larger area and broader views of these County Education Committees has been of great benefit to Primary Education, and of still greater benefit to Secondary Education , and an effective ladder to the Universities was created by Balfour's Bill.

Without the Education Acts of 1870 and of 1902 England could not have competed in the coming era of machinery and organization, and her people would have sunk into the barbarism of an uneducated city population, a far worse form of society than the uneducated rural population of old times, where the mind and character of ploughmen and craftsmen were formed by the influences of nature, the agricultural life and the old system of apprenticeship.

Our modern system of popular Education was indeed indispensable and has conferred great benefits on the country, but it has been a disappointment in some important respects. Being a town-made system it has failed to meet rural needs, of which the Board of Education failed to recognize the distinctive character. It has speeded up rather than diminished the rural exodus. More generally speaking, it has produced a vast population able to read but unable to distinguish what is worth reading, an easy prey to sensations and cheap appeals. Consequently both literature and journalism have been to a large extent debased since 1870, because they now cater for millions of half-educated and quarter-educated people, whose forbears, not being able to read at all, were not the patrons of newspapers or of books. The small highly educated class no longer sets the standard to the extent that it used to do, and tends to adopt the standards of the majority. Whether in the twentieth or twenty-first centuries the lower forms of literature and journalism will completely devour the higher

has yet to be seen If they do not, it will be due to improved Secondary and Higher Education forming a sufficiently large class to perpetuate a demand for things really worth reading.

The subject-matter of this book has been confined to the social history of England, and has not included the vast and varied expanse of lands beyond the ocean associated in the British Commonwealth of Nations and Dependencies. But social life in little England would have been a very different thing if it had not been the centre of a great maritime trade and, moreover, of an Empire. We had long prided ourselves on being a seafaring people, that was part of the island habit. But consciousness of the Empire of which we had become the centre, lagged far behind the reality. In the middle of the Nineteenth Century popular patriotic songs still celebrated 'the right little, tight little island.' And that island was not yet generally thought of as the heart of 'an Empire on which the sun never set.' That aspect of our position was first fully appreciated at the two Jubilees of Queen Victoria (1887, 1897) when the pageant of distant and diverse lands, all come to pay homage to the little lady in grey, was first fully displayed, with startling effect, in London streets.

Yet, for generations past, the ways of thought and habits of life in English towns and villages had been strongly influenced by overseas connections. In the Eighteenth Century tea and tobacco had become as much the national food as beef and beer. And ever since the Seventeenth Century the adventurous and the discontented had been going across the ocean, first to the American colonies, then to the United States, to Canada, to Australia, to South Africa. It is true that until the Nineteenth Century the emigrant usually parted for ever from the folk he left behind and, however he fared, little more was heard of him. But in Victoria's reign, when the tide of emigration was still running stronger than ever, the postage stamp kept the cottage at home in touch with the son who had 'gone to the Colonies,' and often he would return on a visit with money in his pocket, and tales of new lands of equality and self-help and maybe an affectionate contempt for slow

old ways at home. In this very human manner the middle and lower classes knew quite as much about the Empire as their 'betters,' and rather more than their 'betters' about the United States, as was shown at the time of the Civil War of 1861–1865. But the professional and upper classes also went out to careers all over the world, to govern, and trade, and shoot big game, in Africa and India. And all ranks of the army knew India, so far as it could be seen from the lines.

In this manner, a vast and varied overseas experience was for ever pouring back into every town and every hamlet in Victoria's England. Since Tudor times the influence of the sea had been strong even in upland villages, no one of which is more than seventy miles from a tidal estuary. And to the old maritime influence was now added in equally full measure the Colonial. Our island people were, in some respects, the least insular of all mankind. To Europeans we appeared insular, because we were not continental. But our experiences and opportunities were greater than those of the folk of other lands.

Victorian prosperity and Victorian civilization, alike in their grosser and their higher aspects, were due to a century's immunity from great wars and from any serious national danger. Safe behind the shield of the navy, Englishmen thought of all the problems of life in terms of peace and security which were in fact the outcome of temporary and local circumstances, and not part of nature's universal order. No great country except English-speaking America has ever been so utterly civilian in thought and practice as Victorian England. Service in the army was regarded by the middle and working classes as disgraceful—except in time of war.

> 'It's Tommy this and Tommy that, and chuck him out the brute,
> But it's 'thank you Mr Atkins,' when the guns begin to shoot.'

It was a vulgar attitude, especially as it went with occasional fits of Jingoism like those which preceded the Crimean and Boer Wars, and nearly caused several others. But for a hundred years after Trafalgar and Waterloo it led to no fatal results. For we held the surface of the sea, and the

surface was then all the sea for human action. On the whole our supremacy in the oceans and along the shores of the world was used in the Nineteenth Century on the side of peace, goodwill and freedom. If it were to be destroyed, mankind would breathe a harsher air.

The carefree Victorians knew little about the spirit and inner workings of the militarized continent, off which this green and happy isle was anchored. They knew more about Australia, America, Africa in a human and business way. Europe was the Englishman's playground, with its Alps, its picture galleries, its ancient cities. We were islanders with an overseas Empire, not continentals. We were sailors not soldiers. We thought of European politics not in terms of power or of our own national security, but according as we liked or disliked the governments of Turkey or Russia, Napoleon III or the Italian *risorgimento.* Sometimes these sympathies led us right, sometimes wrong. But in any case there could be no consistent national policy with armaments adapted to it. To the Englishman, foreign affairs were a branch of Liberal and Conservative politics, tinged with emotion, a matter of taste, not a question of existence

In the Victorian era this attitude could be indulged without disaster. But when the reign and the Century came to an end, a tremendous revolution in all human affairs was imminent. The internal combustion engine had been invented, and its space-annihilating consequences were about to be disclosed. The motor-car and motor-lorry, the submarine, the tank, the aeroplane were about to plunge the world into a new era, widely different from the past in peace and in war. And England would be the country most concerned of all, because she would lose half the benefit of her insular position. The surface of the sea could no longer be held by ships alone ; and whether it was held or not, the aeroplane could violate the thousand-year-old sanctities of the peaceful island. In such new conditions our happy-go-lucky attitude towards power on the Continent, and our wholly civilian way of life, our refusal to arm ourselves adequately to new needs, if continued too long, might become a terrible danger.

And even in peacetime the new age of motor traction on

the roads made a more rapid social and economic revolution in the first forty years of the Twentieth Century than railways and machinery had made before In the age of the railway, supplemented by horse traffic and bicycles, the pace of changes, the disappearance of local and provincial differences though rapid, was limited. But under the new conditions England bade fair to become one huge unplanned suburb. Motor traction created the urgent need for the State to control the development of the whole island, but unhappily the matter was left to chance and the building exploiter. Political society could not at once adjust its habits of thought to new conditions coming on with unexampled speed.

But there are good points in this latest age. The progress actually made in the first forty years of the new Century, particularly in education [1] and in social services, has perhaps been as much as can be expected of limited human wisdom The material conditions of the working class in 1939 were much better than in the year Queen Victoria died.

What will now happen to England in peace and in war the historian is no better able to guess than anyone else. And the tremendous changes that have already taken place in the first forty years of the new Century will no doubt, a short time hence, look different from what they now appear, and will fall into a new historical perspective The best place, therefore, to bring to an end a social history of England is the death of Queen Victoria and the end of the railway age.

[1] The battle of Waterloo was won, not on the playing fields of Eton, but on the village greens of England The men who fought in the ranks on June 18, 1815, were little educated but they had the qualities of countrybred men To-day we are urban and educated The flyers of the R A F are not and could not be the product of rural simplicity If we win this war, it will have been won in the primary and secondary schools (1941).

N
Highbury
Islington
St Pancras
the Wells
Hoxton
MIDDLESEX
Fleet River
Mile End
Smithfield
St Bartholomew's
MOOR GATE
NEW GATE
ALDERS GATE
BISHOPS GATE
White Chapel
TEMPLE BAR
CHEAP
SIDE
St Paul's
LUD GATE
ALD GATE
Temple
Shadwell
Savoy Palace
RIVER
LONDON BRIDGE
The Tower
Charing
Cross
THAMES
Wapping
Southwark Suburb
Rotherhithe
Westminster
Abbey
Bermondsey
Lambeth
Palace
Lambeth
SURREY
Walworth
Vauxhall
Peckham
New
Cross
CHAUCER'S LONDON
Scale of 1 mile
0 1/4 1/2 1
The dotted line is the area of the City, the black line is the City wall and ditch, at that time in very good repair There were probably houses between the wall and the outer boundary There were certainly houses round Smithfield

HARROW
HIGHGATE
HAMPSTEAD
R. Brent
R. Brent
CHELSEA
BATTERSEA
PUTNEY
CLAPHAM
R. Thames
Hampton
Court
Palace
KINGSTON
R. Wandle
Scale of Miles
0
1
2
3
4

TOTTENHAM
WALTHAMSTOW
ILFORD
R LEA
EAST HAM
WEST HAM
WOOLWICH
GREENWICH
DEPTFORD
DULWICH
CROYDON
The GROWTH OF LONDON
1600-1900

Late Tudor and Early Stuart
LONDON
Scale of 1 Mile
0
¼
½
1
Pancras
Fleet Ditch
Tottenham Court
Lambs Conduit Fields
OF
DEFENCES
EDGWARE ROAD
Paddington
Mary-le-bone
Tyburn Brook
EARTHWORK
St Giles's Fields
Tyburn
Hyde Park
St James's Palace
Whitehall
Lambeth
Knight's Bridge
West Bourne
Palace
Horse Ferry
Ebury Farm
Lambeth
Brompton
Chelsea
Vauxhall
RIVER THAMES
Battersea

Islington
New River
Hoxton
Bethnal Green
OUTER LONDON, 1643
Mile End
Spital Fields
Wallbrook
MILE END ROAD
Stepney
Whitechapel
RATCLIFF HIGHWAY
Shadwell
Rotherhithe
Newington Butts
Walworth
Camberwell
Peckham

Part of Islington
Cold Harbour

PENTON-
VILLE
Finsbury
BETHNAL
GREEN
NEWINGTON
BUTTS
KENT ROAD
WALWORTH
KENNINGTON

LONDON
Scale of Miles
0 1 3 4
Main roads
Main railways
Barking
East Ham
West Ham
to Southend
Colchester
R Thames
to Dartford
Dulwich
Sydenham
Herne Hill
Eltham

U

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